

12-28-2023

## Race, Place, and Religion: African American Missionaries in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Kevin D. Hicks

University of Windsor, hicks11a@uwindsor.ca

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/gljuh>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [African History Commons](#), [History of Religion Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Hicks, Kevin D. (2023) "Race, Place, and Religion: African American Missionaries in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *The Great Lakes Journal of Undergraduate History*. Vol. 9: Iss. 1, Article 2. Available at: <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/gljuh/vol9/iss1/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Undergraduate History Collections at Scholarship at UWindsor. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Great Lakes Journal of Undergraduate History by an authorized editor of Scholarship at UWindsor. For more information, please contact [scholarship@uwindsor.ca](mailto:scholarship@uwindsor.ca).

## Abstract

This paper attempts to provide a more complete analysis of the various conceptions of race and identity held by African American missionaries working in Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While some attention has been paid to African American missionaries working in Africa at this time, little has been written about how their different theological beliefs impacted their conceptions of race and identity as it relates to the local African populations they encountered. It can be determined that there were distinct links between the different theological beliefs held by African American missionaries working in Africa at this time and their conceptions of race. For example, evangelical African American missionaries more often associated themselves with a Pan-African identity than non-evangelical ones. Alongside this, their theological understandings of the Back-to-Africa Movement were quite different depending on where they worked in Africa and it impacted how they viewed themselves in association with the local African populations they encountered. Finally, different conceptions of race and identity manifested themselves along eschatological lines. Although these missionaries' conceptions of race have already been analyzed, the connection to their theological beliefs and how it influenced their conceptions of race is relatively unexplored.

Psalm 68:31, “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.” For as long as people of African descent have been in the Americas there has been a connection between themselves and a lost homeland. This was especially prevalent in the United States among Black enslaved individuals who began to conceptualize their identities around a common racial heritage based in the space of Africa. Black identities in the United States developed from this and shaped their experiences with Christianity and interpretations of its scriptures.<sup>1</sup> In the context of Psalm 68:31, many African American missionaries entertained the idea that it was their responsibility to evangelize their African brethren. Of course, this view was not accepted by all African Americans who conceptualized their identity, its connection to Christianity, and its link to Africa, as separate factors requiring different perceptions of space.

When looking at the history of African American Christianity, it is impossible to separate it from the structural influences of institutionalized slavery. It can be argued that this is especially significant for those who became missionaries, as many were recently freed people or their direct descendants. That being said, unlike in Latin America, Christianity was not usually forced upon the enslaved population in the area that would become the United States.<sup>2</sup> This was the case as many of these enslavers felt that the enslaved people would be unable to discern the difference between spiritual and temporal equality, which would encourage dissent and potential revolts. Their reasoning behind this is that if enslaved people had spiritual equality with their enslavers, the temporal framework of slavery would hold little justification against a divinely established social structure based on the idea that all are equal before God.

Despite the wishes of many of these enslavers, missionaries started converting the enslaved population of what would eventually become the United States during the mid-sixteenth century. Many enslaved people saw Christianity as a means of freedom as it was more difficult for the Euro-American population to justify the enslavement of a fellow Christian. Others saw parallels between their experience as enslaved people and the Exodus story of the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup> This changed with the First Great Awakening in the early eighteenth century and the Second Great Awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These periods of Protestant multid denominational religious revivals swept the United States and are notable as they actively encouraged the evangelization of all peoples regardless of their race.<sup>4</sup> The Great Awakenings, and evangelical Christianity as a whole, were also significant in that they deemphasized learning in favor of personal experience as a prerequisite for being a good Christian, which helped encourage African American conversion as the vast majority were illiterate at this time.<sup>5</sup> In turn, this led to the first small-scale missionary activities by African Americans proselytizing

---

<sup>1</sup> David Killingray, “The Black Atlantic Missionary Movement and Africa, 1780s-1920s,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33, no. 1 (2003), 6.

<sup>2</sup> James T. Campbell, *Songs of Zion : the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the Great Awakenings and how they are related to slavery, please see Allan Gallay, “The Origins of Slaveholders’ Paternalism: George Whitefield, the Bryan Family, and the Great Awakening in the South,” *The Journal of Southern History* 53, no. 3 (1987), 374.

<sup>5</sup> Albert J. Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), 21.

predominantly in the Caribbean.<sup>6</sup> Developing alongside missionary activities were some of the earliest independent African American churches. These were, for the most part, protestant, evangelical, and included many traditions similar to those their ancestors had in Africa.<sup>7</sup> A key impact of these churches is that they would act as loci of Black identity and influence African American understandings of race and culture as it is related to Christianity.<sup>8</sup> This conception of race and racial identity would then be influenced by interactions between African American missionaries and the local African populations they encountered on the continent of Africa.

Regarding the missionaries themselves, they came from a variety of theological traditions. Of these, the most prominent were often Reformed, in the case of Presbyterians, or Wesleyan-Arminian in the case of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC). Alongside those groups was a significant Baptist presence though they mainly focused on evangelizing other African Americans in the United States and Liberia rather than Africa as a whole. One denomination which few African American missionaries came from was the Roman Catholic Church. Aside from limiting the evangelical aspects of religious practice, something quite common in African American Christianity, its centralized hierarchical structure hindered the development of independent Black churches.<sup>9</sup> This, alongside an exclusive priesthood, meant that the vast majority of African Americans would not convert to Roman Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> The impact of this is that there were never any significant Roman Catholic African American missionaries to Africa that shaped the emerging discourse of race and identity. With that being stated, missionaries from protestant denominations would not only endeavor to bring their understanding of religion to Africa but also their understandings of race and identity.

It can be demonstrated that African American missionaries operating in Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries held varied conceptions of race and identity in relation to the local African populations they were intent on evangelizing. These positions are roughly divided into those who believed in a greater pan-African identity, and those who separated themselves from the local African populations they encountered. Within that context, this separation develops from the different theological beliefs of African American missionaries during this time.

As a whole, there have been extensive studies on the pan-African identities held by some African American missionaries operating in Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What has not been studied is the connection of specific theological beliefs as a deciding factor in developing conceptions of race and identity among these African American missionaries. That being stated, James T. Campbell has provided an in-depth analysis of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and its trans-Atlantic connection to identity formation among native Africans and African Americans. He does so through an explanation of some of the church politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, alongside some theological connections. This analysis of Methodist missionaries is further developed by Eunjin

---

<sup>6</sup> Killingray, "The Black Atlantic Missionary," 4.

<sup>7</sup> Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones*, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson J. Moses, "Civilizing Missionary: A Study of Alexander Crummell," *The Journal of Negro History* 60, no. 2 (1975), 235.

<sup>9</sup> Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones*, 122.

<sup>10</sup> Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones*, 122.

Park who looks at the motivations behind African American missionaries and how that could be influenced by their theological education. Although not a historian, Adam Hochschild provides an exceptional amount of clarity on the actions of missionaries who worked in the Congo Basin at this time. To be specific, he argues that some of the missionaries' upbringings were not as relevant for their theological understandings of race and identity. Contrasting this is Wallace Short who claims that an analysis of upbringings is essential for understanding the minds of missionaries. Although there may already be a robust historiography on this subject, there is a significant lack of analysis on those missionaries who do not adhere to pan-African conceptions of race and identity. This paper will endeavor to examine their positions in opposition to the larger pan-African majority by emphasizing the roles that different aspects of theology play in developing these understandings.

There are multiple ways to look at how the different theological beliefs of African American missionaries impacted their conceptions of race and identity as it is related to the native African populations they encountered. The first way these manifested themselves is through the differences held between those who subscribed to evangelical traditions, compared to those who did not. The significance of this is that most evangelical African Americans were more in favor of a pan-African identity due to perceived scriptural connections with certain aspects of the Bible. The second way these theological beliefs influenced missionaries was through their religious understandings of the Back-to-Africa Movement in relation to geographic space and control.<sup>11</sup> This is important for examining the broader understandings of race and identity among African Americans, at the time, as many in the Back-to-Africa Movement separated their identity from the local Africans who they encountered in what would become Liberia and Sierra Leone. This is contrasted by missionaries outside the Back-to-Africa Movement, who operated in other parts of Africa, as they more often developed a sense of common identity with the local population. Finally, missionaries' conceptions of race and identity were influenced by their positions on how a person can achieve salvation and who can be saved. The importance of this for understanding the conceptions of race and identity of African American missionaries at this time is that these questions can provide insights into the motivation behind their proselytization and how it was connected to ideas of race and salvation.

### **Evangelical vs Non-Evangelical**

A rather curious divide that can be found among African American missionaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is how evangelical they were and how that impacted their conceptions of race and identity as it related to the African populations they encountered. While nearly all African Americans wanted to make some connection with Africa, there were disagreements as to their connections to the native African populations. This split primarily manifested itself in a divide between missionaries who subscribed to evangelical denominations, and those who did not. Aside from other theological considerations, in this context, evangelical denominations were defined by their emphasis on egalitarian interaction between various

---

<sup>11</sup> For a more in depth understanding of the motivations behind the Back-to-Africa Movement, please read: David Jenkins, *Black Zion: The Return of Afro-Americans and West Indians to Africa* (London: Wildwood House, 1975), 41-43.

peoples, a born-again experience, and biblical inerrancy.<sup>12</sup> A good example of how evangelical African American missionaries perceived race and identity would be Henry McNeal Turner. To be specific, Turner drew from a preexisting Exodus connection held by many African Americans of the time and expanded on it. This is to say that many educated African Americans believed that there was a certain commonality between themselves in the United States and Jewish individuals during their time in Egypt, as they were both enslaved and that they had a divinely ordained greater future. Building on this, Turner argued that God had permitted the enslavement of African Americans so they would return to Africa with the gifts of Christian civilization.<sup>13</sup> In this way, he perceived Africa as the spiritual heartland of the African American people as it was their place of origin and the eventual destination that they would return to.<sup>14</sup> The impact of this rationale is that there was the development of a pan-African cultural identity among more evangelical missionaries as they could see the direct connection between race, identity, and scripture.

As the vast majority of African Americans in the United States belonged to evangelical denominations at this time, there were few cases of missionaries who were not especially evangelical. That being stated, a good example would be the Blessed Mothers, an African American women's missionary organization. They are especially notable as they were made up of missionaries from multiple denominations, many of whom were not evangelical.<sup>15</sup> Alongside this, they promoted overlooking traditionally evangelical ideas such as biblical inerrancy by tolerating some aspects of West African cultures, such as polygamy, that could go against scripture.<sup>16</sup> This was built into their broader idea that if you convert women and children while allowing for religious syncretism, the population would become more Christian over time. Their reasoning behind this is that a converted Christian mother would "set the tone for the family" and "influence the husband and children to become good citizens and Christians."<sup>17</sup> Aside from that, these missionaries' racial identities were separate from the people they were preaching to. The reason behind this is that, unlike more evangelical missionaries, they were less focused on replacing African cultures and religious traditions, rather, they wished to reform their culture to be more Christian. In this vein, they saw themselves as the liberators and protectors of women and African independence from outside control.<sup>18</sup> This sets them apart from their more evangelical brethren as they acknowledged that there were valuable African identities who were separate from the pan-African identity that was being promoted by many evangelical missionaries.

---

<sup>12</sup> Dennis C. Dickerson, "Liberation, Wesleyan Theology and Early African Methodism, 1766-1840," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 3 (2011), 110.

<sup>13</sup> Paul W. Harris, "Racial Identity and the Civilizing Mission: Double-Consciousness at the 1895 Congress on Africa," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 18, No. 2 (2008), 159.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Ellingsen, "Changes in African American Mission: Rediscovering African Roots," *International bulletin of mission research* 36, no. 3 (2012), 137.

<sup>15</sup> Fabian Tah Tata, "The Blessed Mothers: African-American Missionary Women in English-Speaking Colonial Africa, 1850–1950. their History, their Work and their Impact," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 2000), 121.

<sup>16</sup> Tata, "The Blessed Mothers," 322.

<sup>17</sup> Tata, "The Blessed Mothers," 162.

<sup>18</sup> Tata, "The Blessed Mothers," 466.

## Repatriation Colonies vs. the Rest of Africa

One of the key differences in how African Americans perceived race and identity would be the way they viewed the Back-to-Africa Movement in relation to space. At this time, the majority of African American missionaries, in some ways, believed in the Back-to-Africa Movement. Broadly defined, this movement is based on the idea that African Americans had been torn from their homeland of Africa and have a common identity with that space and, at times, its inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> Of course, this manifests itself in different ways, as while all African American missionaries believed that they should evangelize the native Africans, they disagreed as to how this should be done.

The more commonly researched African American missionaries who were involved in the Back-to-Africa Movement were mostly the ones who operated in Liberia and, to a lesser extent, Sierra Leone. The main reason behind this is that there are more records of missionary interactions in these spaces than in the rest of Africa due to state and community organizations, such as the American Colonization Society, which allowed for more missionaries to go to these locations alongside repatriated enslaved peoples.<sup>20</sup> One of the more prominent missionaries of this time who operated within these spaces was Alexander Crummell, a Priest in the Episcopal Church. Notable about him and others who operated in these spaces were that they distanced themselves, based on conceptualizations of race and identity, from the native African people they were interacting with. This mainly manifests through Crummell's perception of the African people he encounters and how he classified them as the 'other.' In his address before the American Geographical Society in 1877, he stated that "And here I beg to remark that, whether you are a missionary or merely a civilized man, the first thing in entering Africa is to remember that there are *two* factors to be regarded in carrying on your work. *One* is to know what *you*, the civilized man, can contribute to the work; the *other*, what is the contribution the native man can make."<sup>21</sup> What Crummell means by this is that regardless of the race of the missionary, they should separate their identity from the native populations that they encountered.

When looking at the role of the local African population, Crummell believed that they should be controlled by outside groups as they were perceived to be too greedy, unintelligent, and inefficient.<sup>22</sup> Notable about this is that Crummell racially separates African Americans from this as they had been elevated through what he considered to be Anglo-Christian values. While this position was considered normal among African American missionaries of the time, Crummell and others in Liberia and Sierra Leone felt that the native populations should set aside most, if not all, of their traditional cultural practices in favor of being forcibly 'civilized' by an African American ruling elite until such time that they reached a similar level of 'civilization.'<sup>23</sup> In this context, it must be reiterated that this model of civilization was one based on an Anglo-Christian identity. Using Alexander Crummell as an example, his ideas can demonstrate that the

---

<sup>19</sup> Killingray, "The Black Atlantic Missionary," 6.

<sup>20</sup> Eunjin Park, "Black and White American Methodist Missionaries in Liberia, 1820-1875," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, NY, 1999), 24

<sup>21</sup> Alexander Crummell, "Address before the American Geographical Society," in *African and America: Addresses and Discourses* (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc, 1969), 316.

<sup>22</sup> Crummell, "Address before the American Geographical Society," 319.

<sup>23</sup> Moses, "Civilizing Missionary," 240.

conception of race and identity for those African American missionaries operating in Liberia and Sierra Leone was one that separated themselves from the local African population on a fundamental level as they had not immediately adopted the trappings of Anglo-Christian ‘civilization.’

Looking at other spaces, such as the Congo Basin, it can be demonstrated that differing conceptions of race and identity were exhibited. For example, there is the case of the African American Baptist missionary and historian, George Washington Williams. In his book *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880*, he noted that “The Negro of this country can turn to his Saxon brothers and say, as Joseph said to his brethren who wickedly sold him ‘As for you, ye meant it unto evil but God meant it unto good; that we, after learning your arts and sciences, might return to Egypt and deliver the rest of our brethren who are yet in the house of bondage.’”<sup>24</sup> In this, he already establishes a common identity between African Americans and native Africans by acknowledging that although he has adopted distinctly non-African culture, ideas, and religion, he still sees the native Africans as his brethren rather than as the other. Alongside this, he affirms that although the native Africans should take upon themselves aspects of Anglo-Christian ‘civilization,’ they should do so under their own political autonomy rather than being led by Europeans or African Americans.<sup>25</sup> While this does somewhat separate him from the native African populations, he still affirms that there is a common pan-African identity that African Americans were separate from. That aside, he did believe that this identity could be recreated through the spiritual education of native Africans.

Further afield were the African American missionaries proselytizing in Southern Africa. When compared to other African American missionaries, those operating in this space were the most steadfast in their belief in a pan-African identity as they viewed themselves and the native Africans as one people separated by language and distance. Unlike other areas in sub-Saharan Africa, there were already Christian communities in the area, such as the Church of England and the Dutch Reformed Church, due to a longer history of colonization by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, both of which introduced Christianity to the local populations. That being stated, these denominations were much more hesitant in allowing native Africans to become priests and ministers than some American denominations.<sup>26</sup> This was an eye-opening experience for African American missionaries in this area as they noted that the previously held idea of European Christianity as a racially liberating force for Africa was not entirely accurate. Instead, they felt that Christianity in Africa should be practiced and overseen by native Africans, of which they included themselves a part of this group.<sup>27</sup> This is different from those missionaries who operated in Liberia or the Congo who believed in the independence of native African peoples. These African Americans considered themselves part of this group due to their

---

<sup>24</sup> George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers and as Citizens; Together with a Preliminary Consideration of the Unity of the Human Family, an Historical Sketch of Africa, and an Account of the Negro Governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1883), 114.

<sup>25</sup> Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 1999), 111.

<sup>26</sup> James T Campbell, “Our Fathers, our Children: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1989), 89.

<sup>27</sup> Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 197.



perceived biblical connection as children of Ham, son of Noah.<sup>28</sup> Although this may appear to be an issue of semantics, it demonstrates a clear difference in how African American missionaries in this space used a theological understanding of race to place themselves within a pan-African identity that was not separated from the native Africans as it was in the Congo.

### **Wesleyan-Arminian vs. Reformed Theology**

A final point of division regarding how African American missionaries conceived the notions of race and identity when interacting with native Africans comes from their view on salvation. This manifests itself in the difference between Wesleyan-Arminian and Reformed theology. For the former, this theology mostly adheres to the Semi-Augustinian understanding of salvation, which means that although people are inherently sinful due to Adam and Eve's disobedience in the Garden, God's grace allows them to sanctify themselves in an effort to move toward salvation.<sup>29</sup> This essentially means that it is necessary for people to first accept God's grace before they can pursue salvation of their own free will. Alongside this, in Wesleyan-Arminian theology, this sanctification often represents itself in outward holiness by which the person attempts to root out personal and societal sin.<sup>30</sup> These ideas of Semi-Augustinian salvation and outward holiness directly impacted the interactions of African American missionaries and native Africans. It did so through creating an understanding among these missionaries that the people who they were preaching to were not significantly different from themselves as only a few generations before, they both held similar beliefs.<sup>31</sup> This meant that missionaries subscribing to Wesleyan-Arminian theology were more likely to develop a pan-African identity as they perceived a racial identity-based commonality between themselves and the local population.

Regarding Reformed theology, people following this tradition understand salvation as occurring through an Augustinian perspective. This means that salvation can only be achieved through God's action. It also means that there is a select group of people who are elected by God for salvation while the rest are damned.<sup>32</sup> The main outcome of this is that Reformed theology is inherently divisive in that only a select group can be chosen by God. An example of a missionary who adhered to this position was William Henry Sheppard from the Southern Presbyterian Congo Mission. Although notable for bringing to light many of the atrocities in the Congo at the end of the nineteenth century, he also achieved a detailed ethnographic study of the Kuba people where he noted the distinct cultural aspects of their society.<sup>33</sup> The significance of this is that he, and other Reformed African American missionaries, noticed that the native African populations

---

<sup>28</sup> According to biblical genealogy, Ham is listed as one of the sons of Noah and is notable for his descendants supposedly going on to populate Africa. From there, it is supposed that these descendants would become the ancestors of Black populations in Africa, and those who were taken to the Americas. Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 197.

<sup>29</sup> Christopher T. Bounds, "How are People Saved? The Major Views of Salvation With a Focus on Wesleyan Perspectives and their Implications," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 3 (2011), 40.

<sup>30</sup> Dickerson, "Liberation," 112.

<sup>31</sup> Allezo Owens, "Africa for Christ: The African Methodist Episcopal Church's Rhetoric of Heathenism," *The Griot* 32, no. 2 (2013), 27.

<sup>32</sup> Bounds, "How are People Saved," 44.

<sup>33</sup> Benedict Carton, "From Hampton 'Into the Heart of Africa': How Faith in God and Folklore Turned Congo Missionary William Sheppard Into a Pioneering Ethnologist," *History in Africa* 36 (2009), 75.

they encountered maintained a separate identity from themselves.<sup>34</sup> He stated that although he considered Africa to be the country of his ancestors, he did not see any commonality between the African American culture that developed in the United States, and that of the Kuba in the Congo.<sup>35</sup> This is related to Reformed theology in that the majority of the missionaries in this tradition believed that most native Africans were not among the elect chosen for salvation due to their unchristian practices.<sup>36</sup> What this amounts to is that African American Reformed missionaries would agree that there is a common racial identity between themselves and native Africans though they would oppose a pan-African cultural identity.

## Conclusion

What is the nature of race and identity? Is it something based on a common heritage or do theological considerations have an impact on it? These are some of the questions African American missionaries were attempting to solve during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of course, there is no singular answer to this, which led to varied conceptualizations of race and identity. While some African American missionaries of the time felt that no matter where a person was born, if they were of African heritage then they would have a common pan-African identity. This was opposed by those who did not see much in common with people whose cultural and religious traditions did not match their own. This difference manifests itself in the divide between pan-African evangelicals and non-evangelicals who believe in a separation of cultures. A similar separation can be found between different individual spaces in Africa and how ideas of Anglo-Christian civilization can impact the positions of different missionaries depending on where they operate. It also manifests itself in the division over the issue of salvation and how that can sometimes clash with ideas of race and identity. In many ways, these different positions among African American missionaries can still be seen today as people continue to discuss the nature of a pan-African identity.

---

<sup>34</sup> Wallace V. Short, "William Henry Sheppard: Pioneer African-American Presbyterian Missionary, Human Rights Defender, and Collector of African Art, 1865–1927" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Howard University, 2006), 437.

<sup>35</sup> Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 155.

<sup>36</sup> Short, "William Henry Sheppard," 85.

## Bibliography

- Bounds, Christopher T. "How are People Saved? The Major Views of Salvation With a Focus on Wesleyan Perspectives and their Implications." *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 3 (2011): 31–54.
- Campbell, James T. "Our Fathers, our Children: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa." Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1989.
- Campbell, James T. *Songs of Zion: the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Carton, Benedict. "From Hampton 'Into the Heart of Africa': How Faith in God and Folklore Turned Congo Missionary William Sheppard Into a Pioneering Ethnologist." *History in Africa* 36 (2009): 53–86.
- Crummell, Alexander. "Address before the American Geographical Society." In *African and America: Addresses and Discourses*, 307-325. Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc, 1969.
- Dickerson, Dennis C. "Liberation, Wesleyan Theology and Early African Methodism, 1766-1840." *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 3 (2011): 109–20.
- Dworkin, Ira. "In the Country of My Forefathers." *Atlantic Studies* 5, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 99–118.
- Ellingsen, Mark. "Changes in African American Mission: Rediscovering African Roots." *International bulletin of mission research* 36, no. 3 (2012): 136–142.
- Franke, John R. "Theology Reformed and Reforming: The Enduring Significance of John Calvin." *The Journal of Presbyterian History (1997-)* 87, no. 2 (2009): 70–73.
- Gallay, Allan. "The Origins of Slaveholders' Paternalism: George Whitefield, the Bryan Family, and the Great Awakening in the South." *The Journal of Southern History* 53, no. 3 (1987): 369–94.
- Harris, Paul W. "Racial Identity and the Civilizing Mission: Double-Consciousness at the 1895 Congress on Africa." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 18, no. 2 (2008): 145-176.
- Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 1999.
- Jenkins, David. *Black Zion: The Return of Afro-Americans and West Indians to Africa*. London: Wildwood House, 1975.

- Killingray, David. "The Black Atlantic Missionary Movement and Africa, 1780s-1920s." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33, no. 1 (2003): 3–31.
- Moses, Wilson J. "Civilizing Missionary: A Study of Alexander Crummell." *The Journal of Negro History* 60, no. 2 (1975): 229–51.
- Owens, Allezo. "Africa for Christ: The African Methodist Episcopal Church's Rhetoric of Heathenism." *The Griot* 32, no. 2 (2013): 25–41.
- Park, Eunjin. "Black and White American Methodist Missionaries in Liberia, 1820-1875." Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, NY, 1999.
- Raboteau, Albert J. *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Short, Wallace V. "William Henry Sheppard: Pioneer African-American Presbyterian Missionary, Human Rights Defender, and Collector of African Art, 1865–1927." Ph.D. Dissertation, Howard University, 2006.
- Tata, Fabian Tah. "The Blessed Mothers: African-American Missionary Women in English-Speaking Colonial Africa, 1850–1950. their History, their Work and their Impact." Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 2002.
- Williams, George Washington. *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers and as Citizens; Together with a Preliminary Consideration of the Unity of the Human Family, a Historical Sketch of Africa, and an Account of the Negro Governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia*. New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1883.