

SOME REFLECTIONS ON EVANGELICAL PAN-AFRICANISM

or

*BLACK MISSIONARIES, WHITE MISSIONARIES*

*AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN SOULS 1890-1930*

by

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Christian proselytization by Europeans in Africa has, for the last five hundred years, been closely associated with European colonization and subjugation of that continent. The Portuguese pioneers set a pattern as they traded and raided their way around the African coastline from the fifteenth century onwards, which was not often fundamentally deviated from in the centuries that followed. The outstanding example of early Portuguese missionary activity centered around the almost legendary figure of the Mani Congo, whose son, appropriately renamed Dom Henrique, was elevated in the early sixteenth century to the status of bishop in the Church of Rome, a status which was not approached by any other African worthy for several hundred years afterwards. With the intensification of the slave trade, the Portuguese did not neglect the souls of their captives, though methods of mass production had perforce to be resorted to. This meant, in concrete terms, that slaves were baptized in lots and immediately afterwards branded with hot irons on the Angolan coast, to signify that they had been received into the Church and that the King's duty had likewise been paid upon them. (1)

With the tendency dating from the late eighteenth century, among Afro-Americans and black West Indians, to give organizational expression to their disenchantment with white churches whose Christianity balked at the prospect of racial brotherhood, the desire on the part of New World Africans to evangelize the mother continent grew. This desire was given an additional fillip by such events as the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and paralleled a steady emigration of Africans from places as far apart as Brazil and Nova Scotia which began in earnest in the late eighteenth century and continued through out the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries.

The first Afro-American missionary to venture into foreign parts is supposed to have been one George Lisle, an ex-slave from Georgia who introduced the American brand of black religious nationalism into Jamaica in 1783. Lisle was a Baptist, and Baptists, both black and white, were thereafter to be blamed by the colonial authorities for most manifestations of

insubordination among the slaves.

With the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1833 and the end of the short period of re-enslavement which followed (euphemistically referred to as "apprenticeship") widespread manifestations appeared, often spontaneously, of a desire on the part of newly freed ex-slaves to make some tangible contribution to their brothers in Africa. European missionaries were often impressed and took steps to convert their desires into reality. Sometimes, however, the missionaries' home bodies discreetly evaded or discouraged the attempts.

Nevertheless, many West Indian missionaries made their way throughout the nineteenth century to such places as Fernando Po, the Gold Coast, the Congo, and several other locations along the West Coast of Africa, usually as subordinates of white missionaries (2). (Thereby hangs a tale which will be briefly alluded to later in this paper). In 1846 one of these West Indians, a Joseph Merrick, made the first translation of the Bible into the language of the Isubu people living in the vicinity of the Cameroons River (3). As late as the 1920's a school principalled and senior-staffed by four Jamaicans was described as the best of its kind in Africa by British Colonial Office functionary, Sir Hugh Clifford, and an educational commission staffed by Colonial Office and American "experts" on "Native Education", the latter provided by the Phelps Stokes Fund (4). Such fulsome praise from such quarters means that these particular Jamaicans must have been of conservative bent.

More important for the purposes of this paper were the parallel attempts of Afro-American missionaries. From this source, too, there had been a steady if modest trickle of evangelical emissaries throughout the nineteenth century, particularly to Liberia, where ministers accompanied the first shipload of Afro-American settlers. Outside of Liberia, which was a special case due to its Afro-American population (5), the tendency, until late in the century, was for the occasional black missionary to be sent together with white superiors by white church bodies.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, a new situation seemed to be developing. Black Americans seemed poised to break into the African mission field in larger numbers than before -- large enough numbers, indeed, to raise the question of a threat to the traditional hegemony which white missionaries enjoyed up till then over African souls. A large influx of Afro-Americans, cassocks or clerical collars notwithstanding, would also pose the problem of insulating the

"Natives" from the "subversive" theories of Black Nationalism and race pride which flourished in Afro-American churches. And Africans had already given warning of a potential receptivity to these ideas, for nationalist "Ethiopian" churches had already appeared in Southern Africa, dating from the 1870's.

Why this threat to the colonial status quo should have been posed at this particular time was largely the result of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery which had taken place three decades earlier in the United States. The intervening thirty years had witnessed an improvement in the educational opportunities available to black people which, even though still inferior, were nevertheless unprecedented. At about this time, too, new independent black churches appeared to underscore the position of churches as one of the few autonomous areas within the Afro-American community, a factor which must have stood out starkly against the steady deterioration in the black man's political position witnessed in the decades after Reconstruction.

The interest was also fanned by some white missionaries who, flooding the continent in the wake of the European scramble for Africa, often regarded the Afro-American missionary as a means to vindicate the institution of slavery. Out of evil cometh good, and from the evil of slavery God in His wisdom had produced, or so the argument went, the means of rescuing benighted Africa from eternal perdition. Many black churchmen mouthed similar sentiments, and although some of them may have unwittingly or otherwise adopted the patronising language of their white counterparts, there was nevertheless a very genuine and fairly widespread sense of obligation to Africa, still often referred to as the fatherland, though the now more fashionable term of motherland also enjoyed currency.

The flavor of these sentiments can be garnered from a sampling of the statements of leading Afro-American churchmen of the period. Bishop Henry M. Turner of the AME Church, for example, a leading nationalist of the period who was subsequently invited to (but could not attend) the first Pan-African Conference in London in 1900, in 1895 expressed such sentiments in a heavy flood of melodramatic rhetoric:

*...I believe that the Negro was brought to this country in the providence of God to a heaven -- permitted if not a divine -- sanctioned manual laboring school, that he might have direct contact with the mightiest race that ever trod the face of the globe. (6)*

Turner was the direct ideological forbear of Marcus Garvey and, like Garvey, in whom his thought found its highest expression, he used this hyperbolic introduction to lead up to the con-

clusion that "There is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro" (7).

And AME Bishop William H. Heard expressed a familiar sentiment when he landed not long afterwards in Freetown, Sierra Leone, together with Bishop Turner:

*As we reached this African town of forty thousand inhabitants and less than one fourth of them civilised, we felt good, for here we met our people. Up to this time we had been with the other race, which was not very customary to us. (8)*

And the Reverend Charles S. Morris of the Negro Baptists, who is thought to have accompanied the Nyasaland anti-colonialist hero, John Chilembwe back to Africa in 1900 (9), said in that same year:

*So, when I see the negroes of our Southern States; people who came here naked savages...and who, today, are four millions in number, redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled, I believe that God is going to put it into the hearts of these black boys and girls...(to) vindicate American slavery as far as it can be vindicated.(10)*

The feeling of moral obligation was not the only argument advanced by Afro-American missionaries and those white churchmen who shared their views or considered it expedient to pay lip-service to the idea. Some voiced the opinion that black Americans were more immune to African fevers. Whatever may have been the biological merits or otherwise of this argument, it did have at least a superficial historical validity, since there were well-known cases which seemed to prove the point.

Liberia in 1821 had fallen under the virtual governorship of a black emigrant churchman, the Reverend Daniel Coker of the AME Church, after the white administrators had succumbed. The same had happened in the 1850's in the Rio Pongos mission where the West Indian J.H.A. Duport assumed control under similar circumstances. It had happened elsewhere.

Another argument advanced may have significantly influenced white missionary attitudes of hostility towards their Afro-American counterparts. The Reverend Charles S. Morris put it this way at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in 1900:

*Within twelve miles of Lovedale I saw an American negro, who, last year, baptized some three hundred people in that country. And as I sat in his house the native men and women came and squatted on the floor and perched on the trunks and chairs, and there was such a freedom and*

*a lack of formality as would be impossible in the house of any other missionary than a black man. Night came on...this missionary's little daughter slept in the middle and those two heathen girls on either side. That would be impossible to any other missionary than a black man. (12)*

This type of situation led inevitably to charges of "sheep stealing" when Africans deserted white churches in favor of their Afro-American brothers. And it does not take much imagination to conclude that Afro-American missionaries would join with Africans in protesting the intrusions of racial discrimination into white churches. Morris himself continued the passage quoted above with a spirited defense of Ethiopianism and a catalogue of ills communicated to him by African Christians -- being refused communion when white visitors were in the church; being served meals in the white missionaries' kitchens, and the like (12).

Equally enthusiastic, and indeed oftentimes more so than Afro-Americans over this evangelical Pan-Africanism, were many white missionaries. Their actions sometimes belied their words but of lip-service to the cause there was never a deficit. Which is not to say that it was all lip-service. There were obviously white missionaries who were genuine. Some of these made tangible earnestness of their genuineness. But as so often happens, these "liberals" were not the ones whose counsels were sought by the wielders of power. On occasion, if they were radical enough, they might even be mentioned unfavorably in colonial despatches or excluded or deported from territories

The most illustrious personage in this category during the period under consideration was undoubtedly Joseph Booth who, in his lengthy career in South and Central Africa, achieved the whole gamut of radical distinctions save only that of martyrdom *a la* John Brown. That supreme proof of radicalism was reserved for his first African convert, John Chilembwe, for whose Afro-American education, connections, assistance and ideological affinity Booth could justly take credit. Chilembwe "went down", to use the picturesque euphemism of his biographers (13), together with a few dozen of his supporters in 1915, to give Africa yet another example of the truism that the voracious appetite of freedom will be assuaged only by the tragic immolation of Africa's noblest sons and daughters.

Though Chilembwe had drawn away from Booth after coming into contact with Afro-Americans, Booth seems never to have given up his vision of a large-scale Afro-American effort in Africa, and advocated the settlement of New World Africans

in the motherland (14).

The similarity of the sentiments expressed by white missionaries and others to those of Afro-American churchmen can be seen from the following quotation delivered by a white minister at the Congress on Africa held in Atlanta, Georgia in 1895: *The industrial, intellectual, moral and spiritual progress of the colored people in America is a prophecy... of what the native African is capable of becoming* (15). This sentence came to round off an explanation of the work of the white-run Stewart Missionary Foundation which propagandized black people, including school children in the South, concerning the desirability of serving in Africa.

Even the Governor of Georgia got into the act during this conference and piously declared:

*A mysterious Providence has been over us. Slavery cannot be justified. But may not God have intended that you, who are the descendants of those whom slavery brought to this country, should pray and work for the redemption of your fatherland?* (16)

History fails to enlighten us on whether these remarks were delivered tongue in cheek.

For many white missionaries and governmental officials, both in Britain and the United States, this desire for evangelical Pan-Africanism was only one aspect of a larger concern. For in the last decade of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries British government officials and missionaries were still in the initial stages of formulating educational and administrative policies for the effective rule over their "new-caught, sullen peoples", as the poet Rudyard Kipling had characterized African (and presumably other) newly-conquered subjects of the empire on which the sun never set.

The inhabitants of these countries had recently undergone painful and brutalizing experiences which did not unduly endear them to the white man. They were largely illiterate and innocent of Western ways. In a word, they were not unlike their brothers in the United States at the time of the emancipation of the slaves in the 1860's. And in the latter place, a tremendous job had been done in neutralizing the hate which was to be expected from persons who had recently emerged from the most horrible episode in human history.

Maybe it was like General Smuts, the South African "Liberal" statesman averred a few decades later, during a speech

in the United States, namely that next to the jackass, no animal approached the Negro in his boundless capacity for patience (17). But for the European observer it seemed that there might be other lessons to be learned. Not the least important of these was the providing of a "suitable" type of education. And since "native education" was the specialty of missionaries, God and Caesar not unnaturally put their heads together on this problem. This cooperation was not, of course, a new phenomenon. Whatever the controversy over the existence of an identity of interests between missionaries and conquerors in Africa, the fact can hardly be denied that, whether by accident or design, the two more often than not found their paths converging, or deliberately or unwittingly facilitated each other's activities. Very often it was the missionaries, sometimes doubling as explorers, who preceded the armies and settlers. The cases of people like Livingstone and Moffat in Central Africa and the countless mission stations that preceded effective conquest in West Africa would be examples. Sometimes, though, it was the warrior who cleared the path for the missionary. Cecil Rhodes, for example, was so anxious to have his occupation of Mashonaland in 1890 followed up by missionary activity that he offered a grant of land to the American Board, a missionary society, by way of inducement. (18)

Meanwhile, what of the Africans? The advantages of black missionaries from the African point of view have already been hinted at. And the general response of Africans to the idea of black assistance may be fairly described as enthusiastic. African nationalists of this period were not loath to admit the educational and technological shortcomings of their people. They had no illusions about coming to grips with the twentieth century. But there was a widespread feeling that if the required help could come from their own kind, it would be less likely to be accompanied by the violence and pain which had marked the descent of European imperialism onto the continent in the late nineteenth century.

As the AME Bishop to South Africa during the first few years of this century movingly expressed it when answering the charge of "sheep stealing" from the flocks of white pastors, *...they felt to be coming to their own, and for more reasons than is necessary for me to here name.* (19)

Indeed the African reaction was a de facto approval of the argument which had moved New World Africans for so long, namely the special responsibility of those who had come into contact with Western technology and material progress to impart this knowledge to their own. And the white man was seen, in this context, as a barrier to this return of the long-lost New World Africans. In 1929, for example, Jeremiah Gondwe,

a Nyasaland nationalist preacher, explained to "discontented" Africans sentiments which are often echoed today:

*Some of them (whites) have returned to our elder brothers (Afro-Americans) and told them that we are monkeys and have tails. Our elder brothers have made aeroplanes and have come to see if the white people are telling the truth. (20)*

Such racial affinity had its more bizarre moments as when a black Congo missionary is supposed to have had his life spared in the Congo because his would-be executioners purportedly believed that he was the reincarnation of a legendary chief (21).

As a concomitant of all this, education in black colleges in the American South became a desirable goal for African students and such graduates of Southern colleges provided the leadership for many of the nationalist "Ethiopian" churches that spread throughout South and Central Africa in this period.

Established Afro-American organizations like the AME Church and the National Baptist Convention (which sponsored Chiblembwe) were in the forefront of evangelical Pan-African activity in Southern and Central Africa. But African enthusiasm also embraced in very large measure the omnipresent philosophy of Marcus Garvey, Provisional President of Africa and most successful Pan-Africanist of all time. A Harlem banner had proclaimed, during Garvey's incarceration in the United States, that "Garvey is in Jail, but Garveyism is Abroad". In the 1920's, Garvey and his emissaries and publications were resolutely denied entry into British-occupied Africa, but his influence and ideas were nevertheless abroad.

Though much of Garvey's influence was secular, the religious aspects of his Universal Negro Improvement Association (as exemplified in his African Orthodox Church) were not lost on "Ethiopian" adherents. One such South African organization, the Afro-Athlican Constructive Church, paid homage to Garvey in its credo: *We believe in one God, Maker of all things, Father of Ethiopia...who did Athlyi, Marcus Garvey and colleagues come to save? The down-trodden children of Ethiopia that they might rise to be a great power among the nations. (22)*

Evangelical Pan-Africanism had therefore found favor with New World black people, Africans, and an apparently large number of white missionaries. There was one fundamental consideration, however, which materially affected the situation. Africa might be black and New World Africans might be black, but the governors of Africa were white, a circumstance which had elicited

Marcus Garvey's rhetorical lament -- where is the Blackman's country? Where is his government?

And in the councils of white governments sat white missionaries, who, for all the lip-service which some of them may have paid to the desirability of black missionaries, had very definite ideas concerning the type of black persons who must be admitted to Africa. The machinations of these governments could keep Marcus Garvey out of even the nominally independent black republic of Liberia. Nor would Garvey have been successful in non-English-speaking Africa, for his works had been banned in such places as Dahomey, where his followers had staged an abortive rebellion, and in the Congo under Belgian rule black missionaries had been blamed for encouraging the "problem" of Kimbanguism (so-called after Simon Kimbangu, a nationalist preacher), by distributing Garvey's paper, the *Negro World*. (23)

The reluctance to allow unrestrained entry of black missionaries into Africa was of respectable vintage. One of the earliest cases had been that of the celebrated Olaudah Equiano, the ex-slave who became England's foremost black abolitionist. In 1779, at the suggestion and with the backing of his influential English friends, he applied to the "Right Reverend Father in God, Robert, Lord Bishop of London" to be allowed to carry the message of the Scriptures to the people from whom he sprang, and whom he knew well. Equiano described the result of his audience with the reverend gentleman:

*He received me with much condescension and politeness; but from certain scruples of delicacy, and saying the Bishops were not of the opinion of sending a new missionary to Africa, he decided not to ordain me.* (24)

With the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies and the resultant upsurge of interest, the pattern of discreetly screening or discouraging black applicants seems to have taken on all the characteristics which were to attract greater attention in the twentieth century.

Thus, in 1840 the British home committee of the Baptist Missionary Society vetoed the plea of their representative in Jamaica, William Knibb, that Jamaicans, who had been clamoring for an opportunity and donating large sums for missionary activity, be sent to Africa. His persistence later succeeded. In the following year, 1841, the Scottish parent body of the United Presbyterian Church, facing similar enthusiasm, refused to approve a scheme to settle Jamaican Christian families in West Africa. Three years later, in 1844, the body approved of the scheme, this time with white persons instead. The white

families were allowed to take along two West Indians on probation. Their stay was to be extended only if they proved amenable to their white superiors. Parallel pressures against sending West Indians to Africa at this time also came from the planter class, who feared a shrinkage in their labor force.

The policy then, as later, was to refrain from allowing indiscriminate entry to New World black people. When they were allowed in they were to go as subordinates, on probation, and only after such time as they had shown themselves to be what the colonial ecclesiastical and governmental authorities considered the right caliber.

The English Archdeacon Holkerton of the West Indian island of Antigua expressed this idea clearly in 1839: *when you forward them (black missionaries) from England, send as their superintendant, one of ourselves, a minister who shall direct their energies, bear with their weaknesses,...* Four years later, we are informed, this gentleman had become opposed to West Indian missionaries under any circumstances (25).

Meanwhile, the same process was discernible in the United States. In 1825, for example, the American Board of Commissioners appointed a black Presbyterian to Liberia. The project was dropped "for some unspecified reason". Eight years later the project was consummated, this time with a white missionary couple instead. A year later, a black female teacher-assistant was added (26). In 1887, an Afro-American graduate of Hampton and Tuscaloosa Theological Institute applied to his church, the Southern Presbyterians, for missionary work in Africa. He was refused. In 1890 a white volunteer came forward. So the church sent them both (27).

By the turn of the twentieth century, with Afro-American missionaries implicated in "Ethiopianist" activities all over South and Central Africa, the century-old conditions for the entry of black missionaries were re-stated several times, but never so clearly as at an international conference of missionaries concerned with Africa, held at Le Zoute, Belgium in 1926. The relevant resolutions passed by this conference are so remarkable that they must be quoted in full.

#### American Negroes and Africa

##### *1. Findings as to Facts*

*(a) There are no legislative restrictions specifically directed against the American Negro, but most African Governments are opposed to, or place difficulties in the way of, the sending of American Negroes to Africa.*

##### *2. Opposition to the sending of American Negroes to Africa*

is due mainly to these factors:

(a) The unrest caused by certain movements believed to be dangerous to order and government and to be encouraged from America.

(b) The antagonism to Government in past years of certain American Negroes in Africa resulting in serious disturbances in some cases.

(c) The failure of certain American Negroes in Africa in past years.

3. Owing to the effect of one or more of the reasons above-named, most African missionaries consulted do not think the present time auspicious for pressing upon Government such a general change in policy as would mean the sending of a large number of American Negroes to Africa in the immediate future, although strongly believing that efforts should be made to increase gradually the number of such missionaries.

4. There are at present working in various parts of Africa American Negroes of the highest characters and great usefulness, whose fine spirit and devoted work will in the course of a few years greatly increase the respect in which American Negro missionaries are held, and make easier the securing of permission for the entrance of additional missionaries.

5. There is a natural and laudable desire on the part of a large number of American missionary societies, both white and Negro, to send additional American Negroes as missionaries to Africa -- thereby giving the educated Negro an outlet for his zeal to render unselfish service, and aiding in a natural and important way the cause of African evangelization, education and general welfare.

## 2. Recommendations

In view of the above findings the Conference adopts the following resolutions:

1. That the Negroes of America should be permitted by Governments, and encouraged by missionary societies, to play an important part in the evangelization, medical service and education of Africa, and that the number of their missionaries should be increased as qualified candidates are available for needed work, and as their representatives already in the field still further succeed in gaining for their people and their societies that public confidence which is essential.

2. That every practical form of assistance should be given in the spirit of Christian fellowship, as to colleagues of the same missionary status, by white

*missionaries to qualified American Negroes working in Africa, and that the same spirit of co-operation should be expected by white missionaries from American Negro missionaries.*

*3. That Governments should be supported in requiring that American Negroes wishing to enter Africa for missionary purposes should go out under the auspices of responsible societies of recognized and well-established standing; and that owing to the difficult and delicate inter-racial situation in Africa, exceptional care should be used in the selection of men and women of strength of character and a fine spirit of co-operation able to meet the same tests as white missionaries.*

*4. That in the interest of comity and co-operation American Negro missionary societies not now represented in Africa should work as far as possible through well-established societies already in Africa, and that, in accordance with the general rules of missionary procedure, they should give special attention to unevangelized districts.*

*5. That when missionary societies of established reputation are unable to secure the admission of American Negroes needed for important work and qualified to perform it, the matter may properly be taken up with the International Missionary Council for the use of its friendly offices.*

*6. In adopting these resolutions the Conference recognizes that the above recommendations are not ideal or a complete solution of the problem under consideration, but believes that they represent the "next steps" which may be wisely taken, and that they should, in the providence of God, gradually bring about a highly significant and important contribution by the Negroes of America to their distant kindred in Africa. (28)*

This resolution had come about as a result of a plea to the conference by Dr. John Hope, President of Morehouse College in Atlanta. Dr. Hope pointed out that five hundred black graduates a year were being turned out by Southern colleges and that "those who have a desire to give service to Africa ought to be given a chance" (29). This was, then, a genteel plea for a relaxation of missionary discrimination.

It is clear from the resolution with its reference to a gradual relaxation "as qualified persons are available" that Dr. Hope was firmly rebuffed.

However diplomatic and restrained the language of the "findings as to facts" and accompanying resolution, one thing

is exceedingly plain. That is, that despite the subtle attempt to pass the buck to governments, this was no pious entreaty from a bunch of holy but impotent churchmen. There is, in this document, a certain authority, a certain self-assurance which suggests that the drafters of this document had every reason to believe that they were formulating policy which would be respected by their governments.

The personnel of the committee which drew up the document bears this out (30). It was a large committee, and included the most high-powered politico-missionary personalities in the Western World. This says something for the importance which Christendom attached to the Afro-American missionary question. The chairman was Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which in almost two decades had established itself as an international authority on "Negro Education" in the United States and Africa. It had played a large role in internationalizing the Christian industrial education for black people popularized in Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in the American South. And so great was the Fund's international reputation that it had been commissioned by the British government to participate in educational commissions to Africa.

Also in the committee was Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, executive director of the Fund and, in the eyes of Western governments, the foremost authority on educational and philanthropic matters concerning black people in the United States. Jones, a few years earlier, had had occasion to defend himself against those who attacked "home missions" on the "ground of the supposed blindness of missions to the right of Negro self-determination and self-expression" (31).

The committee included, too, Dr. C.T. Loram, who had been commissioned by the South African government to survey African education in that country.

Most illustrious perhaps, was none other than Sir Frederick Lugard, British imperialist extraordinary, subjugator of Uganda, creator and first Governor-General of Nigeria, and apologist of the "dual mandate" concept adopted as a creed by the British Colonial Office.

The committee included too, J.H. Oldham, a sort of British equivalent of T. Jesse Jones, and editor of the influential *International Review of Missions*, in which all the big names, including Booker T. Washington, had published.

Jones and Oldham sat together on a British Government clearing-house committee financed partly by the Phelps-Stokes and Rockefeller Funds which sent hundreds of missionaries

working in Africa to the Southern United States for first-hand experience of "Negro Education" (32), even as they thwarted the attempts of Afro-American missionaries to enter Africa.

Also on the committee were at least two Afro-Americans in the persons of Dr. John Hope and Mr. Max Yergan, a well-known missionary. The study of the conference does not indicate what their attitude to the final report was, or whether there had been any dissenting voices. In any case, they were vastly outnumbered. Yergan's presence on the committee is particularly interesting, since an international storm had arisen five years earlier over his exclusion from South Africa, due to the machinations of none other than T. Jesse Jones himself (33).

So, at a time when the Pan-Africanism of Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois was running high, a group of high-powered white politico-missionaries was able to sit down and calmly determine the conditions under which the potentially significant contributions of an important sector of the Afro-American population would be maintained at a tractable trickle.

This, then, was the stark political reality. The ancient Pan-Africanist sentiments of Afro-Americans; the enthusiasm of large numbers of Africans; the support of sympathetic white missionaries; the lip-service of less sincere white churchmen; all spoke to the question of who loved Africa. But the real world answered with another question -- that of who ruled Africa.

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#### Footnotes

1. Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, quoted in Lewis Hanke, ed., *History of Latin American Civilization*, Vol. II (Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1967) p. 160.
2. C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. II, 1840-1870* (London, Lutterworth, 1964) p. 24 ff; A. Barrow, *Fifty Years in Western Africa: being a record of the West Indian Church on the Banks of Rio Pongo* (London, 1900).
3. C.P. Groves, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
4. Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa*, (New York, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922) p. 166.
5. Black churchmen were sometimes appointed to diplomatic positions in Liberia by the U.S. government. During the 1890's for example (1895 to 1899) a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was U.S. Consul General to

- Liberia. See William H. Heard, *From Slavery to the Bishopric in the A.M.E. Church*, (Philadelphia, AME, 1924) p.48.
6. The Rev. Bishop H.M. Turner, DD, "Essay: The American Negro and the Fatherland", in J.W.E. Bowen, DD, ed., *Africa and the American Negro: Addresses and Proceedings of the Congress on Africa, Held under the Auspices of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa of Gammon Theological Seminary in Connection with the Cotton States and International Exposition, December 13-15, 1895* (Miami, Mnemosyne Publishers Inc., 1969, first published 1896) p. 195.
  7. *ibid.*
  8. Heard, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.
  9. The date may be incorrect. See George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African* (Edinburgh, The University Press, 1958) p. 454, n. 1.
  10. Rev. Charles S. Morris, *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Vol. I* (New York, 1900) p. 471.
  11. *ibid.*, p. 470.
  12. *ibid.*, pp. 469, 470.
  13. Shepperson and Price, *op. cit.* They also deal extensively with Joseph Booth's career.
  14. *ibid.*, *passim*.
  15. Professor E.L. Parks, DD, "The Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa and the Purpose of the Congress", in J.W.E. Bowen, ed., *Africa and the American Negro, op. cit.* p. 10.
  16. His Excellency, The Honorable W.Y. Atkinson, "Address of Welcome", *Africa and the American Negro, op. cit.*, p. 15.
  17. *New York Times*, January 10, 1930, p. 2.
  18. Clarence Clenenden, Robert Collins and Peter Duignan, *Americans in Africa, 1865-1900* (Stanford University, 1966) p.63.
  19. L.J. Coppin, *Unwritten History* (Philadelphia, AME, 1919) p. 314.
  20. Quoted in Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967) p. 140.
  21. *Americans in Africa, op. cit.*, p. 63.
  22. Quoted in Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London, OUP, 1961) p. 58.
  23. Jabez Ayodele Langley, "Garveyism and African Nationalism", *Race*, XI, 2 (October, 1969) p. 169.
  24. *The Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, in Arna Bontemps, *Great Slave Narratives* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1969) pp. 177-179.
  25. C.P. Groves, *op. cit.*, p. 27; for other references to the West Indies, see *ibid.*, pp. 24-39.
  26. Clarence Clenenden *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68.
  27. *ibid.*, p. 63.
  28. Edwin W. Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa, A Study Based on the Work of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1928* (London,

- International Missionary Council, 1926) pp. 122-124.
29. *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
  30. *ibid.*, p. 176.
  31. T. Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa* (New York, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922) p. 88.
  32. For a detailed treatment of this subject see K.J. King, "Africa and the Southern States of the USA", *Journal of African History*, X, 4 (1969).
  33. Excellently documented in K.J. King, "The American Negro as Missionary to East Africa", *African Historical Studies*, III, 1 (1970).

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