

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

71

AMERICAN HEARTS:
AFRICAN AMERICAN WRITING ON THE CONGO, 1890-1915

by

IRA DWORKIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2003

UMI Number: 3103105

Copyright 2003 by
Dworkin, Ira Mark

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3103105

Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

©2003

IRA MARK DWORKIN

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

6/19/03 Michele Wallace
Date Chair of Examining Committee, Michele Wallace, Ph.D.

6/19/03 J. Richardson
Date Executive Officer, Joan Richardson, Ph.D.

Michele Wallace, Ph.D.

Tuzyline Jita Allan
Tuzyline Jita Allan, Ph.D.

James L. de Jongh
James L. de Jongh, Ph.D.

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

AMERICAN HEARTS:
AFRICAN AMERICAN WRITINGS ON THE CONGO, 1890-1915

by
Ira Dworkin

Adviser: Professor Michele Wallace

My dissertation, "American Hearts: African American Writings on the Congo, 1890-1915," asserts that African American writing during the period between nineteenth-century emigration campaigns and the 1920s New Negro movement was informed by contact with African people and by a political interest in contemporary Africa. As the product of these ongoing relationships, African American writing on Africa did not fabricate a remote heritage, but rather was grounded in the knowledge of emigrationists, explorers, journalists, missionaries, world's fair participants, African students at American colleges, political activists, and others. Through such interactive networks, direct engagement with the Congo State became part of the larger discursive context of African American literary production during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The figures that my dissertation discusses—historian George Washington Williams, missionary William H. Sheppard, educator Booker T. Washington, and editor-novelist Pauline E. Hopkins—challenged Belgian King Leopold II's brutal reign over the Congo State, defined their own relationships to the African continent, and helped construct an American national discourse on Africa in a variety of ways. A series of scathing reports that Williams issued on the maladministration of the Congo State fit the

historiographic framework that he initiated in *History of the Negro Race in America*.

Sheppard's lifelong association with Hampton Institute in Virginia was indicative of the African Diaspora networks through which information about Africa was shared.

Washington's deliberate local rhetoric overshadowed a transatlantic perspective on racial uplift which was an important, if underappreciated, part of a career that included work with the Congo Reform Association. Finally, Hopkins's novel *Of One Blood* synthesized many of the trajectories of early-twentieth-century black intellectual life into a fictional exposition that, along with her nonfiction writings, addressed the predicament of the modern Congo. As this discourse circulated through networks of Historically Black Colleges and Universities such as Hampton and via the press, African American writers fashioned a complex relationship to modern Africa, borne of both their backgrounds in the United States and their knowledge of Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My dissertation, which is about the development of communities of readers and writers, is itself the product of communities of teachers, colleagues, and friends that I have been fortunate to develop over the course of my education. First and foremost, I am humbled by the dedication of my dissertation committee. My dissertation director Michele Wallace has been a trusted mentor, true teacher, and intellectual role model. I do not yet have the words to adequately thank her for her wisdom, vision, and encouragement. Tuzyline Jita Allan is a rare person whose grace matches her insight, and I have benefited from both. With characteristic generosity, she devoted a good deal of a sabbatical to my work. James de Jongh has been supportive from the moment I entered the CUNY Graduate Center and is as responsible as anyone for sustaining an institutional space for interdisciplinary research on the African Diaspora. The depth of his engagement with my dissertation during its final months has been inspiring.

Of the many teachers who have supported me over the years, several warrant particular recognition. Robert Reid-Pharr's brilliant response to my prospectus has enriched and sharpened my argument. Gordon Thompson expertly supervised an M.A. thesis that allowed me to examine, for an unrelated project, many of the themes that led me to where I am. Since my undergraduate days, Jeff Kerr-Ritchie has been willing to provide advice regarding research, academia, and politics, in particular their intersections. Houston A. Baker Jr.'s personal interest in my education deserves recognition beyond what I can offer at this point. In addition to my profound personal debt, my intellectual debt is rightly shared by a generation, whose course of study would not have been

possible were it not for him and other scholars, some of whose names are prominent in my bibliography. I do not take their legacy for granted.

Among friends and colleagues at the Graduate Center and beyond, Moustafa Bayoumi, Andrew Draper, Chris Iannini, Geoffrey Jacques, Stacy Morgan, Cara Murray, Wilmetta Toliver Diallo, Tisha Ulmer, and Michelle Wilkinson collectively served as the muse for my ideas and have been integral parts of this process since its inception. Scholars Phillips Verner Bradford, Robert Engs, Tamara Giles-Vernick, John Cullen Gruesser, John Osborne, and Hanna Wallinger generously shared the fruits of their own archival research with me. In addition to financial support, the Center for Place, Culture and Politics at the CUNY Graduate Center, director Neil Smith, and my treasured fellow fellows provided priceless camaraderie. For additional fellowship support, I thank the Graduate Center English Program, the Writing Across the Curriculum program, and the CUNY Honors College. At Brooklyn College, I am grateful to the Honors Academy, the Departments of Africana Studies and English, and, in particular, George Cunningham and Geri DeLuca.

My scholarship has benefited from audiences at conferences of the Collegium for African American Research (CAAR), CUNY Institute for Research in the African Diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean (IRADAC), Middle States African Studies Association (MSASA), Modern Language Association (MLA), and the Society for the Study of Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States (MELUS). Resources and librarians at the Presbyterian Historical Society (Montreat, NC, and Philadelphia, PA), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, and Brooklyn College Library have further enriched my research. Thanks to all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgments	vi
1. Introduction	1
2. "The Stern Duty of History": George Washington Williams and the Congo State	20
3. "In the Country of My Forefathers": William Henry Sheppard and African American Missionaries in the Congo	63
4. "The African at Home": Reading Booker T. Washington's Black Atlantic	110
5. "Blood Will Flow!": Pauline E. Hopkins, the <i>Colored American Magazine</i> , and Independent Black Literature	154
6. Conclusion	198
7. Works Cited	211

INTRODUCTION

The people of the United States of America have a just right to know *the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth*, respecting the Independent State of Congo, an absolute monarchy, an oppressive and cruel Government, an exclusive Belgian colony, now tottering on its fall. I indulge the hope that when a new Government shall rise upon the ruins of the old, it will be simple, not complicated; local, not European; international, not national; just, not cruel; and, casting its shield alike over black and white, trader and missionary, endure for centuries.

-George Washington Williams
*A Report upon the Congo-State and Country to the President
 of the Republic of the United States of America,
 by Colonel the Honorable Geo. W. Williams.*
 October 14, 1890

The Congo State was established as the personal dominion of King Leopold II of Belgium at the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference which was hosted by German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to settle conflicting European colonial claims in Africa. At the close of three months of meetings in February 1885, the attendees agreed to the Berlin Act, which granted control of the Congo to Leopold's International African Association. As a supposedly philanthropic foundation, the International Association was to be based on tariff-free trade for European companies and the abolition of slavery. However, the International Association was a fraud designed to provide Leopold absolute control of what Adam Hochschild in *King Leopold's Ghost* measures as "one thirteenth of the African continent, more than seventy-six times the size of Belgium itself" (87). As the "King-Sovereign" of the International Association, Leopold cynically renamed his African dominion the "État Indépendent du Congo" in May 1885, and thus established

the “absolute monarchy” and “oppressive and cruel Government” that raised the ire of George Washington Williams.

While traveling in the Congo State in 1890 ostensibly to investigate the feasibility of a railroad, African American historian, attorney, and journalist George Washington Williams wrote three separate reports, each of them critical of the Belgian King’s Congo regime. Although Williams died in England in 1891, his three tracts effectively traveled across Europe and the United States as “open letters” and were read by an audience beyond their specific addressees—President Benjamin Harrison of the United States, King Leopold II of Belgium, and railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington. While Williams had met all three of these men before traveling to the Congo, his writings subsequently drew the attention of journalists, activists, and politicians, including many who opposed the system of colonial government described therein. My dissertation argues that African Americans were politically interested in the Congo during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and that this political interest is reflected in the literature of the period. An examination of this interest reveals the Congo to be part of a much broader political, cultural, and intellectual landscape. In this landscape, Africa is not a distant past existing solely in the minds of creative artists but the subject of a dynamic, ongoing relationship.

The four primary subjects of the dissertation—George Washington Williams, Booker T. Washington, Pauline E. Hopkins, and William Henry Sheppard—were born between 1849 and 1865, and were members of the last generation born under governments that allowed chattel slavery. While Washington was the only one of the four born into slavery, Williams and Hopkins were born in the United States prior to the

issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, and Sheppard was born to a free woman in March 1865 in Virginia during the last days of the Confederate regime. Williams, the senior figure among them, fought in the Civil War even though he was actually too young and needed to lie about his age in order to enlist. Following the Civil War, Williams, Sheppard, Washington, and Hopkins came of age as the United States was undergoing the foreshortened period of Reconstruction, which promised political, economic, and educational opportunities for African Americans. A decade after the 1870 ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution announced the right of black men to vote, Williams was the first black elected to the Ohio House of Representatives. However, in the intervening years, Reconstruction was ended by the Republican Party's agreement to withdraw federal troops from the South to resolve the contested 1876 Presidential election. Thus began a chain of events which culminated in the systematic disenfranchisement of blacks by the end of the nineteenth century.

Schools such as Hampton Institute in Virginia, which were established during the Reconstruction era, provided forums for my subjects to share information about Africa. While Hampton, according to historian James D. Anderson in *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, "attempted to train a corps of teachers with a particular social philosophy relevant to the political and economic reconstruction of the South," former students did not always apply their educations in ways that pleased Principal Samuel Chapman Armstrong (77).¹ Armstrong's support for racial segregation, for example,

¹ For more on the educational philosophy of Hampton Institute, see "The Hampton Model of Normal School Industrial Education, 1868-1915" (chapter 2) and "Education and the Race Problem in the New South: The Struggle for Ideological Hegemony" (chapter 3) of James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 33-78, 79-109; and "'To Teach

elicited organized criticism from Hampton students and alumni. However, as the son of a Protestant missionary in Hawaii, Armstrong's ideological orientation allowed for the development of a black missionary culture that could be applied in the United States and abroad. In the case of the latter, according to historian Walter L. Williams, black missionaries provided a foundation for the development of twentieth-century Pan-Africanism (63).

The Congo was covered in the monthly *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record*, which Armstrong started in 1872 to spread the "Hampton Idea." Booker T. Washington, Armstrong's most famous student, created a niche within his teacher's segregationist paradigm. In 1881, Washington founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama. There, he achieved international prominence, highlighted by his September 18, 1895, address at the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition, which was dubbed the "Atlanta Compromise" because of its endorsement of racial segregation: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."² The oration, delivered less than a year after the death of Frederick Douglass, established Washington as a preeminent African American spokesperson. The following year, the Supreme Court upheld segregation in the *Plessy v.*

and to Lead': Founding Hampton Institute" (chapter 7) and "'Education for Life': Early Years of Hampton Institute, 1868-1878" (chapter 9) of Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1999) 70-85, 98-114. On the work of Hampton graduates, see "'Gathered to Scatter': Life and Work of Hampton's Alumni" (chapter 11) of Engs 130-143.

² See the version of the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition address incorporated into Washington's autobiography *Up From Slavery* (1901), *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989) 1:332.

Ferguson, “separate, but equal,” decision. Racial segregation was legally sanctioned from 1896 until *Plessy* was overturned in 1954 by *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*.

As the system of Jim Crow segregation hardened during the early twentieth century, one of the many ways that black communities made their objections known was through the press, which refused to be cowed even when targeted by white supremacist violence. Pauline E. Hopkins became the editor and main contributor to the Boston-based *Colored American Magazine*, a general interest periodical that laid the groundwork for several other national magazines that emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. The new breed of publication included the Atlanta-based *Voice of the Negro*, to which Hopkins also contributed.³ During this decade, magazines directly affiliated with black protest movements also emerged. *Horizon* was the organ of the Niagara movement, which led to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. The NAACP’s own *Crisis* published its first issue in 1910 with W. E. B. Du Bois as editor, a position he held until 1934.

All of my subjects figured prominently in the black press, which, in addition to its role in fostering a domestic civil rights agenda, was a crucial medium for the exchange of information about modern Africa. In *The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920*, historian Sylvia M. Jacobs demonstrates the concern of the black press with European imperialism in Africa. In the

³ Following the 1906 riots in Atlanta, *Voice of the Negro* editor Max Barber was chased out of the city though the magazine survived one more year in Chicago. For more on the *Voice of the Negro*, see Walter C. Daniel, *Black Journals of the United States* (New York: Greenwood P, 1982) 369-377; and Abby Arthur Johnson and Ronald Maberry Johnson, *Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1979) 16-24.

Colored American Magazine, for example, coverage of Washington, Sheppard, and the Congo Reform Association appeared alongside three serialized novels by Hopkins. A body of creative literature emerged within a forum of African American discourses about modern Africa.

The transatlantic awareness of the political challenges facing Africa was visible in the African American press's coverage of lynching as well. In 1895, for example, Ida B. Wells, a leading journalist and activist, described the lynching of two colleagues in Memphis as "a scene of shocking savagery which would have disgraced the Congo" (112). A 1907 editorial in the *Voice of the Negro* reminded its readers that the Congo was not so far away: "There are Congos and Kishenevs right here at home" ("More About the Congo" 14-15). Without denying the metaphoric uses of the Congo, these references have historical moorings. The "Congo" was, without contradiction, both a real state and an imagined place, a crossroads of political knowledge and literary expression.

African American intellectuals, activists, and writers, such as Williams, have long insisted on the relevance of the Congo to the United States. And with good reason. The United States supported Leopold's claim to the Congo several months before any of his European neighbors did. By officially recognizing the International Association in April 1884, the United States Senate and Department of State granted Leopold's Congo administration a level of credibility that it would not have had otherwise. The standing endorsement by the United States helped to persuade Belgium's European neighbors to accommodate Leopold's absentee claims at the Berlin meetings. Such steadfastness earned the United States an invitation to the Berlin Conference later that year. The

United States delegation's handling of Leopold's bidding in Berlin became a basis for Williams's outrage.

The neglect of the role of the United States in the Congo, which Williams noted in 1890, continued through most of the twentieth century. According to historian George Shepperson, on the centennial of the Berlin Conference, "much scholarly work still remains to be done on American participation in the events leading up to the West African Conference of Berlin and their dénouement [sic] between 1885 and 1908 [...]" ("Centennial" 40). Williams understood that Henry Shelton Sanford, Leopold's well-connected American lobbyist, was one of two official delegates representing the United States in Berlin. Leopold also had in his proverbial pocket explorer and author Henry Morton Stanley, the "technical advisor" to the United States delegation. Despite Stanley's nebulous status at the meetings, he carried substantial weight on celebrity alone. Best known for his 1872 "rescue" of British missionary David Livingstone, Stanley had recently returned from a five-year expedition in the Congo, during which he dubiously claimed to have signed nearly five hundred treaties with African chiefs ceding land to Leopold, his trip's financier. With the help of Sanford and Stanley, Leopold managed to gain control of the Congo by playing the role of a neutral party, who was seemingly so disinterested that he did not even attend the Berlin Conference. During the next two decades, Leopold implemented an unconscionably brutal regime of genocidal proportions in the Congo under which ten million people were killed (Hochschild 233). The United States government remained unresponsive to the pleadings of African Americans, who were among the leaders internationally in the campaigns for reform in the Congo.

William H. Sheppard, cofounder of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM), was one of the first eyewitnesses to issue reports about the atrocities being committed by agents of the Congo State. Sheppard traveled to the Congo in 1890, the same year that Williams undertook his freelance expedition. Their travels coincided with a period, 1890 to 1892, when, according to Jean Stengers and Jan Vansina, “The structural realisation of European hegemony on the ground was only beginning to be effected [...]” (358). Williams and Sheppard witnessed the rapid expansion of rubber production, the state implementation of a system of forced labor, and the intensifying military enforcement of that system. When villages failed to meet rubber collection quotas, workers were beaten, female hostages held for ransom, and entire towns slaughtered. As the state’s export income increased more than a hundred-fold—from 150,000 francs in 1890 to more than 18,000,000 francs in 1901—due primarily to rubber exports, the Belgian Force Publique increased its military presence in the Congo from 1,487 troops in 1889 to 19,028 troops in 1898 (Stengers and Vansina 319; 331). There was widespread African resistance, ranging from mass flight from state-controlled rubber regions to the assassinations of several state agents. Belgian officials required that the hands of victims be severed to account for the military’s bullet allocation, one hand per bullet expended (Hochschild 164-166). The practice of hand-severing, which included victims who were still alive, was first brought to international attention in an investigative report that Sheppard wrote and distributed to colleagues in the United States.

As early as 1890, George Washington Williams had a remarkably clear understanding of the burgeoning colonial system. Despite his published findings, widespread international opposition did not materialize for more than a decade. In 1903,

the Congo Reform Association (CRA) began its full-fledged campaign for regime change in Central Africa by establishing alliances beyond its base in the human rights community. The CRA found common cause with trading companies, European governments, and Protestant missionaries who saw their own imperial access to the Congo diminishing. During its ten-year history, the CRA spread news about the Congo internationally. When the American CRA was formed in Boston in 1904, they attracted many well-known supporters, including Booker T. Washington. A confluence of the CRA's political pressure, African resistance, and the decimation of the wild rubber supply caused Leopold to transfer titular control of the Congo State to Belgium in 1908.⁴ One year after the Belgian Congo was born, Leopold died. Unfortunately, neither the change in title nor Leopold's death ended the brutal system of exploitation which continued under the guise of taxation and was extended to mining areas. Indeed, the Belgian Congo survived until at least 1960, when Patrice Lumumba was elected the first Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁵

⁴ For an examination of the regime's effect on the wild rubber supply, see Robert Harms, "The End of Red Rubber: A Reassessment," *Journal of African History* 16.1 (1975): 73-88.

⁵ Given a Belgian legislative commission's 2001 acknowledgement that Belgium bears "moral responsibility" for the 1961 assassination of Lumumba, the 1960 end date for colonial rule remains open to debate. See "Report Reproves Belgium in Lumumba's Death," *New York Times* 17 Nov. 2001, late ed. final: A5; and the book which triggered the investigation, Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, trans. Ann Wright and Renee Fenby (1999; New York: Verso, 2002).

The recognition of Patrice Lumumba as an iconic martyr for African Americans has antecedents in a longstanding tradition of political engagement with Africa. Using archival sources, my dissertation investigates assumptions about the nature of African American historical, cultural, and intellectual discourse during an era that novelist Charles W. Chesnutt called “Post-Bellum–Pre-Harlem.”⁶ My primary texts include newspaper articles, magazine essays, political pamphlets, serial fiction, letters, and autobiographical narratives, which expand traditional definitions of what constitutes literature. In this regard, I build on Eric Sundquist’s *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*, which creates a critical space in which to fruitfully examine the relationships between diverse nonfiction works and works that fit more conventional literary genres. Sundquist explains,

too narrow an understanding of the literary text, not to mention the conflicting traditions of which it may be a part, blinds us to the possibility that the problematic text, the fragment, the document in another genre (not just the conventionally composed and marketed fiction or narrative) may cast a powerful light on the flaws in our assumptions about literature and our critical methods for disclosing the terrain where text gives way to context. (21)

The methodology of my dissertation is similarly based on the dynamic inseparability of text and context. By incorporating diverse texts and contexts into a unified schema

⁶ See Charles W. Chesnutt, “Post-Bellum–Pre-Harlem” (1931), *Essays and Speeches*, ed. Joseph R. McElrath Jr., Robert C. Leitz III, and Jesse S. Crisler (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1999) 543-549.

designed to enrich literary analysis, scholars can gain a better understanding of African American writing about modern Africa.

In *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist*, Hazel V. Carby suggests that the serial fiction of Pauline Hopkins be read within the framework of Hopkins's editorial career at the *Colored American Magazine*. Building on *Reconstructing Womanhood*, my own historicist approach considers the extra-literary contexts of the black press to be crucial to a full understanding of the significance of Pauline Hopkins's serial novel, *Of One Blood*. Hopkins's polyvalent fiction directly draws on a range of sources, including the historiography of Williams, the travels of Sheppard, and the politics of Washington.

My aim is to situate a discussion of African American literature during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within a larger discursive context, one that includes political discourses about modern Africa in general and the Congo in particular. Throughout the period covered by my study and despite the violence directed at its editors, the black press was a thriving public sphere for African American writers and intellectuals to share information about Africa. Hopkins is the most traditionally literary figure in my dissertation as well as the least directly associated with the Congo. Her fiction provides the primary literary text herein and represents the possible applications of my study to a more conventional literary canon. Through the *Colored American Magazine*, among other sources, people in the United States, writers included, were well informed about political developments in Africa. For example, the black press celebrated the 1896 Ethiopian military victory over the Italian forces and reported on visits from

South African students to American campuses. Threats to Liberian independence and the brutality of Leopold's regime in the Congo were also reported in the black press.

My dissertation elaborates a continuity between writers who traveled to Africa and those who did not, and between narratives about the Congo and more subtle allusions. While the press was a central medium for the exchange of information about modern Africa, there were important extra-textual sources as well. Africans from across the continent traveled, studied, and worked in the United States during this period, and conversely, there were African Americans in Africa. For example, based on the research of one of his former students, Booker T. Washington, who never traveled to Africa, wrote compellingly about the Congo. There were extensive networks of contact between African Americans and Africans, particularly among the educated and literate classes. These networks validated forms of knowledge that emerged from the press and personal interactions. Without recognition of the discursive presence of the Congo in early-twentieth-century American culture, the appropriate context for a work such as James Weldon Johnson's 1903 lyric "Congo Love Song" might not be seen. However, scholars may be better equipped to recognize the political implications of works such as "Congo Love Song" if they consider events in the Congo at the time of its composition, sites of its early performance, and the international dimensions of Johnson's diplomatic career.

In Black on Black: Twentieth-Century African American Writing About Africa, John Cullen Gruesser presents a compelling literary continuity, comparable to my aims

for an earlier era, between George Schuyler's fiction and Joel A. Rogers's dispatches from Ethiopia to the *Pittsburgh Courier* during the Italo-Ethiopian War in the 1930s (107-108). Several rigorous transatlantic studies being undertaken by historians of Africa, including several working in the United States, also are advancing such connections. In *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*, Michael A. Gomez presents documentary evidence that African American identity was influenced by a wide range of African cultural practices that were shared among communities and across generations in the Americas. Linda Heywood's edited anthology *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* brings together scholars studying the impact of Central African cultures in the United States. In *(Dis) Forming the American Canon: African-Arabic Slave Narratives and the Vernacular*, Ronald A. T. Judy interrogates the canonical implications of African linguistic developments for American literary scholarship.

Politically, an African American framework can provide new perspectives on discourses of colonialism and imperialism. There are only traces of explicit anti-imperialism within the literature that I am examining. Kevin K. Gaines considers the intersections and contradictions within competing domestic and international ideologies of race and imperialism in his essay "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology as 'Civilizing Mission': Pauline E. Hopkins on Race and Imperialism." Gaines's essay first appeared in Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease's anthology *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, which has been a touchstone for transnational movements in American Studies. *Cultures of United States Imperialism* begins with Kaplan's essay, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," which uses

the fact that Perry Miller wrote his classic American Studies text, *Errand into the Wilderness*, on the Congo River to interrogate the notion of an autonomous American identity. From my perspective, African American writings about the Congo recognize precisely what Miller elides, namely, in the words of Kaplan, “the multiple histories of continental and overseas expansion, conquest, conflict, and resistance which have shaped the cultures of the United States and the cultures of those it has dominated within and beyond its geopolitical boundaries” (4).

Several scholars have written eloquently about the political history of transatlantic interactions. In *African Americans and US Policy Toward Africa, 1850-1924*, anthropologist Elliot Skinner, who served as United States Ambassador to Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), charts the early history of black American diplomats, who were often crucial educators of their fellow citizens at home. Lamin Sanneh looks at transatlantic collaborations emerging out of the antebellum antislavery movement in *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa*. Manning Marable has published several essays on the relation of Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee to African freedom movements.⁷ James T. Campbell’s *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa* and Steven Gish’s *Alfred B. Xuma: African, American, South African* both identify interpersonal exchanges between African American institutions and South African leaders. Campbell succinctly points out that “transatlantic ‘bridges’ like the AME Church were not that unusual, that

⁷ See the following articles by Manning Marable: “Ambitious Legacy: Tuskegee’s ‘Missionary’ Impulse and Africa During the Moton Administration, 1915-1935,” *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa*, ed. Sylvia M. Jacobs (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1982) 77-93; “Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism,” *Phylon* 35.4 (Dec. 1974): 398-406; and “The Pan-Africanism of Booker T. Washington: A Reappraisal,” *Claflin College Review* 2 (May 1978): 1-14.

the borders that define historical inquiry were not the borders of lived experience for the historical actors themselves. Long after the decline of the transatlantic slave trade, black life continued to be shaped by a constant traffic between Africa and the New World [...]” (xii-xiii). My dissertation seeks to examine one lane of the “constant traffic” that Campbell describes by exploring the Congo as a specific site of transatlantic exchange.

My dissertation is organized around four individuals, three of whom are noted in Adam Hochschild’s *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Through a series of engaging biographical sketches, Hochschild examines the history of Leopold’s involvement in Africa and documents a model of international human rights struggle with clear implications for the late twentieth century. Beyond the heroes and villains whose stories Hochschild valuably recovers, I am interested in emphasizing the exchange of information within communities through intersections among individuals, organizations, institutions, and publications. Noting the predominance of Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* in discourses about Central Africa during this era, my dissertation jumps deeper into the literary dimensions of the movement against Leopold and, in the process, locates black voices at the center of the conversation. These neglected black voices reached beyond a prominent elite to a wide community of what Elizabeth McHenry calls “forgotten readers.” In her recent book *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*, McHenry provides an archival examination of the praxis of African American readership as a social process grounded in particular historical contexts.

In essence, I am trying to map associative networks among African American writers and their readers about the Congo. Whereas McHenry focuses on black readers,

several of the writers in my study also had notable white readerships. For example, it is established that Henry M. Stanley read George Washington Williams and that Mark Twain read William Sheppard. Twain and other black and white readers of Sheppard were, in turn, instrumental in the Congo Reform Association. Therefore, one of the foundational modern human rights campaigns was based largely on African American writing. With this argument, I am insisting that this is a broadly American story that occupies the academic space claimed by Mary Helen Washington in her 1997 presidential address to the American Studies Association, “Disturbing the Peace: What Happens to American Studies If You Put African American Studies at the Center?”

I am working toward a more inclusive notion of the literary imagination by emphasizing the transnational dimensions and multiple genres of African American writing. On this front, Nell I. Painter’s brilliant biography *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* provides particular inspiration. *Sojourner Truth* is both a biography of Truth and a cultural history of the circulation of Truth as a public figure. In the book, Painter establishes a continuity between the historical and the iconic Sojourner Truth in American culture and popular memory. I am similarly attempting to ground an imaginative, literary discourse about the Congo in a real place. In this regard, I share with Painter a commitment to documenting a historical imagination, rather than the purely mythic or romantic imagination that is all too often presumed by literary critics.

In this spirit, my dissertation begins at a historical moment when African American understandings of Central Africa were developing in response to the hardening of Leopold's genocidal Congo regime. I examine historian George Washington Williams and missionary William H. Sheppard, both of whom traveled to the Congo State in 1890, the same year as Joseph Conrad. "'The Stern Duty of History': George Washington Williams in the Congo" situates Williams's three Congo pamphlets within the context of his ranging career, as it has been illuminated by his biographer, historian John Hope Franklin. Williams's 1890 Congo tracts, which Franklin valuably appends to his biography, were contiguous with his interest in African American history. Williams's best-known work, *History of the Negro Race in America*, opened with a lengthy discussion of African history, and his lectures referenced the Congo even before the Berlin Conference. I examine Williams's overall vision of Africa and contend that his involvement in the Congo is part of an ongoing thread in his oeuvre.

"'In the Country of My Forefathers': William Henry Sheppard and African American Missionaries in the Congo" argues for a comparable continuity between Sheppard's domestic career and his work in African affairs. Although Sheppard was known for pioneering the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and serving in Africa for twenty years, he was equally a product of Hampton Institute, where he was a student of Booker T. Washington in the early 1880s and maintained strong ties until his death in 1927. Sheppard applied the missionary training he received at Hampton to work among black people in the Congo rather than the rural South. His studies in the Hampton "Curiosity Room" nurtured an interest in world culture, and the collection of Kuba art he sold to Hampton internationalized the educations of future students.

In the next two chapters, I contend that Booker T. Washington and Pauline Hopkins codify an emergent body of literature built on their conversant familiarity with the Congo, although neither of them ever traveled to Africa. This familiarity was facilitated by the likes of Williams and Sheppard. “‘The African at Home’: Reading Booker T. Washington’s Black Atlantic” examines Washington’s well-known domestic work in the context of his ongoing political involvement in Africa. In the case of the Congo, Washington spent several years active in the Congo Reform Association during which he used his considerable talent and fame to publish articles, deliver speeches, and raise money for the cause. In this chapter, I explore the potential of Washington’s transatlantic connections to open up the discussion around the notion of a Black Atlantic to include atypically cosmopolitan spaces such as the Southern United States and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

“‘Blood Will Flow!’: Pauline E. Hopkins, the *Colored American Magazine*, and Independent Black Literature” offers the most conventionally literary exposition in my project. In addition to situating Hopkins in a context that includes the political differences with Washington that resulted in her firing from the *Colored American Magazine* in 1904, I suggest a source for her serial novel *Of One Blood* in the lives and writings of William H. Sheppard and Lucy Gantt Sheppard. By positing a direct source for her novel, I hope to make a larger argument, which is that familiarity with the broader history of African American connections to Africa can point to new modes of literary interpretation and exposition.

I conclude my dissertation in 1915 with the death of Booker T. Washington, one year before Marcus Garvey’s arrival in the United States indelibly transformed the

dynamics of African American relations with Africa. Also in 1915, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote “The African Roots of the War,” an analysis of how World War One was borne of European imperialism in Africa, especially Belgian exploitation in the Congo. Du Bois’s article exemplifies the sort of sophisticated political analysis that developed from the discursive networks that my dissertation explores. In my conclusion, I posit a continuity between the period of my study and the better-known transatlantic connections exemplified in the careers of Garvey and Du Bois, in the arts of the New Negro Renaissance and the Black Arts Movement, and beyond.

“THE STERN DUTY OF HISTORY”:

GEORGE WASHINGTON WILLIAMS AND THE CONGO STATE

In December 1889, between personal meetings with King Leopold II of Belgium and President Benjamin Harrison of the United States, George Washington Williams visited the campus of Hampton Institute in Virginia. An article in the January 1890 *Southern Workman*, written by the editor Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder and principal of Hampton, described the proposal presented by Williams:

An invitation to become citizens and employes [sic] of the Congo Free State has been extended to the students of Hampton Institute, by Col G. W. Williams, who comes from Brussels with authority from the “Companies of the Congo,” under King Leopold of Belgium, to contract with twenty-four colored men of the United States as clerks and mechanics, engineers, carpenters, etc., in the service of the Companies.¹

Williams had recently returned to the United States from Brussels, where he was covering an antislavery conference as a journalist. While there, Williams met with Leopold and discussed their shared interest in the Congo. As a result of this meeting, the Belgian Commercial Companies commissioned Williams to recruit educated black

¹ Samuel Chapman Armstrong authored most of the *Southern Workman* until he suffered a paralyzing stroke in November 1891. There is corroborating internal evidence that points toward Armstrong’s authorship of “Invitation to Congo.” The article refers to the “seed” of Williams’s visit, which is the same language that Armstrong used in an unpublished letter to Collis Huntington about the visit. See [Samuel Chapman Armstrong], “Invitation to Congo” *Southern Workman* 19.1 (Jan. 1890): 2; and John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985) 186.

Americans to work in the Congo State. Williams traveled first to Hampton, where his primary patron, railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington, was on the Board of Trustees.

Judging by the content of the *Southern Workman*, Hampton was a prime site for recruitment. A December 1889 editorial had already envisioned a role for African Americans in Africa, specifically the Congo:

A tide of Negro emigration may some time set strongly from America to Liberia or the Congo Free State, and Afric Americans may take heroic part in some enterprise like that proposed by Mr. Huntington against the abomination of the slave trade. But only those fit to stay will do any good by going. To work for the improvement of the race here is for the interest of Africa and America. ("The 'Appeal to Pharaoh'" 121)

The same December 1889 issue of the *Southern Workman* included a review of Collis Huntington's broadside attack on the slave trade in Africa, *A Few Words to Americans*. While Huntington self-interestedly argued that a commercial railroad system was needed to abolish slavery in Africa, the *Southern Workman* saw a special role for Hampton students and alumni in the antislavery movement:

It is not wholly a white man's mission. Not the least of the inspiration of those who are at work in America, for the Negro, is our belief, that some among our pupils may be enrolled, as some already have been, in the crusade for Africa. The challenge to their Christian manhood and womanhood which comes to them from across the sea is, beyond doubt, a powerful factor in their education. It never does or can weaken the work at home.

Every one who goes leaves behind him a legacy which makes good, ten times over, the force which he takes away. The reaction of the Negro race in America, of the few—it need be a [sic] only a few—who may join themselves to Africa, would be of untold value to their self-respect and breadth of interest and view. (“The African Slave Trade” 122)

Part of the rationale for African American involvement in Africa was its impact in the United States. In this regard, a distinct African American position on the white man’s supposed mission to civilize Africa started to materialize.

In the *Southern Workman*, Armstrong described how Williams “quite stirred our young men by his eloquent appeals to embrace this ‘first opportunity ever offered to American colored men to go to Africa, not because they are not wanted here, but because they are wanted there: to stand on equal footing with European white colonists as pioneers of civilization and destroyers of the slave trade’” (2). Williams’s offer forced Hampton to stake a position regarding African American enterprises in Africa. The process of emigration should be selective, albeit voluntary. Although “quite a large number of the Hampton students apparently felt strongly inclined to go,” in the end, Armstrong resolved

that they should finish their school course before undertaking such very stern realities of life. This consideration finally decided even the few who took the preliminary examination and were accepted, to withdraw their names. The graduates out in the field with more age and experience of life would be generally fitter material for such an enterprise, with its severe tests of morals and character. Yet in most cases, the best fitted of these

would be least likely to be free from engagements which they could not honorably drop to start for Africa on a week's notice. (2)

The article about the visit from Williams gave Armstrong an occasion to clarify Hampton's attitude about alumni working in Africa.

In his *Southern Workman* summary of Williams's visit, Armstrong cautioned against equating the lack of any recruits with failure: "we doubt not that what they have heard has sown seed which will be fruitful of greater interest in Africa, not unlikely to result in sending some representatives of Hampton to take worthy part in what is one of the most interesting enterprises of the age" (2). Almost immediately, Armstrong was proven correct in his prediction. In February 1890, one of Washington's former Hampton students, William H. Sheppard, sailed from New York as a cofounder of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission. Sheppard spent most of the next two decades in the Congo. Through his writing and furlough speeches, he recruited a small but accomplished contingent of educated African Americans to serve as missionaries and, at the same time, to spread news about the Congo to the public.

Sheppard, who was a student at Hampton from 1880 until 1883, may not have attended Williams's 1889 lecture. Nonetheless, many of the same people who attended the Congo meeting convened by Williams subsequently followed his missionary career through the pages of the *Southern Workman*. This *Southern Workman* discussion was one fruit of the seed Williams sewed in the fertile soil of Hampton. African American involvement in the Congo was not limited to the uncommon travels of Williams or Sheppard, but was much more deeply embedded in the literature and thought of the

period. These discursive networks based around Hampton provide an exemplary space for scholars to locate American discourses about modern Africa.

Williams's recruiting efforts at Hampton made news beyond the Virginia campus. The March 2, 1890, *New York Tribune* belatedly covered the Williams proposal. Under the headline, "Americans in Africa," the *New York Tribune* interviewed Albert Thys of the Belgian Commercial Companies. Thys was interested in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as a potential source of skilled workers and was disappointed that Williams had not recruited any clerks, engineers, or mechanics to help administer the company's enterprises in Africa. The Belgian Commercial Companies found consolation in a proposal submitted by Williams to facilitate future recruiting. Thys explained that Williams

suggested that a call for recruits should be sent to the chief industrial schools of the Southern United States. All candidates who entered the competition for engagements should now begin special studies, especially French, African geography, etc. In June next they should be examined by a committee of teachers, and the required number should then be selected and engaged from among the most proficient. This system, he urged, would give us the services of the best men, especially prepared for our work. ("Americans in Africa" 19)

Apparently, Thys found Williams convincing: "Since the return of Colonel Williams, the companies have carefully considered this plan, and have now adopted it in every detail, exactly as it was laid before them" ("Americans in Africa" 19).

The same *New York Tribune* article, “Americans in Africa,” recognized that George Washington Williams’s Congo recruiting drive was the culmination of a longer standing interest in Africa: “This plan was broached as long ago as in 1884 by Colonel George W. Williams, of Worcester, Massachusetts, who at that time was actively aiding King Leopold in his African enterprise. The idea then was to employ a large force of American negroes [sic] to go to Africa as ordinary laborers to open up roads, build trading stations, etc.” (“Americans in Africa” 19). Williams’s awareness of Africa was even longer standing than the *New York Tribune* realized. As early as 1874, at the age of twenty-four, in his first sermon as Pastor of Boston’s Twelfth Baptist Church, Williams had said of Africa: “My heart loves that land, and my soul is proud of it. It has been the dream of my youth that that country would be saved by the colored people of this country” (qtd. in Franklin 20).²

Williams had interests beyond the church, in areas of public affairs. In 1875, he resigned as pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church and unsuccessfully tried his hand as a newspaper editor in Washington, DC. After eight issues, the newspaper closed.

Williams accepted an appointment as Pastor of Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio,

² In 1870, Williams enrolled in Newton Theological Institute in Massachusetts. Of his class of fourteen students, the majority were graduates of Amherst, Brown, and Colby. College graduates were admitted to Newton as “theology students” while Williams and four others were considered “general students.” Williams transferred to the theology program in 1872, and completed its three-year curriculum in two years. Even before graduating, he became the acting pastor of the seven-hundred-member Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston. In 1874, two weeks after his graduation from Newton (as the school’s first black graduate) and subsequent ordination in the Baptist ministry, he was appointed full-time Pastor at Twelfth Baptist Church. See Franklin 9-10.

where he became involved in the city's Republican Party. With his increasing political activity, his interest in the African Diaspora continued to grow.

In Avondale, Ohio, on July 4, 1876, the centennial of the Declaration of Independence, Williams delivered a celebratory oration that was later printed and distributed as a pamphlet, *Centennial. The American Negro, from 1776 to 1876*. In it, he praised Haiti, whose postslavery history contained many parallels to the United States:

It will ever be the glory of the black man's government in Hayti that he built it on the ruins of slavery, and ratified its benign and humane principles with his own blood.

Neither France nor England can glory in that they freed St. Domingo; but the negro [sic] can boast that he threw off his own yoke, drove his oppressors from the island, conquered the skilled soldiery of England and France, and built his own government upon the rock of human justice and equal rights—a government that has stood during the present century, and will stand through the ages to come! (*Centennial* 25)³

³ On March 2, 1885, outgoing President Chester Arthur appointed Williams to be Consul to Haiti. (On the day Williams was appointed Consul to Haiti, he was scheduled to give a speech on the Congo at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, DC. See Franklin 148.) Later that day, the Senate confirmed his consular appointment. Two days later, on March 4, Williams was sworn in at 10 a.m., two hours before the noon inauguration of Grover Cleveland. But President Cleveland's Secretary of State, Thomas Bayard, denied Williams clearance to assume his post. Consul posts are filled at the discretion of the President. The resignation of the prior Consul to Haiti, John Mercer Langston, was standard protocol at the time of an administrative transition. A resignation such as Langston's was not typically an occasion for a lame duck President to make a new appointment. Whether or not this was a scheme by Arthur to embarrass Cleveland is uncertain, though Franklin suggests it was "mischievous or even cynical" on the outgoing President's part (149). The Department of State had an open file on Williams because of an unpaid debt he had accrued during his European travels the previous year. The lenders were diplomatic contacts, hence the involvement of the Department of State. President

This centennial address was one of Williams's earliest publications, at a time when he was increasingly focused on contemporary political and economic developments.

In Ohio, Williams pursued his own historic, albeit brief, political career. In 1879, at the age of thirty, after one unsuccessful bid for office, Williams became the first African American elected to the Ohio House of Representatives. He chose not to run for re-election in 1881, deciding to devote himself to his historical studies and writing. Williams even tried his hand at fiction with an interracial romance novel that he serialized in the *Indianapolis World*.⁴ Although "The Autocracy of Love" was his lone attempt at fiction, Williams spent most of the 1880s as a successful lecturer and writer. During this period, Africa was an increasingly prominent topic in his repertoire.

The relationship between Africa and America provided the bedrock foundation for the book for which Williams remains best known, *History of the Negro Race in America, from 1619-1880. Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens*, generally considered the first historical survey of African Americans. The December 1881 publication by G. P. Putnam's Sons of *History of the Negro Race in America* garnered widespread attention, including more than three hundred newspaper and magazine reviews (Franklin 123). The title page of this two-volume opus announced, "Together with a Preliminary Consideration of the Unity of the Human Family, an Historical Sketch

Cleveland's administration prepared charges against Williams. Williams was never dispatched to Haiti, a position he would have relished. He later sued unsuccessfully for lost wages. For more on one of the most bizarre episodes of his career, see Franklin 148-163.

⁴ The novel may have been inspired by the legislative debates surrounding Williams's unsuccessful attempt to repeal a law banning interracial marriage. In 1874, Williams married a black woman, Sarah Sterrett. When his travel schedule expanded in 1884, the couple was estranged. He unsuccessfully tried to sue for divorce in 1886. On Sterrett, see Franklin 176-177.

of Africa, and an Account of the Negro Governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia.” As advertised, *History of the Negro Race in America* opened with an eleven-chapter section on Africa, whose purpose was “to explain and explode two erroneous ideas,—the curse of Canaan, and the theory that the Negro is a distinct species” (1:108).

Beyond defending monogenesis, Williams was involved in a grander revisionist project “to record the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth” (*History of the Negro Race* 1:x). Williams situated his revisions as an objective correction to state-sanctioned falsehood. His historical methodology was based on correcting misinterpretations of the contributions of African Americans. Historian Maghan Keita explains, Williams “was grounded in the positivist, objective, and scientific conceptualizations of the time” (47). Refusing any racially determined predisposition, Williams insisted that he wrote, “Not as the blind panegyrist of my race, nor as a partisan apologist, but from a love for ‘the truth of history’ [...]” (*History of the Negro Race* 1:x).⁵ The language erected a national framework apropos of his belief that African Americans were central to the identity of the nation. Since Williams was studying law while working on *History of the Negro Race in America*, he knowingly situated his writings as sworn testimony with legal standing.⁶ This dramatic gesture boldly exercised African American citizenship rights at a time when those rights were facing severe attack.

Indeed, the subtitle of *History of the Negro Race in America*, “Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens,” fit the historical processes that Williams outlined in his

⁵ Williams frequently used italics to significant affect in *History of the Negro Race in America, from 1619 to 1880* (1883; New York: Arno P, 1968) and his Congo tracts. Unless otherwise noted, all italics reflect an emphasis in the source.

⁶ Williams was admitted to the bar in Ohio in 1881 and in Massachusetts in 1883. See Franklin 332.

descriptions of both Africa and the United States. In the movement toward emancipation, “Soldiers” assumed the central position, connecting “slaves” and “citizens.” Military achievement was the centerpiece of Williams’s analysis of the history of the race.

History of the Negro Race in America described the African precedents for military service, such as the “series of brilliant conquests” by “The Ashantee Empire” (1:35). Through such accounts, Williams evoked the military strength of Africa without directly challenging the arrogance of Western ideals of “civilization”: “It is a fact that all uncivilized races are warlike. The tribes of Africa are a vast standing army” (*History of the Negro Race* 1:61). According to historian Wilson Jeremiah Moses, the “warlike ideal of the virile barbarian” was popular during the nineteenth century among African American intellectuals seeking a legacy other than victimization (*Afrotopia* 65). Military potential represented an essential ingredient in Williams’s argument for full recognition of black citizenship within the republic of the United States: “The Negro empires to which we have called attention are an argument against the theory that he is without government; and his career as a soldier would not disgrace the uniform of an American soldier” (*History of the Negro Race* 1:110).

The more recent valor of black soldiers became the subject of Williams’s other major historical tome, *The History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion*, published in 1887. Williams believed that the contributions of African American soldiers to saving the Union during the Civil War made the strongest possible case for full citizenship. *The History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion* was a Civil War veteran’s autobiographical narrative writ large. At the age of fourteen, Williams had run away from home and lied about his age in order to enlist in the United State Colored

Troops.⁷ *The History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion* was devoted to canonizing the black contribution to the Union. The final chapter, “The Cloud of Witnesses,” concluded: “The surest way to teach national history is in monumental marble and brass” (328). Williams proposed that a memorial to Robert Gould Shaw, the white colonel of the Massachusetts 54th Colored Regiment, be erected in a park on the campus of Howard University in Washington, DC. While the Senate approved the plan in 1887, it was never realized (Savage 189). Nonetheless, Williams’s proposal helped to generate the momentum that led to the 1897 dedication of sculptor Augustus Saint Gaudens’s “Shaw Memorial” in Boston.

The emphasis that Williams placed on military agency, citizenship, and independence connected his earliest civic and political work to his historical writings on the United States and Africa. *History of the Negro Race in America* suggested that the independent black republics of Sierra Leone and Liberia provided models for black civic participation in the United States. The greatest exemplar of black self-government was “The Republic of Liberia,” the subject of the penultimate chapter of the book’s “Preliminary Considerations” on Africa. Williams wrote of the African American emigration that contributed to the founding of Liberia: “The circumstances that led to the founding of the Negro republic in the wilds of Africa perished in the fires of the civil war” (*History of the Negro Race* 1:107). Although Liberian independence in 1847 was followed by prompt diplomatic recognition from European states, the United States did not recognize the Republic of Liberia until 1862. In the early 1870s, the first African

⁷ After the Civil War, Williams re-enlisted in the Army’s Tenth Cavalry, served in Indian Territory (a post he later regretted), and was shot in the lung (not in the line of duty, though the circumstances are unclear). He was discharged in 1868. See Franklin 8.

American was appointed consul general to Liberia, a position that black officials held without interruption until the early twentieth century. “Upon their return to the United States,” historian Sylvia M. Jacobs explains, black consuls “lectured and wrote about their experiences in Africa and affected black attitudes and opinions toward the continent” (*African Nexus* 210). In the early 1880s, these ministers were a source of Williams’s claim that Liberia was a model of “a black government in Africa,” where “the cause of religion, education, and republican government are in safe hands, and on a sure foundation” (*History of the Negro Race* 1:98; 1:101). For Williams, therefore, the republicanism of Liberia provided evidence of the potential for black inclusion in the United States body politic. Unfortunately, the rapid escalation of European encroachment throughout the 1880s tempered the hopes that Williams and others held for Liberia.⁸

Williams’s discussion of African republicanism may appear conservative; however, the preliminary section of *History of the Negro Race in America* was a radical departure from the extremely popular narratives of explorer Henry M. Stanley and his ilk. The opening eleven African chapters of *History of the Negro Race in America* were conscious of this tradition of writing. When noting “the noble life-work of Dr. David Livingstone, and the thrilling narrative of Mr. Henry M. Stanley,” Williams pinpointed the fundamental difference between Livingstone’s project and Stanley’s (*History of the Negro Race* 1:110). Stanley was a narrator, the unsullied Livingstone a doer. In writing

⁸ In an October 1890 letter written in Africa, Williams expressed concern over the British colonial threat to Liberian sovereignty. See Sylvia M. Jacobs, *The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1981) 218, 230n36.

about Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*, Williams subtly criticized Stanley's self-representation:

How many times we have read this marvellous [sic] narrative of Stanley's march through the Dark Continent, we do not know; but we do know that every time we have read it with tears and emotion, have blessed the noble Stanley, and thanked God for the grand character of his black followers! There is no romance equal to these two volumes. (*History of the Negro Race* 1:73)

Williams shifted the spotlight by recognizing Stanley's African assistants. Amid his praise, Williams showed some of the revisionist inclinations that reached full bloom by the end of the decade as he and Stanley came into direct conflict on the issue of the Congo State.

In addition to his work as a historical writer, Williams was a popular orator, who often spoke about Africa from the lectern. An interest in the Congo emerged in his speeches well before the November 1884 opening of the Berlin Conference, which gave European sanction to Leopold's supposedly philanthropic dominion over the Congo. Seven months before the start of the Berlin meetings, in an oration in Washington, DC, on the anniversary of the district's Emancipation Day, Williams addressed the importance of the "Valley of the Congo" to black Americans: "Every Negro in the United States should have an honest pride in the African question" (*Negro as a Political Problem* 38).⁹

⁹ President Abraham Lincoln had issued an Emancipation Proclamation for the District of Columbia in 1862, several months prior to the 1863 Proclamation. The DC Proclamation was celebrated into the postbellum era even though it was a compromise document that offered remuneration to slaveholders who affirmed their loyalty to the Union. Interestingly, on Washington, DC, Emancipation Day 1883, Frederick Douglass

In this April 16, 1884, address, *The Negro as a Political Problem*, Williams lauded the United States Senate for its approval, six days earlier on April 10, of diplomatic relations with the Congo State: “Thanks to his Excellency President [Chester] Arthur for his message on the Congo, and loud huzzas for the United States Senate for recognizing the International African Association.”¹⁰ The “International African Association” was one of several philanthropic front organizations that Leopold surreptitiously manipulated. Despite the shadiness of the actual arrangements, the currency of Williams’s April 16, 1884, oration was extraordinary. Williams delivered the speech before President Arthur’s Secretary of State Frederic T. Frelinghuysen signed the treaty with the Congo

gave an address at the Washington Congregational Church in which he criticized Williams for telling “his readers that it was the dissolution of the Union that abolished slavery.” Douglass believed that *History of the Negro Race in America* was mistaken in its emphasis on war rather than reunion. See Frederick Douglass, *Address by Hon. Frederick Douglass, Delivered in the Congregational Church, Washington, DC, April 16, 1883* (Washington, DC: n.p., 1883) 13.

¹⁰ See George Washington Williams, *The Negro as a Political Problem* (Boston, MA: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1884) 39. Williams confused the “International African Association” and the “International Association of the Congo,” the latter of which the Senate actually acknowledged. Williams was not alone in this confusion, which was deliberately manufactured and exploited by Leopold. The State Department referred to the two organizations interchangeably in official documents. See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999) 65, 87. On the other hand, in *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, Stanley characteristically opted for insider braggadocio rather than discretion:

It was well known to me that His Majesty King Leopold II. [sic] was the Founder and President of the African International Association, and also the Founder of the society called Comité d’Etudes du Haut Congo, which later became known as the International Association of the Congo, and that the two societies had the same secretary and the same bureau, but both were kept distinctly apart, as the contributed funds and the contributions were entirely separate.

Stanley denied only commingling funds, not base deception. See Henry M. Stanley, *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State: A Story of Work and Exploration* (1885; Detroit, MI: Negro History P, [1971]) 1:38.

State. On April 10, the United States Senate had simply given Secretary of State Frelinghuysen authorization for such a treaty. Frelinghuysen did not actually sign the accord until April 23.

One explanation for Williams's enthusiasm regarding the Congo can be found in his writings on Liberia. Despite the early inklings of their later conflicts, Stanley and Williams both connected United States support for the founding of Liberia to recognition of Leopold's Congo regime.¹¹ As a politician and author, there was a consistency to Williams's commitment to independent black statehood, be it Haiti, Liberia, or the Congo. Prior to 1890, when so little information was available, Williams understandably perceived Leopold's Congo regime as potentially comparable to Liberia, an independent republic that once was a dependent state. Williams's historical understanding of the role of the United States in the establishment of Liberia led him to support recognition of the Congo.

The vision Williams articulated in his 1884 Emancipation Day speech was consistent with both his 1874 sermon and *History of the Negro Race in America* in its advocacy of both progressive civilization and independent black republics: "Africa will be regenerated; tribes will be converted; states will be founded [...]" (*Negro as a Political Problem* 39). By connecting this Emancipation Day celebration with Africa, Williams linked the situation in modern Africa to the slave trade: "Africa is yet going to pay this nation dollar for dollar of the three billions spent in prosecuting the war; and America is going to compensate Africa for stealing her children by placing the means of civilization in her waiting and willing hands" (*Negro as a Political Problem* 38-39).

¹¹ See, for example, Stanley, *Congo* 2:382.

Williams's contradictions were encapsulated by a sentence that both advocated reparations for the transatlantic slave trade and suggested that Africa had a debt to the United States. His outlook was peculiarly egalitarian. At the core, however, was an analytic model that, whatever its confusions, recognized the intertwined transatlantic political histories that formed the foundation for an economic and political relationship between the United States and Africa.

In the summer between United States recognition of the Congo and the Berlin Conference, Williams made his first of several voyages to Europe, through all of which he continued to promote the Congo State. In June 1888, Williams went to London as a delegate to the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World. In his conference address at Exeter Hall, Williams, an ordained Baptist minister, spoke about abolishing the slave trade and "putting down the liquor traffic on the Congo [River]" (Johnston 1:135). Along with his international exposure, opportunities to speak in the United States were increasing and the Congo was a regular topic. Williams hired James B. Pond, the country's premier lecture manager, who was also employed by Henry M. Stanley and Mark Twain (both of whom actively lectured and published on Congo affairs at different times during their careers).¹² A list of lecture topics Williams advertised with Pond prominently recognized his appearance at Exeter Hall and his expertise on the Congo. In 1889, Pond arranged for Williams to deliver a Memorial Day lecture on the Congo State in Worcester, Massachusetts (Franklin 145). Throughout his international travels, Williams tried repeatedly to meet with Leopold, in vain until 1889.

¹² For more of Pond, see James B. Pond, *Eccentricities of Genius* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1901).

In the fall of 1889, Williams traveled to an antislavery conference in Brussels on a journalistic commission from S. S. McClure of the Associated Literary Press.¹³ During this trip, Williams's media credentials and persistence got him the personal audience with Leopold that he had coveted for years. Williams's affiliation with McClure's Associated Literary Press enabled his dispatches, including the Leopold interview, to reach a substantial audience through their publication in the *New York Tribune* and beyond.¹⁴ "The Opening of Africa," one of Williams's dispatches from Brussels printed in the *New York Tribune*, favorably noted the interview: "King Leopold expressed his admiration for America in the most flattering terms [...]. He is as modest as he is wise" (15). During the interview, Leopold explained his involvement in the Congo as "a Christian duty to the poor African," a wholly altruistic undertaking without financial reward (qtd. in Franklin 181). Williams left the interview claiming that Leopold was "one of the noblest sovereigns in the world" (qtd. in Franklin 182). Before leaving Brussels, Williams translated his acquaintance with Leopold into the Belgian Commercial Companies commission to recruit black American employees. Williams immediately headed back to the United States. His destination was Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he attempted to fulfill the terms of his agreement with the Belgian Commercial Companies.

¹³ For more on McClure, see S. S. McClure, *My Autobiography* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914); and Peter Lyon, *Success Story: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure* (New York: Scribner, 1963).

¹⁴ See Franklin 319n32. Since Williams's articles in the *New York Tribune* were published without bylines, readers must rely on internal evidence to ascertain authorship. For example, "On the Congo. First Impressions of the Great African State" (*New York Tribune* 8 June 1890: 19) was, according to Franklin, "one of the letters that GWW sent to the Associated Literary Press. Although it is not signed, internal evidence leaves no doubt that GWW wrote it" (321n1).

After meetings with students at Hampton and President Harrison at the White House, Williams returned to Brussels in January 1890. It had become clear that Williams was not going to be the cog for which the Belgians had hoped. Despite his admiring portrait of Leopold, Williams's November 1889 *New York Tribune* article, "The Opening of Africa," contained misgivings about Stanley's role in the Congo enterprise. To start, Williams questioned Stanley's route during the 1887-1890 Emin Pasha "rescue" mission: "In looking over my map I am rather puzzled to learn that Mr. Stanley contemplates making his exit from the Dark Continent through German rather than through British territory" ("The Opening of Africa" 15). Even more serious, however, are charges about

his supposed ally, Tippoo Tib. [...]. While at a breakfast given by a distinguished journalist not long ago, I hear the following hinted at, viz. Tippoo Tib is a slave dealer. He has never felt very comfortable over the anti-slavery plans of the Congo State. He had the confidence of Mr. Stanley, and understood his plan, the strength of his column and the object of his mission. ("The Opening of Africa" 15)

Williams's protest, at least with regard to Stanley, began before he departed for the Congo.

As a result, when Williams returned to Belgium, Leopold and other officials actively tried to discourage him from traveling to the Congo. Williams later told President Harrison that Leopold had insisted "that all necessary information would be

furnished me in *Brussels*. In reply I told His Majesty that I was going to the Congo *now* [...]” (*Report [...] to the President* 265). To impede Williams’s resolve, Leopold refused him passage on government steamships, forcing him to rely on missionary or non-Belgian commercial vessels. When Belgian officials failed to prevent Williams’s expedition, they maneuvered to preemptively discredit it. The Belgian ambassador to the United States started rumors regarding the propriety of Williams’s arrangements with Huntington, charges that Stanley later parroted. Owing to this powerful opposition, Williams feared for his life. From the Congo State, he sent a letter to Massachusetts Senator George F. Hoar requesting the protection of a United States warship to “save me from embarrassment and from assassination” (qtd. in Franklin 190). Despite Williams’s dead seriousness and perfect reasonableness (at least based on past United States military actions), he received no response.¹⁵ In the April 1890 letter to Senator Hoar, Williams went so far as to make arrangements for the safekeeping of his diaries and his personal affects in the event of his demise.

While touring Africa in 1890, Williams developed a fuller analysis of the Congo State. From the Congo, Williams wrote a series of three passionately critical tracts about Leopold’s regime. Adam Hochschild believes Williams’s publications were then printed and distributed in conjunction with “a Dutch trading company, the Nieuwe Afrikaansche Handels Vennootschap [NAHV], which had trading posts in the Congo and owned the steamboat, the *Holland*, on which Williams traveled” (112). (Ironically, Williams

¹⁵ The United States sent the S. S. Ticonderoga warship to the Congo in 1879 and the S. S. Kearsarge to the Congo in 1885 to support United States agents. See Franklin 191.

probably made the contacts who disseminated his pamphlets as a result of Leopold's refusal to allow him passage on state steamers.)

Although some members of the Belgian Parliament defended Leopold by slandering Williams, the legislature found *An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo, by Colonel the Honorable Geo. W. Williams of the United States of America* credible enough to commission an official response. The *Open Letter to [...] Leopold* was distributed in a single volume with the equally indignant *Report on the Proposed Congo Railway, by Colonel the Honorable Geo. W. Williams of the United States of America*, ostensibly written for Huntington, Williams's primary patron. Williams penned both of these tracts in July 1890 at Stanley Falls. Several months later in October 1890, while at Loanda, Angola in S. W. Africa, Williams wrote *A Report upon the Congo-State and Country to the President of the Republic of the United States of America, by Colonel the Honorable Geo. W. Williams*, which President Harrison had requested during their personal meeting the previous December.

While in the Congo, Williams's assessment of a potential role for African Americans changed dramatically from when he had agreed to the Hampton recruitment contract with the Belgian Commercial Companies. Williams realized that his original recruitment strategy at Hampton had been premature. In his October 1890 report to President Benjamin Harrison, who had personally solicited his input, Williams advocated a specialized niche for African Americans:

Emigration cannot be invited to the Congo for a quarter of a century, and then only educated blacks from the Southern United States, who have

health, courage, morals and means. They must come only in small companies, not as laborers, but as landed proprietors. One hundred families in ten years would be quite enough and not for twenty five years yet. *White labor can never hope to get a foot-hold here. (Report [...] to the President 276)*

Williams understood the unreasonable urgency of his abrupt Hampton recruitment plan, which needed to be cultivated methodically over the course of a generation. He anticipated that a future educated elite was going to uplift Africa, similar to what W. E. B. Du Bois later called for the “talented tenth” to undertake domestically.¹⁶ This vision was rearticulated by Williams throughout his career and became a commonplace among African American writers. Williams’s ideas helped to establish the deeply practical dimensions of African American discourse about Africa generally and the Congo specifically.

When Williams explored the Congo firsthand, he became critical of Belgian imperialism. However, his critique was not solely the product of increased access to information. Williams was responding to shifting situations in Africa. Williams arrived in the Congo in 1890 at a “fundamental turning point” when, according to Jean Stengers and Jan Vansina, “the system of exploitation, which was to keep the state solvent, was then developed” (357-358). Leopold declared the Congo a “régime domanial,” whereby the Congo State was “declared the proprietor of all vacant land” (Stengers and Vansina

¹⁶ See W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Talented Tenth” (1903), *Writings*, ed. Nathan I. Huggins (New York: Library of America, 1986) 842-861. For an insightful reading of Du Bois’s evolving conception of the “talented tenth,” see Joy James, *Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 18-27.

318). With the state holding a land monopoly, rubber replaced ivory as the most valuable export, jumping from 100 metric tons in 1890 to 1,300 metric tons in 1896 to 6,000 metric tons in 1901, leading to the development of a brutal system of forced labor (Stengers and Vansina 319).

As Williams developed a critique of this system, his transatlantic political analysis led him to immediately understand the culpability of the United States antecedent to the Berlin Conference:

Although America has no commercial interests in the Congo it was the Government of the Republic of the United States which introduced this African Government into the sisterhood of States. It was the American Republic which stood sponsor to this young State, which has disappointed the most glowing hopes of its most ardent friends and most zealous promoters. (*Report [...] to the President* 278-279)

As his April 1884 Emancipation Day address made clear, Williams had once counted himself among the Congo State's supporters. However, six years later, he concluded that the United States was blameworthy for the "Congo atrocities." As the first country to establish diplomatic relations with Belgium's Central African regime, the United States jumpstarted a process that continued on a fast track at the Berlin Conference.

Stanley and Williams were in agreement that the United States had a special relationship to the Congo State based both on its early recognition of Leopold's rule and on its domestic racial dilemma. As one of Leopold's staunchest defenders, Stanley was duly appreciative of the support of the United States:

The recognition of the United States was the birth unto new life of the Association, seriously menaced as its existence was by opposing interests and ambitions; and the following of this example by the European Powers has affirmed and secured its place among Sovereign States. This act, the result of the well-considered judgment of the American statesmen, was greatly criticised abroad, as was the participation of the United States in the Berlin Conference, to which it directly led up, by the press of America. It was an act well worthy of the Great Republic, not only as taking the lead in publicly recognising and supporting the great work of African civilisation in history, and in promoting the extension of commerce, but of significant import, in view of its interest for the future weal of the 7,000,000 people of African descent within its borders. (*Congo* 2:383)

The United States helped to expedite recognition of Leopold's absentee claims. There were no African representatives in Berlin. The United States delegation—led by Leopold's chief American lobbyist Henry Sanford, appointed by President Arthur and aided by Stanley—approved the General Act at the Berlin Conference in February 1885. However, incoming President Grover Cleveland, Harrison's predecessor, refused to submit it for Senate ratification. Cleveland feared that his authorization of the Berlin Act would threaten the standing of the Monroe Doctrine, which was instituted in 1823 to curtail European intrusion in the Americas.¹⁷ Thus, the United States facilitated the

¹⁷ The Monroe Doctrine was central to the public debate in the United States as the 1891 deadline for official ratification approached. See, for example, "Can the Congo Treaties Be Saved?" *New York Tribune* 18 Apr. 1891: 6.

Berlin debacle without ever authorizing the General Act. In the end, the United States tried to disguise its role in the Berlin Conference behind an official position of neutrality.

In *Report upon the Congo-State and Country to the President*, written in Africa, Williams reflected on the role of the United States in the establishment of the Congo State. His report, a follow-up to his December 1889 meeting with President Harrison, outlined the importance of United States recognition of the International Association after its initial rebuff by nearly all European governments. With recognition, Williams contended, came culpability for the formation of the “État Indépendent du Congo,” the installation of Leopold as Chief of State, and the ensuing misdeeds. According to Williams, this seizure of power violated international law and betrayed the trust of the United States. The Secretary of State, Williams stressed, “never permitted his Government to become a party to a scheme of seizing and dividing the Congo-country among certain European Powers, one of the foulest crimes in modern diplomatic history!” (*Report [...] to the President* 269). Williams claimed that Leopold conned the United States government.

While Williams’s three Congo tracts were clearly intended as public statements, they also spoke directly to specific constituencies. As his report to President Harrison detailed the complicity of the United States in the establishment of a brutal regime, his *Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo* was unflinching in its comments about its declared addressee. Williams made it very clear that Leopold’s “personal Government” had no legitimate standing:

The world may not be surprised to learn that your flag floats over territory to which your Majesty has no legal or just claim, since other European Powers have doubtful claims to the territory which they occupy upon the African Continent; but all honest people will be shocked to know [sic] by what grovelling means this fraud was consummated. (*Open Letter to [...] Leopold* 244)

In addition to the sharpness of his indictment of Leopold, Williams refused to let other European colonies off the hook. One of Williams's unique contributions was his precocious willingness to extend his criticisms of the Congo State to European imperialism more broadly. Williams challenged the legitimacy of European claims in Africa, explaining that Belgium may have been the worst offender but was not alone in its crimes against Africa.

The *Open Letter to [...] Leopold* made clear that the theft of land was foremost among Leopold's transgressions: "Your Majesty's Government has sequestered their land, burned their towns, stolen their property, enslaved their women and children, and committed other crimes too numerous to mention in detail" (246). Williams's criticism was based on the protection of African land rights, a position which was unique not typical, even among Leopold's opponents. Leopold, Williams drolly commented, was wrong to establish military posts in "territory to which your Majesty has no more legal claim, than I have to be Commander-in-Chief of the Belgian army" (*Open Letter to [...] Leopold* 252). In the conclusion to the *Open Letter to [...] Leopold*, Williams was precise as to where ultimate responsibility rested: "All the crimes perpetrated in the Congo have been done in *your* name, and *you* must answer at the bar of Public Sentiment

for the misgovernment of a people, whose lives and fortunes were entrusted to you by the august Conference of Berlin, 1884-1885” (emphasis in source, 253). Williams emphasized Leopold’s crimes against African people not European commerce.

Williams balanced his always-assertive accusations with a modicum of practicality. For example, he was willing to use standard free trade arguments to appeal to business leaders who were irate about the import-export duties from which Belgium and its concessionaires were exempt: “Nothing in the history of political economy and tariff-legislation can equal these laws for their inequality, injustice and repressive character” (*Report [...] to the President* 276). His pragmatism included clear suggestions for the Congo, such as the use of African American agents. Christian missionary work must be combined “with practical missionary work, or industrialism” (*Report [...] to the President* 272). In light of his advocacy of a “local, not European” government in the Congo, the “industrialism” Williams promoted began to resemble a version of African economic independence (*Report [...] to the President* 279).

Williams also made a strong argument for a revision of colonial labor practices: “Meanwhile Africa needs the blessing of a practical labor system, which, while it addresses itself to the soul, will not ignore the body, its earthly temple; and, while inculcating spiritual truths, will not fail to teach the native the primal lesson of human history: *For in the sweat of thy face thou eat thy bread*” (*Report on the Proposed Congo Railway* 262-263).¹⁸ By employing terms such as “blessing,” “soul,” “temple,” and “spiritual” to make an argument about labor systems and political economy, Williams

¹⁸ For more on the labor system in Central Africa during this period, see William J. Samarin, *The Black Man's Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo and Ubunagi Rivers, 1880-1900* (Boulder, CO: Westview P, 1989).

critiqued narrowly religious missionary work. His suggestions were similar to those promoted by Collis Huntington in an interview that Williams conducted with him in Brussels:

The Christian residents should follow agricultural pursuits, or be medical men, or better still, combine the two avocations. They would soon be able to raise up around them a group of native teachers and assistants, while engaged in their secular calling, and thus while supporting themselves and their families, would be carrying out in a most effectual manner the highest and foremost work of the Christian missionary.¹⁹

For similar reasons and despite his own religious background, Williams chose to promote his plans for the Congo at Hampton Institute, a normal school that promoted industrial education, rather than through more traditional church missionary routes. Williams used racial uplift rather than missionary civilization to frame his work in the Congo.

Williams's *Report on the Proposed Congo Railway*, ostensibly written for Huntington, is an explicit corrective to Stanley's 1885 bestseller *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State: A Story of Work and Exploration*, which Williams dismissed as a "two volume advertisement" (*Report on the Proposed Congo Railway* 255).

Williams's *Report on the Proposed Congo Railway* resurveyed Stanley's projected route for the Congo Railway and, by association, the dominant English-language narrative of Central Africa: "I know of no work, dealing along with the commerce of Africa, more unreliable and misleading than Mr. STANLEY'S, 'The Congo Free State'" (260).

Williams criticized Stanley's statistics on the population and density of the Congo. In the

¹⁹ Huntington is quoted in [George Washington Williams], "The Opening of Africa," *New York Tribune* 24 Nov. 1889: 15.

end, the estimates of construction time and costs put forth by Williams proved much closer to the final figures than those of Stanley.

Williams's priority was to ascertain the multiple layers of culpability for the Congo atrocities. Leopold, who never set foot in the Congo, could not have succeeded in grabbing power without the help of many people. Williams reserved some of his ammunition in *Open Letter to [...] Leopold* for one of Leopold's accomplices, Henry M. Stanley, who claimed to have signed treaties with Africans granting authority to Leopold's International Association: "Of their own free will, without coercion, but for substantial considerations, reserving only a few easy conditions, they had transferred their rights of sovereignty and ownership to the Association" (*Congo* 2:379). However, Williams challenged Stanley's version of events. Williams accused Stanley of supervising the cruel manipulation of people into signing away their land by convincing them of the supernatural powers of white people to start fires (using a lens and a cigar) and survive gunshots (using a cap gun).

In *Open Letter to [...] Leopold*, Williams used his concluding charge on the unfeasibility of the Congo Railway to make broader accusations against the railroad's most prominent booster: "HENRY M. STANLEY'S name produces a shudder among the simple folk when mentioned; they remember his broken promises, his copious profanity, his hot temper, his heavy blows, his severe and rigorous measures, by which they were mulcted of their lands" (*Open Letter to [...] Leopold* 252). Williams criticized Stanley's brutality toward the people of the Congo. Significantly, when most critics of Stanley relied on his white officers or Stanley's own shameless accounts, Williams drew on interviews with Congolese men and women. As Adam Hochschild contends, "Of the

hundreds of Europeans and Americans who traveled to the Congo in the state's early years, Williams is the only one on record as questioning Africans about their personal experience of Stanley" (110).

The oral histories on which Williams based his conclusions were akin to the privileging of the speaking subject in African American letters. Williams's Congo work fit within his own significant oeuvre as well as within an African American discursive tradition that includes, at its core, autobiographical narratives of slavery and freedom. Williams's longer historical works, for example, used traditionally marginalized voices to challenge the dominant version of events. For his historical studies, *History of the Negro Race in America* and *The History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion*, Williams conducted interviews with black soldiers, which, according to Franklin, "surely mark Williams as one of the pioneer investigators in the field of oral history" (104). Williams approached Stanley and the Congo in a similar manner. Unlike most of his white contemporaries, Williams considered Africans to be reliable critics. His methods of research and analysis enabled him to reach his conclusions, unique in their time, about the Congo.

By listening to African voices, Williams revised Stanley's manipulative and monopolistic literary persona which converged with Stanley's mercenary sense of national identity. Stanley's first African expedition, the search for Livingstone, was organized and funded by James Gordon Bennett Jr.'s *New York Herald* (Bierman 74-78). His second expedition was cosponsored by the *New York Herald* and Edward Levy-Lawson's London *Daily Telegraph* (Bernstein 94). The joint commission positioned Stanley as a uniquely European/American subject, whose whiteness became his flag.

Despite claiming to be from New Orleans, Stanley was born in Wales, probably to an unmarried female prostitute. Even his relationship to his adopted country was vexed. During the Civil War, Stanley volunteered for the Confederate Army. After being captured at the Battle of Shiloh, he volunteered for the Union Army as a condition of his release. However, not until he needed copyright protection, according to Tim Youngs, did Stanley take “out American Citizenship in May 1885 to protect his book royalties when he had learned from his American publisher Harper that a Philadelphia rival was planning a pirated edition of his book on *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*” (133).

Stanley’s national identity was based on his authorial vocation. In *Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, a misleadingly titled posthumous collection of Stanley’s writings, his widow Dorothy Tennant Stanley insisted on the primacy of her late husband’s identity as a writer, not as an imperial profiteer: “In a pecuniary sense, *it was absolutely disinterested*. He would never take the slightest personal advantage of the commercial opportunities incident to the opening of the new countries, on the Congo, or in Uganda. *I desire to emphasise the fact that such property as he had came almost entirely from his books and his lectures*” (emphasis in source, 407). Stanley’s standing as an author and his concomitant commercial interests took primacy over both his state identity and his status as a colonial agent. In 1892, Stanley was renaturalized as a British citizen so that Queen Victoria was able to knight him, which she had been unable to do previously because of his United States citizenship (Bernstein 107). Regardless, copyright was not sufficient for the sort of protection that Stanley sought. Stanley required that all of his officers sign a contract agreeing not to publish anything about the

excursion until at least six months after Stanley issued his own version of events (Bernstein 105). Through these arrangements, Stanley maintained a contractual monopoly on Central African travel writing. Williams challenged this monopoly by following the identical routes that Stanley detailed, interviewing African people about their experiences, and questioning Stanley's findings.

In his Congo tracts, Williams consistently granted Stanley credit as “the veriest romancer” and someone inclined to “flights of imagination” (*Report on the Proposed Congo Railway* 260). Williams understood Stanley's self-consciousness as an author. In his August 1872 address to the prestigious Royal Geographic Society in England following his Livingstone expedition, a momentous event in his young career, Stanley opened his oration with an explanation of his vocation: “I consider myself in the light of a troubadour [...]” (qtd. in Driver, *Geography Militant* 128). Knowing he was not a credentialed explorer, Stanley deliberately chose the mantle of a traveling raconteur for this auspicious audience. Stanley knew that his writer's cap was as important and powerful as his pith helmet. So did Leopold. The Belgian King edited *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*; his markings remain visible in the margins of Stanley's manuscript (Hochschild 81).²⁰

²⁰ Apparently, the Stanley estate was comparably devoted to controlling the written record. According to John Bierman, a recent Stanley biographer,

Up to 1974, [Richard] Hall [author of *Stanley: An Adventurer Explored*] was the only biographer—excluding Frank Hird, the gullible (or biddable) author of the 1935 authorized biography—to be give [sic] access to the Stanley Family Archives, which at that time were unclassified and unindexed. Eight years after Hall's book was published, this collection was sold by Stanley's adoptive grandson, Richard, and was swallowed up in what one can only describe as an academic black hole.

See John Bierman, *Dark Safari: The Life Behind the Legend of Henry Morton Stanley* (New York: Knopf, 1990) 363.

Williams realized that his revisions of Stanley were fundamentally about more than romantic corrections. His classification of Stanley as a “romancer” did not diminish his criticism of the physical devastation Stanley wreaked in Africa (including unapologetic mass murder) or the political importance of his support for European imperialism. Stanley’s authorship served as a tool of Leopold’s imperialism. Williams imagined that his own job as a critic and a historian was to accept responsibilities which Stanley has abdicated: “It is not an agreeabl[e] task to have to say these things of a man whose valour, perseverance, sufferings, and triumphs [sic] have sent a thrill[l] of admiration throughout the civilised world; but it is the stern duty of history to prevent error from being canonized instead of the truth, which must be written with an iron pen” (*Report on the Proposed Congo Railway* 262). Such was Williams’s philosophy throughout his career. In an 1884 address, Williams asserted with regard to the Civil War: “However repulsive the task may be, we owe it to the truth of history to bring our best literary workmanship to the dissection of the problem back of and underneath the later war” (*Memorial Day* 4). As had generations of African American writers before him, Williams grasped the sacred responsibility of authorship.

Although there is no corroboration of the assassination plot that Williams feared, his death was close at hand. After several months convalescing from an unknown illness in Egypt in early 1891, Williams arrived in England on June 1. He died two months later on August 2, 1891, at the age of forty-one. Williams was buried in a grave in Blackpool, England, that was unmarked until 1975 when his biographer John Hope Franklin erected a tombstone in his memory. Even if it only looked like the consequence of a conspiracy, Williams’s death before returning to the United States “coupled with the fact that the

king-sovereign took care to discredit him in advance, saved the Congo government from what might have been,” in the words of historian S. J. S. Cookey, “an embarrassingly formidable opponent” (36). Indeed, the *New York Tribune* remembered Williams not as the author of *History of the Negro Race in America*, but as “a colored lawyer from America, who some time ago visited the Upper Congo country, and who wrote letters to King Leopold of Belgium severely criticising the methods of the Congo Free State officials and also those of Henry M. Stanley.”²¹

Within months after they were written, while Williams was still in Africa, his Congo reports began to circulate in Europe. For example, on November 4, 1890, a member of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce read excerpts of the *Open Letter to [...] Leopold* at the Conference of African Merchants on the Congo Free State and Import Duties in London (Franklin 210). As early as October 1890 in England, Stanley was shown a copy of *Open Letter to [...] Leopold* by one of his patrons, William Mackinnon of the Imperial British East Africa Company. Mackinnon showed the report to Stanley as

²¹ The *New York Tribune* obituary also prominently noted his engagement to a British woman, Alice Fryer:

The London dispatch which brings the news of his death says that he attended the recent Anti-Slavery Conference at Brussels, and visited the Congo country under the auspices of the Belgium Government; but that before this visit to Africa he spent some time in Liverpool, where he became engaged to marry a white girl. His fiancée applied to Consul General New for information regarding Williams, according to this authority, and upon learning in what light marriages between whites and negroes [sic] in the United States are regarded she broke the engagement. See “George W. Williams,” *New York Tribune* 5 Aug. 1891: 7.

Stanley was preparing to depart for an American lecture tour organized by James Pond, the agent he and Williams shared.

At the close of Stanley's six-month American tour in April 1891, the *New York Herald* ran a story about Williams's exposé of the Congo State under the descriptive heading, "Stanley the Bugbear of Congo Land. The Administration of the African Free State Declared by an American Citizen to be Barbarous. Investigation Demanded. King Leopold of Belgium Arraigned in an Open Letter by Colonel George W. Williams for Countenancing a Corrupt Government." The article consisted of excerpts from the *Open Letter to [...] Leopold* followed by an interview with Stanley in response. The unnamed *New York Herald* reporter narrated his encounter with Stanley, several of whose African expeditions the *Herald* had financed:

Mr. Stanley has just finished dinner when I called upon him at the Plaza Hotel last night, and although he was due at a reception he stopped to talk about Colonel Williams' letter at some length.

"I do not need to read the letter," said he after a brief glance at the copy I gave him; "it was handed to me the night before I sailed for this country last October by Sir William McKinnon [sic]. We were dining together at Mr. Ismay's. Sir William McKinnon said that Williams had applied to him for permission to visit the territory of the East Africa Company with a similar purpose of alleged investigation." ("Stanley the Bugbear" 8)

On the evening before Stanley left the United States to return to England, the *New York Herald* reporter literally put the Williams report in front of him. Stanley's repeated

encounters with the Williams pamphlet are evidence of the circulation of Williams's writings to powerful figures in England and the United States.

In the *New York Herald* interview, Stanley recalled meeting Williams in 1884 and having been impressed enough to refer him to Leopold, though there is no corroboration that Williams and Leopold connected as a result. Revealingly, rather than disputing Williams's most serious charge of brutality, which was prominent among those reprinted by the *New York Herald*, Stanley emphasized the illegitimacy of Williams's undertaking: "the statement that Williams had charge of the surveys of the Congo Railroad is absolutely false" ("Stanley the Bugbear" 8). Stanley then accused Williams of blackmail, based on his association with Collis Huntington, an investor in a Central African railroad construction project. Stanley's charge did not make sense since Huntington defended Leopold. Nonetheless, the accusations of blackmail gained enough traction through repetition to be useful in efforts to discredit Williams.

Also in Belgium in April 1891, Leopold warned Lord Vivian, the British ambassador to Brussels, to be wary of Williams's "scandalous and utterly unfounded charges" (qtd. in Franklin 210). Lord Vivian dutifully reported Leopold's allegations to British foreign secretary Lord Salisbury in a letter, adding, "Colonel Williams may be all the King says he is, but I suspect there is a good deal of disagreeable truth in his pamphlets" (qtd. in Franklin 210). In his communication with Vivian, Leopold, like Stanley and so many others, apparently made personal attacks on Williams. While Leopold's intervention was a reaction to the increasing prominence of Williams's tracts throughout Europe, they had been circulating in England for at least six months.

Disparaging attacks on Williams became commonplace when news of his exposés hit the Belgian press with the publication of “Un Colonel noir” in *Mouvement Géographique* in June 1891. By the middle of the month, “virtually every newspaper in Brussels and several in Paris had plunged into the melee [...]” (Franklin 211). Many newspapers resorted to personal attacks on Williams. *Journal de Bruxelles* characterized Williams as an “unbalanced negro [sic]” in what Franklin politely deems, “a highly imaginative biographical sketch” (211-212). However, several other Belgian publications, including *La Réforme*, *Courrier de Bruxelles*, *Le Jour*, and *Flandre Libérale*, called on the government to respond, which it did both in session and in print. On June 18, 1891, the Belgian legislature held hearings on Williams’s allegations. Although Parliamentary Deputies predictably recycled Stanley’s blackmail accusation, the legislature agreed to an official investigation into conditions in the Congo. In July 1891, the Administrators-General of the Congo State released a forty-five page report.²² The report directly replied to the twelve overlapping allegations outlined by Williams in his *Open Letter to [...] Leopold*: inadequate resources, corrupt soldiers, violations of work contracts, racist courts, cruelty to prisoners, female prostitution, unfair trade practices, mistreatment of natives, waging wars, trading in slaves, illegal territorial expansion, and misrepresentation of the railroad project.

²² E. Van Eetvelde and Camille Janssen were the Administrators-General of the Congo State and the signatories of the report. In the *Open Letter to [...] Leopold*, Williams accused Janssen of personally administering criminal punishment in an unfair manner. According to Williams, Janssen refused to prosecute his guilty white servant for thefts for which innocent blacks had already been punished. See George Washington Williams, *An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo*, in John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985) 249.

As Williams was dying in England, his reports on the Congo were attracting international attention from media, governments, and Stanley and Leopold themselves. The documented circulation of Williams's writings can only begin to indicate their impact. His critique was conspicuously synchronous with a broader movement against the Congo State. Though Williams is commonly excluded from European histories, his reports were circulating concurrently with the early stages of English public organizing against the "Congo atrocities." Geographer Felix Driver sees a change in British attitudes toward Leopold's imperialism occurring around a December 1890 meeting in London at the Westminster Palace Hotel: "It was the campaign against Stanley's 'Congo atrocities' in 1890 which marked the turning-point in English liberalism's attitude towards Leopold's state" ("Henry Morton Stanley and his Critics" 164). While Stanley was celebrated at first following the Emin Pasha mission, a backlash resulted from reports of his brutality and his collaborations with notorious slave traders, such as Tippoo Tib. In *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*, Driver notes that the Exeter Hall-based Anti-Slavery Society centered its opposition to Stanley on the Tippoo Tib connection. Whereas Driver cites sources from November 1890 and later to make his case, Williams spoke at Exeter Hall in 1888 and exposed Stanley's dubious association with Tippoo Tib in the *New York Tribune* in November 1889.²³

According to Driver, the Congo protest was the culmination of a body of Stanley criticism that had existed since he first came to international prominence after tracking

²³ See Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) 140; James Johnston, ed., *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, Held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th), London, 1888* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1889) 1:135, 2:316-317; and [George Washington Williams], "The Opening of Africa" 15.

down missionary David Livingstone in 1872. When Stanley returned to England following that expedition, the skeptical geographic establishment was embarrassed by the success of a person who, in the words of Driver, “quite simply lacked the credentials of either the gentleman or the scientist” (*Geography Militant* 129). The British antislavery groups that later became active critics of Leopold’s regime had known of Stanley’s shenanigans since the 1876 revelation of his vengeful mass murders on Bumbire Island.²⁴ Driver uses Stanley’s critics to argue that British opinion on imperialism was heterogeneous. Although the recovery of these early oppositional moments is essential work, the Congo reform movement did not fully emerge for more than a decade after the 1890 meetings he cites. In the meantime, Stanley was elected to Parliament in 1895 and knighted by Queen Victoria in 1899.²⁵

²⁴ For more on Bumbire Island, see Reginald Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890: The Slave Trade and the Scramble* (1939; Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1967) 324-326. For Stanley’s own varying accounts, see his July and August 1875 dispatches to the *New York Herald*, published on August 9 and 10, 1876, reprinted in Henry M. Stanley, *Stanley’s Despatches to the “New York Herald” 1871-1872, 1874-1877*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston, MA: Boston UP, 1970) 241-262; Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent* (1878; New York: Greenwood P, 1969) 1:178-186; and Henry M. Stanley, *The Exploration Diaries of H. M. Stanley*, ed. Richard Stanley and Alan Neame (New York: Vanguard P, 1961) 92-97. For an explanation of the variations in Stanley’s accounts, see Norman R. Bennett’s editorial notes in Henry M. Stanley, *Stanley’s Despatches to the “New York Herald”* 257n8.

²⁵ In an article published shortly after Stanley’s death in 1904 at the height of the Congo Reform Association’s prominence, Sidney Low revised Stanley’s own self-fashioning to conform to emerging standards. The article, which Dorothy Tennant Stanley reprinted in her late husband’s posthumous “autobiography,” absurdly claimed: It was no fault of Stanley’s if the work has been badly carried on by his successors, and if the Congo State, under a regime of Belgian officials, not always carefully selected, has not, so far, fulfilled the promise of its inception. So long as Stanley was in Africa, no disaster occurred; there was not plundering of the natives, and no savage reprisals. His most intimate defenders sought to disclaim the activities that Stanley bragged about for most of his life. See Henry Morton Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, ed. Dorothy Stanley (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909) 400.

At the same time that Driver sees this shift in British attitudes toward the Congo, a Dutch company was circulating throughout Europe and America writings by an African American author implicating both the United States and Belgium in the Congo atrocities. The wide circulation of Williams's pamphlets demonstrates that his criticism of Stanley extended across state borders. Such exposure is appropriate given Driver's suggestion that, "rather than representing the interests of any empire in particular, [Stanley] was a pioneer of the new imperialism in general" (*Geography Militant* 144). However, this transnational context is missing from Driver's reading of Stanley's critics, though such a framework was at the center of Williams's analysis of Leopold's Congo rule. Just as Stanley's imperialism was not bound by a particular nation-state, Williams's criticisms circulated internationally. Williams understood this supposedly new form of empire in a way that allowed him to recognize multiple levels of responsibility within an empire that was, in the end, still a function of state power. In this sense, Williams was perhaps the period's fullest embodiment of the oppositional rhetoric that emerged internationally around the issue of the Congo State. At the very least, Williams merits a role in the narrative. Unfortunately, Williams is not mentioned in Felix Driver's book or in the most recent biographies of Stanley, all of which were published after Franklin's 1985 biography of Williams.²⁶

John Hope Franklin notes the magnitude of the contemporary response to Williams's Congo writings: "What was remarkable about the incident was the furor raised by a relatively brief statement by a relatively obscure black American about the

²⁶ See Driver, *Geography Militant*; Bierman; Frank McLynn, *Stanley: The Making of an African Explorer* (Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House, 1990); and Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Sorcerer's Apprentice* (London: Constable, 1991).

conduct of one of the most important and most powerful men in the world” (215). While Franklin’s book does much to challenge the classification of Williams as “relatively obscure,” the rejoinders to Williams by powerful figures such as Leopold and Stanley fit Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s analysis of the very different case of Phillis Wheatley’s textual exchange with Thomas Jefferson. Like Wheatley’s expert verse, the rhetoric of Williams’s essays forced recognition that his race otherwise might have foreclosed. Gates suggests that Wheatley and Jefferson’s exchange, framed by European Enlightenment ideologies, represents a founding moment of African American literature, “a literature often inextricably bound in a dialogue with its potentially harshest critics” (*Figures in Black* 26). These exchanges can also reveal why Williams belongs in a literary canon that is at once both transnationally American and uniquely African American. Indeed, the processes of literary production are much less unilateral than Gates implies. European traditions are equally the product of their harshest critics, writers such as Williams, whose forceful commentaries could not be ignored by the State or Stanley.

In that sense, the dominant literature is also “inextricably bound in a dialogue,” demanding what Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* calls a “contrapuntal” reading: “As we look back at the cultural archive, we begin to reread it not univocally but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts” (51). Williams’s relationship to his critics suggests a way of reading African American writing about the Congo that approximates the sort of inquiry into imperialism and resistance suggested by Said. While Stanley’s lengthy writings

were popular in his day, the dominant version of the Congo remains the more literary *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad. When George Washington Williams was in the Congo, Joseph Conrad was there as well gathering material for *Heart of Darkness*. Unlike Conrad, who did not publish his novella on the Congo for another decade, Williams published his scathing reports on the administration of the Congo before he left Africa. By the time that Conrad did write about the Congo, George Washington Williams had been dead for nearly a decade.

All the same, Williams posthumously transformed the ways that Conrad's work is read, much as he did Stanley's during their lifetimes. In the 1988 Norton Critical Edition of *Heart of Darkness*, the seventy-six-page novella is complemented by more than forty pages by or about Williams.²⁷ One might expect that Williams's canonization as an auxiliary to *Heart of Darkness* in the standard edition of the novel to increase his visibility in Conrad scholarship. Evidence is scarce. For example, an academic press in 2000 published Peter Edgerly Firchow's *Envisioning Africa: Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness*, which claims that *Heart of Darkness* "was the first and only important English work, either fictional or documentary, to point out just how brutal" Leopold's Congo State was (116). Firchow, who cites the 1988 Norton Critical Edition of *Heart of Darkness* throughout *Envisioning Africa*, only mentions Williams to corroborate accusations of cannibalism (and even then only through an intermediary source) (121). Among his many lacks, Firchow's virulent defense of Conrad misses the sort of "contrapuntal" analysis that Said suggests and the Norton Critical Edition of *Heart of Darkness* facilitates.

²⁷ See Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough (3rd ed.; New York: Norton, 1963) 82-125.

Even after *Heart of Darkness* appeared, Conrad refused repeated invitations to join the Congo Reform Association (Franklin 220). While the response to Williams in the Belgian press was swift, literary critics received *Heart of Darkness* as a psychological novel without any political significance for most of the twentieth century.²⁸ The groundswell of replies to *Heart of Darkness*, which have made Conrad's text a touchstone for postcolonial studies, took the better part of the twentieth century to materialize. Most notably with novelist Chinua Achebe's passionate 1977 essay, "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*," and novelist Wilson Harris's reply, Conrad's masterpiece has been given new political standing that has been appropriated by its defenders as well as its detractors. While many of the texts and ideas of postcolonial studies are valuable, there is a "local" antecedent intellectual tradition in African American writing. As scholar Ann duCille points out, "Although the designation 'postcolonial' may be new, the study of power relations between colonizer and colonized is not. In the United States, black intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Alexander Crummell, Pauline Hopkins, and Anna Julia Cooper discussed such themes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" ("Discourse and Dat Course" 124). Perhaps not surprisingly then, Said's "contrapuntal analysis" resembles the model that Gates proposes in *Figures in Black*. In his ongoing interactions with his critics, George Washington Williams makes important contributions to some of the most urgent discourses in

²⁸ For evidence of the dominance of psychological approaches, see the secondary materials included in the first and the second Norton Critical Editions of *Heart of Darkness* from 1963 and 1971. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough ([1st ed.]; New York: Norton, 1963); and Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough (2nd ed.; New York: Norton, 1971).

contemporary thought and suggests ways that a transnational contextualization of African American writings can enrich critical discourse at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

“IN THE COUNTRY OF MY FOREFATHERS”:
WILLIAM HENRY SHEPPARD AND AFRICAN AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN
THE CONGO

A few weeks before George Washington Williams delivered his recruiting address at Hampton Institute, William Henry Sheppard was appointed to serve as a missionary in the Congo State. In early 1890, trailing a few months behind Williams, Sheppard traveled to the Congo. Like many African Americans of his generation, the twenty-five year old native Virginian who attended Hampton, Sheppard had a regnant desire to go to Africa. After attending seminary at Tuscaloosa Theological Institute (later renamed Stillman Institute) in Alabama, he distinctively pursued his dream, lobbying the Southern Presbyterian Church (US) to establish an African mission.¹ The church rejected his proposal until a white minister was found to accompany him. In the person of Samuel Norvell Lapsley, the church found the willing son of a well-connected Alabama judge able to facilitate the establishment of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM). However, Lapsley did not survive long in Africa. He died in March 1892,

¹ The Presbyterian Church in the United States split during the Civil War into Northern and Southern factions, which did not reunite until 1983. Although the Southern faction, officially known as the Presbyterian Church (US), had very few African American members, it was alone among white churches in providing opportunities for black missionaries to serve in Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All references to the Presbyterian Church will be to the Southern Presbyterians unless otherwise specified. On the structure of the Presbyterian Church and the Civil War division, see Joel L. Alvis Jr., *Religion and Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946-1983* (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1994) 2-7; Jesse Belmont Barber, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: Story of the Work of the Presbyterian Church USA Among the Negroes* (New York: Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church [USA], 1952) 31-45; and Andrew E. Murray, *Presbyterians and the Negro—A History* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1966) 139-149. On the 1983 reconciliation, see “Race, Schism, and Reunion” (chapter 6) of Alvis 132-145.

leaving the APCM in the situation that his appointment was designed to avoid. While the church was struggling to recruit whites (of varying qualifications and racial attitudes) to its ranks, the mission was under the effective direction of Sheppard.

Sheppard maintained as close ties to Hampton as he did to the Presbyterian sponsors of his mission. From the 1890s to the 1920s, Sheppard was featured frequently as both subject and author in the *Southern Workman*. And following the path tread by Williams, Sheppard returned to Hampton to speak about the Congo during leaves of absence and after his retirement. Much of the effectiveness of the APCM in recruiting blacks to serve in Africa was due to Sheppard's writings and speeches at colleges and churches. During his 1893-1894 furlough, his first recruit was his fiancé, Lucy Gantt. The couple got engaged prior to his 1890 departure and was married in Jacksonville, Florida, in February 1894. Lucy was a graduate of Talladega College in Alabama, and had been a soprano vocalist with Frederick Loudin's Original Fisk Jubilee Singers.² Lucy returned with William to the Congo in 1894 along with two other Talladega graduates, Maria Fearing and Lillian Thomas, and a Stillman graduate, Henry Hawkins.³

² Loudin, the former director of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, formed his own group after the Fisk Jubilee Singers officially disbanded in 1882. He used the name of the Fisk Jubilee Singers though they were not affiliated with the university. See Andrew Ward, *Dark Midnight When I Rise: The Story of the Jubilee Singers Who Introduced the World to the Music of Black America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000) 388-389.

³ Four of the first five black women appointed to the APCM, including Thomas and Fearing, were unmarried. The sole exception was Lucy Gantt Sheppard. Three of the four unmarried women, all except Fearing, married black colleagues on the APCM. Thomas married Lucius De Yampert in 1908 and took his last name. During the first twenty years of the APCM, there were no unmarried white women appointed as missionaries. For basic biographical data on APCM missionaries and their terms of service, see Ethel Taylor Wharton, *Led in Triumph* (Nashville, TN: Board of World Missions, Presbyterian Church [US], 1952) 58, 84.

William Sheppard attracted a dedicated missionary contingent of talented men and women such as Fearing, who was fifty-six years old in 1894. At Talladega, Fearing had been a dorm mother and roommate to Lucy Gantt, the school's youngest student when she entered at the age of eleven. Fearing's "long cherished desire to be a missionary to Africa, was so deeply stirred and quickened by a visit and address from Mr. Sheppard, that she at once wrote to the [Executive] Committee [of Foreign Missions] in Nashville, offering her services on the conditions named."⁴ In cases such as the Talladega address that Fearing heard, Sheppard was able to tap into an existing interest in Africa. The influence of his speeches and publications, while not easily quantifiable, extended well beyond those like Fearing who joined the mission. Sheppard helped to educate his audiences about the Congo, which was as important a service as his recruitment numbers. Clearly, Lucy Gantt played a role as well. In ways like this, the Sheppards' transatlantic work for the APCM resonated in the United States as well as in the Congo.

⁴ See the unsigned biography of Maria Fearing, "A Remarkable Missionary," *Missionary* 27.7 (July 1894): 273. Originally, Fearing was refused an official salaried position on the APCM due to her age. So, she sold her house to Samuel Lapsley's father and used the proceeds to finance her passage and her work. In 1894, she traveled to the Congo as a volunteer, not a missionary. After four months in the Congo, she was granted a food allowance by the APCM. Within one year, she was employed by the mission. In her biography of Fearing, Althea Brown Edmiston explains,

After she had been there about two years, our Executive Committee [of Foreign Missions], having heard how she had mastered the native language and of her ever-increasing efficiency in the work of the Mission, appointed her as a regular missionary under their care, at half the salary of a single worker. A few months later her salary was increased to the same amount as that paid to each individual missionary.

See Althea Brown Edmiston, *Maria Fearing: A Mother to African Girls* ([Atlanta, GA]: [Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church (US)], [1937]) 18. Fearing served on the APCM until the age of eighty. She lived to be ninety-nine years old.

In addition to the success of the Sheppards in recruiting black missionaries, William Sheppard's work in the Congo was lauded by his white colleagues from the start. In an October 1890 letter to the *Missionary*, an official organ of the Southern Presbyterian Church, Lapsley wrote:

I wish to say that Bro. Sheppard has, in every way, justified the predictions of his friends. He has won the esteem of all the missionaries as a true man and a gentleman, while with the natives he is, according to Dr. [Aaron] Sims [of the American Baptist Missionary Union], the most popular man that ever came to this station. He has the constitution needed, and the gift of getting on in Africa. While I was away he devoted much time to hunting on the river, and has actually brought home twelve "hippos," to the great delight of the blacks and admiration of Europeans.

Dr. Sims, who has known and treated almost every important worker on the Upper Congo, says: "You have a treasure in him; the very best companion you could have on your trip."⁵

One year later, Lapsley reported: "Sheppard seems to have been as great a favorite there [at Wissmann Falls on the Kasai River] as at Kintame, for I find that numbers of the Bakuba trading here now, or a month ago at Kapunda, had learned to like 'Shoppity,' or 'SHOPPIT MONINE,' *the great Sheppard*" ("Account of the Various Tribes" 151).

⁵ See Samuel N. Lapsley, "Letters from the Missions," *Missionary* 24.1 (Jan. 1891): 33-34. The Presbyterian Church began publishing the *Missionary* in 1868 to report on their foreign missions. In November 1911, the *Missionary* merged with its domestic counterpart, the *Home Mission Herald*, to form the *Missionary Survey*. The 1911 merger represented a formal fusion of foreign and domestic missionary work, an official acknowledgement of the connectedness of their work at "home" and "away." The *Missionary Survey* changed its title to the *Presbyterian Survey* in April 1924, and to *Presbyterians Today* in 1995. *Presbyterians Today* is still being published as of 2003.

Throughout his travels, Sheppard was continually well received and known for a litany of talents. The posthumously published *Life and Letters of Samuel Norvell Lapsley: Missionary to the Congo Valley, West Africa* described Sheppard as “a most handy fellow,” “a through river-man,” and a skilled hunter (55-58).

After the death of Lapsley, the *Missionary* continued to extol Sheppard: “Mr. Sheppard seems to have learned the language of the people rapidly. Mr. [George] Adamson [a white missionary from Scotland] writes us that when Mr. Sheppard preaches to the people at Luebo, they listen with close attention and he says Mr. Sheppard is ‘gifted’” (“The Congo Boat Company” 114). A few months later, Arthur Rowbotham, a white missionary from England, wrote of his senior colleague: “Bro. Sheppard is just a whole team in himself. He has the natives well in hand, and they like him, too. He has a good way with him in being friendly with the carriers, and yet having them do as he says. I am very glad he is coming up country with us” (232). Sheppard earned the praise of Lapsley, Adamson, and Rowbotham, the APCM’s first three white male missionaries.⁶

De Witt Snyder, who served from 1892 until 1901, noted the value of Sheppard’s return from furlough in 1894: “Since the arrival of Mr. Sheppard we have acquired a deeper hold of the language, his knowledge of the Bakuba dialect being a wonderful assistance in getting at obscure meanings” (410).⁷ Like Snyder and Adamson, William M. Morrison, the fifth white man appointed to the APCM, was taken with Sheppard’s linguistic expertise: “Mr. Sheppard seemed providentially the man to go to open the

⁶ Maggie Waugh Adamson and Margaret Elizabeth Rowbotham were appointed at the same times as their husbands, in 1891 and 1892 respectively. See Wharton 58.

⁷ De Witt Snyder was appointed with his wife, May Heginbotham Thompson Snyder, in 1892. She died in Leopoldville in 1896. De Witt Snyder remarried. His new wife, Gertrude Wood Snyder, was appointed to the APCM in 1899 and served until 1901.

mission. He has been there, is known along the road, and speaks the language” (Letter [5 June 1897] 109). In a dispatch to the *Missionary*, Morrison described the presence of Sheppard as a form of divine intervention: “I have faith to believe that the door of the [Kuba] tribe is now open, and God has used Mr. Sheppard as the human means with his unusual tact and wisdom, in the management of the natives” (Letter [7 Dec. 1897] 113). Collectively, these communiqués suggest that Sheppard was perceived as having a unique relationship to the Congo. As Morrison succinctly summarized, “There is no man in all this country who had the influence over this people [Kuba] that Sheppard has [...]” (“Late War as Reported on the Congo” 30).

Recognition of Sheppard reached beyond his mission colleagues. By the end of the 1890s, Sheppard was documenting and reporting the brutality of Leopold’s administrators and their agents. In September 1899, after witnessing the aftermath of a massacre by the Zappo Zaps, a reputedly warlike African people working for the Belgians, Sheppard composed a report about what he saw. From its start, his investigation held an aura of danger: “We may suffer at their hands, but we are going as near as possible, near enough to smell them [...].”⁸ Despite the perilous circumstances, Sheppard was able to collect valuable data, most graphically evidence of the state practice of hand-severing.

⁸ “Diary–September 13–14, 1899,” Typescript, Ms. folder 12, William Henry Sheppard Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, Montreat, North Carolina. Excerpts of the report are reprinted as “Interview with Chief M’lumba N’kusa Concerning the Zappo Zap Raid, 14 September 1899” in Robert Benedetto, ed., *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa: A Documentary Account of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the Human Rights Struggle in the Congo, 1890–1918*, trans. Winifred K. Vass (New York: EJ Brill, 1996) 121–126.

The first acknowledgment of Sheppard's investigative report appeared in the unsigned article "Atrocities in the Congo Free State" in the February 1900 edition of the *Missionary*: "Again Mr. Sheppard has given evidence of his heroic mold and his worthiness to be our representative" (61). "Atrocities in the Congo Free State" cited letters from both Henry Hawkins, a black missionary, and Lachlan Vass, a white missionary, about Sheppard's investigation. In the same issue, an article by Morrison, "Africa Between the Upper and Nether Millstones," reported the atrocities and was clear about where responsibility ultimately must be placed:

We do not blame the Zappo Zaps primarily, for they are only kept by the State to the number of several thousand and used as tools, but we do blame all the white Belgian officials from the highest to the lowest, who are implicated directly or indirectly in such outrages upon an innocent people, and we are praying that if they do not repent the Lord of justice will mete out to them swift and sure punishment. (66)

The *Southern Workman* promptly picked up the report, which "cannot fail to stir the hearts of the civilized nations of the world and cause them to demand a thorough investigation into the practices of the State authorities by whose orders, apparently, these bloody deeds are being committed" ("In the Heart of Africa" 220). Sheppard's investigation led to a full condemnation of Leopold's colonial regime in the Congo State, rather than a scapegoating of his Zappo Zap underlings.

A few years later, Sheppard's report was resurrected by the Congo Reform Association (CRA), which was founded in England in 1903 by Liverpool shipping company employee E. D. Morel to stir up opposition to Leopold's system of rule in the

Congo. William Morrison, who corresponded with Morel and other leading figures of the movement, was a valuable source of information for activists. A good deal of Morrison's information came through Sheppard, whose 1899 report was sent to Mark Twain among others (Benedetto 219). In October 1904, Morrison himself cited Sheppard in his address at the Boston Peace Conference with Booker T. Washington and other dignitaries in attendance ("Treatment of the Native People" 189). Both Twain and Washington became Vice Presidents of the American Congo Reform Association, which was established in 1904. In addition, Twain and Washington, both correspondents of Morrison, cited Sheppard in their published writings on the Congo State.⁹

Around the time that Sheppard's activism was emerging, the APCM started printing its own magazine, the *Kassai Herald*, at Luebo Station in the Congo.¹⁰ The quarterly *Kassai Herald* was distributed both in the Congo and the United States. Generally, its original articles described the religious, medical, and educational work of the APCM. Lucy Gantt Sheppard regularly contributed children's stories and essays such as "Progress at Ibanj" and "Sunshine in Congo-land." Titles by William Sheppard included "An Evangelistic Tour Among the Bakuba" and "Some Changed Boys and Girls," the latter consisting of brief profiles of "six out of more than a thousand" children

⁹ See Mark Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of his Congo Rule* (1905), *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches and Essays, 1891-1910*, ed. Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992) 672; and Booker T. Washington, "Cruelty in Congo Country" (1904) *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989) 8:88-89.

¹⁰ "Kassai" is elsewhere spelled "Kasai." I have followed the latter except in the cases of direct citations and titles. The *Kassai Herald* was published from March 1901 until November 1916. Robert Benedetto points out, "it was somewhat irregularly produced because of shortages of paper and type, and lack of editorial and production staff." See Benedetto 68n22.

who the APCM claimed as converts (7). While the *Kassai Herald* was a substantially black-authored publication, the only black editor was Henry Hawkins, who held the position from 1904 to 1907 (from volume four, number two, through volume seven).

The editorship of the *Kassai Herald* frequently changed hands. De Witt Snyder held the post initially, followed by Morrison. Morrison was editor for the January 1908 issue, which featured Sheppard's "From the Bakuba Country." In the article, Sheppard reported: "There are armed sentries of chartered trading companies, who force the men and women to spend most of their days and nights in the forests making rubber, and the price they receive is so meager that they cannot live upon it" ("From the Bakuba Country" 282). Sheppard's description of the rubber collection system caused an international incident. His mention of "chartered trading companies" was widely understood to be a reference to the Compagnie du Kasai. According to Director Dreypondt of the Compagnie du Kasai, his company "does not use armed sentries at all, and is not a chartered C[ompan]y" (Benedetto 284). Dreypondt asked the *Kassai Herald* to publish a rebuttal to Sheppard's charges. Morrison refused:

It would seem that if you had been desirous of really knowing the truth about the situation in this region, you would have instituted an impartial investigation, without presuming, as the tone of your letter implies, that Dr. Sheppard only ignorantly or maliciously maligned your company. If you were pained and astonished that Dr. Sheppard should write such things, I must say that I am equally astonished and pained that you should so hastily conclude that a man of Dr. Sheppard's long residence in Congo

and his well-known integrity should write a serious article of this kind without knowing what he was doing. (Benedetto 287)

Based on Sheppard's character and reputation, Morrison defended the article. The Compagnie du Kasai, which was already suffering negative publicity when Sheppard's article appeared, decided to file suit.

On February 23, 1909, a summons was issued suing Sheppard and Morrison for libel. The trial was to be held before a court in Leopoldville (Kinshasa). Belgium had jurisdiction as a result of having taken control of the Congo the previous year. From Luebo Station, travel to the capital was an arduous trek, impassible for several months of the year. This difficulty must have pleased the Compagnie du Kasai, whose intent largely was to distract the attention and energy of the APCM away from the colonial labor system.

Sheppard and Morrison traveled to Leopoldville with twenty Congolese witnesses, all recruited by Sheppard. Morrison was less keen on Congolese testimony, explaining to a white APCM colleague:

Sheppard has been trying to persuade some Bakuba to go, but with no avail as yet. We shall try to take along a few Baluba. I was almost in favor of taking no witnesses at all; just telling them that when they had the trial in a place where we could get the witnesses, and all we wanted, we would be ready, and not before that time. Others thought that we might take what we could get. I am almost afraid that the few we shall get will do us no special amount of good, whereas if we went with none, and

made no effort to prove anything under the circumstances, we would perhaps come out better. (Benedetto 357-358)

Unfortunately, the twenty witnesses who Sheppard insistently brought to Leopoldville were not allowed to testify. Though they attended the trial, their oral narratives, which Sheppard alone recognized as important, never made it into the official record.

Due to a technical mistake in the issuance of the summons, the charges against Morrison were dropped. However, the updated summons did not reach Morrison before he had traveled to Leopoldville for the trial. Regardless, Morrison relished a part in the cause célèbre, and rarely acknowledged that he was not on trial. Subsequent writers have seemingly followed Morrison by ignoring this detail. Morrison's biographer includes an appendix to his book, "The Case of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Sheppard" (Vinson 193-201). Robert Benedetto, who compiled the extraordinary *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa: A Documentary Account of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the Human Rights Struggle in the Congo, 1890-1918*, describes the case with the misleading section title "The Libel Trial of Sheppard and Morrison" (xi). The Congo Mission Papers at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Montreat, North Carolina, include a file on the "Trial of William M. Morrison and William H. Sheppard."¹¹ Even Pagan Kennedy, one of Sheppard's biographers, indexes the "Trial of Sheppard and Morrison" (237). Despite all of this discussion of Morrison, who certainly was an important part of the story, William Sheppard was the sole defendant in the trial.

¹¹ See "Trial of William M. Morrison and William H. Sheppard," Ms. folder 6, Box 77, Congo Mission Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, Montreat, North Carolina.

The case for the defense could have been made exclusively on technical grounds; the allegedly libelous article never named the Compagnie du Kasai. However, Sheppard elected as his attorney Emile Vandervelde, a leading member of the Belgian Socialist Party and longtime critic of Leopold. In his opening speech to the court, Vandervelde made his political priorities clear:

when I agreed to take the defense of those who find themselves here, whom I had not previously known personally (I had not even heard of Mr. Sheppard), I agreed immediately to defend them, I say, because I saw the enormous masses of the natives of the Kasai, for whose protection these men had raised themselves up. I agreed to defend them because this lawsuit actually is not between the Company Kasai and Mr. Sheppard, but between the Company Kasai and the natives who live in the territory exploited by this company for over ten years.

In every circumstance, on every occasion, I have struggled for the rights of the natives of the Congo, and in doing so, I believe that I have defended the nation better than those who try to keep covered-up the mess, the existence of which is no longer contested. (Benedetto 388)

The political stakes were high. An affidavit from British Consul Wilfred Thesiger on behalf of Sheppard was refused consideration as evidence.¹² The United States Department of State advocated on behalf of Sheppard. United States Consul William

¹² For more on Thesiger, see John B. Osborne, "'A Disaster of the First Magnitude,' The British Congo Reform Campaign and the Dilemma of Development: 1909-1913" (unpublished essay, 2002); and John B. Osborne, "Wilfred G. Thesiger, Sir Edward Grey, and the British Campaign to Reform the Congo, 1905-1909," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27.1 (Jan. 1999) 59-80.

Handley and Vice Consul Kirk along with British Vice Consul Jack P. Armstrong, Thesiger's deputy, were in the courtroom for Sheppard's trial.

On October 4, 1909, Judge Charles Louis Gianpetri handed down his verdict in the case. Sheppard was acquitted and the Compagnie du Kasai was ordered to pay court costs of forty-two francs. The court ruled that the prosecution had failed to prove Sheppard's malicious intent. In addressing the veracity of Sheppard's accusations, Judge Gianpetri cited Thesiger's 1905 Commission of Inquiry as corroborating evidence of brutality and misrule.¹³ In his egotistical excitement, Morrison sent a letter to E. D. Morel implying that he had been on trial: "Throw up your hat! Sheppard & I acquitted" (Benedetto 417).

While Sheppard was vindicated with the support of his colleagues, his agitation embodied the worst fears of colonial authorities and their religious lackeys. In *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa*, historian Walter L. Williams explains:

White mission boards feared that black Americans would spread racial ill feeling to the Africans. That fear was felt even more strongly by European colonial governments, which viewed Afro-American missionaries as potential troublemakers. As imperial control tightened over the continent, more restrictions were placed upon black missionaries. Even those churches which backed their black representatives, as the southern Presbyterians did William Sheppard, experienced much opposition from Europeans. By the 1890s most colonial governments

¹³ For excerpts from Judge Gianpetri's decision in the case, see Benedetto 411-416.

were encouraging American churches to send only white missionaries.

(42)

In 1910, a few months after the acquittal, both William Sheppard and Lucy Gantt Sheppard retired from the APCM. Although the stated reason for William Sheppard's retirement was health, Morrison had accused him of committing adultery with African women while Lucy was on leave. On his return to the United States, William Sheppard privately confessed to Presbyterian authorities and quietly served a one-year suspension from the church.¹⁴ Within a span of two years, Morrison levied similar charges against the three senior male missionaries at the time, all of them black. Joseph Phipps and Henry Hawkins, the only two black male missionaries who spent their entire tenures without wives in the Congo, were forced to resign in 1908 and 1910 respectively, both based on Morrison's charges of sexual misconduct.¹⁵ During the next fifty years, the Presbyterian Church only appointed one black person to the mission that Sheppard founded (and in her case only because she married an active missionary).¹⁶

¹⁴ See Benedetto 423-425n5; Pagan Kennedy, *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-Century Congo* (New York: Viking, 2002) 189-191; and William E. Phipps, *William Sheppard: Congo's African-American Livingstone* (Louisville, KY: Geneva P, 2002) 177-178.

¹⁵ When the Presbyterian Church appointed Hawkins, they refused to allow his wife to go to the Congo, effectively ending his marriage. Pagan Kennedy suggests the Hawkins's "sexual misconduct" was a longterm monogamous relationship: "After many years in the Congo, Hawkins took an African lover—whom he may have regarded as a wife—and fathered a baby." See Kennedy 178, 191.

¹⁶ The lone exception, a Jamaican woman, Edna Atkinson Rochester, was appointed in 1923 because she married an active missionary, Adolphus A. Rochester of Jamaica. Edna Atkinson Rochester served until 1939. Adolphus Rochester's previous wife, Annie Katherine Taylor Rochester of Alabama, died in 1914 after eight years with the APCM. For more on Annie Rochester, see Sylvia M. Jacobs, "Their 'Special Mission': Afro-American Women as Missionaries to the Congo, 1894-1937," *Black*

As a result of his *Kassai Herald* article and subsequent trial, Sheppard's public persona with regard to the Congo was largely defined by his work as a writer. Although not published by the Presbyterian Church until 1917, Sheppard's only full-length book, *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, deals almost entirely with the years 1890 to 1893. The early years of the mission most closely fit the parameters of the exploration genre since much of that time was spent scouting locations for permanent mission stations. Its belated publication was, however, unusual for the genre. Part of the cache of travel narratives was their perceived currency, as in Henry Stanley's rush to publish his epic accounts. Despite the delay, *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* was popular enough to require at least three printings during Sheppard's lifetime—in 1917, 1919, and 1922—and a fourth in 1965.¹⁷

In his Introduction to *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, Samuel H. Chester, Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Missions for the Presbyterian Church (US), identifies the book as “an expansion of autobiographical and historical lectures delivered by its author.”¹⁸ Most of the lectures incorporated into *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*

Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1982) 169-171.

¹⁷ For the 1965 edition of *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, see J. Phillips Noble, ed., *Four Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo: Samuel N. Lapsley, William H. Sheppard, Maria Fearing, Lucy Gantt Sheppard* (Anniston, AL: First Presbyterian Church, 1965).

¹⁸ See William H. Sheppard, *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* (Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, [1917]) 13. Subsequent parenthetical references to will be abbreviated *PPC*.

apparently were written during the early years of the mission. While Sheppard claims at the outset, “I shall dwell but lightly upon my American life of twenty-five years; speaking more in detail of my African life of twenty years,” he actually covers only a fragment of the latter (*PPC* 15). A brief concluding chapter, “His Kingdom Coming in Congo,” includes a picture of “Lukusa, later called ‘Dick,’ the first convert in the Kasai region, and the first member of the Luebo Presbyterian Church, received April 1895” (*PPC* 150). Though more than twenty years in the past by the book’s publication, 1895 is the latest date explicitly mentioned. With its early 1890s focus, Sheppard’s only book elides his activism and trial.

However, Sheppard’s court case was still an important part of his lore at the time when *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* appeared. While at Hampton to deliver the 1915 Founder’s Day Address, Sheppard gave a chapel lecture, during which he “spoke of his arrest and trial on account of his exposure of the Belgian atrocities” (“At Home and Afield: Hampton Incidents” 183). Nonetheless, the Presbyterian Church was not Hampton. A discussion of the trial or the years when Sheppard was the de facto head of the mission did not fit the story that Samuel Chester and the Presbyterian Church wanted to see in print. *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* was published at a time when the APCM’s racial policies were clear: black missionaries need not apply. Sheppard’s focus on the early years of the mission may have been a way for him to reclaim a lost era of opportunity and collaboration. For Chester, an emphasis of the early years was a way to counter the mission’s activist reputation. In the Introduction to *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, Chester commended Sheppard’s authorial humility: “The reader will be struck with the way in which, in telling his story up to the time of Mr. Lapsley’s death, he

always keeps Mr. Lapsley to the front and himself in the background” (*PPC* 13). Chester interpreted *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* as an exemplar of black obsequiousness.

Of course, there is a more convincing interpretation of *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*—that Sheppard fully emerged after the death of his fellow pioneer. Lapsley died of a fever while Sheppard was preparing to enter the “Forbidden Land” of the Kuba (*PPC* 83). Sheppard still traveled to the “Forbidden Land,” albeit independently of his white comrade. His reception by the Kuba is the most frequently recounted story from his travels and the literal crowning moment of the book. On his arrival in the hidden Kuba capital of Mushenge, Sheppard was recognized by King Kot aMweky as a reincarnation of an ancient king: “‘The foreigner who is at Bixibing,’ said they, ‘who has come these long trails and who speaks our language is a Makuba, one of the early settlers who died, and whose spirit went to a foreign country and now he has returned’” (*PPC* 101).

Sheppard denied any Kuba lineage, asserting, “I have heard distinctly all that you have said, but I am not a Makuba; I have never been here before” (*PPC* 101). Sheppard’s next line, the heading for the subsequent vignette, is ironically telling: “They knew me better than I knew myself” (*PPC* 101). Despite Sheppard’s claims of disbelief, he took unmistakable pride in the association. Sheppard repeatedly made a show of his denial of the King’s assertions, even demonstrating his linguistic facility by translating King Lukenga’s phrases into English for his readers. Later in *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, the topic was even broached at Sheppard’s instigation:

I leaned from my seat toward King Lukenga and getting his attention said briefly, “I understand, king, that your people believe me to be a Makuba who once lived here.” The king replied with a smile, “N’Gaza Mi” (It is

true). “I want to acknowledge to you,” said I, “that I am not a Makuba and I have never been here before.” The king leaned over the arm of his great chair and said with satisfaction, “You don’t know it, but you are ‘Muana Mi’ (one of the family).” (*PPC* 107-108)

Versions of Sheppard’s narrative of return recur throughout his oeuvre. His repeated disavowals only enhanced the story’s momentum.

Decades before the publication of *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, Sheppard’s narrative had long appealed to the Presbyterian press and its readers. In 1893, the *Missionary* saw fit to publish two separate third-person accounts of Sheppard’s reception by the Kuba:

What an interesting visit our missionary, Mr. Sheppard, had to King Lukenga and his people! He was the first foreigner that ever succeeded in getting to them. Other men had tried to make them a visit, but had always been kept back; but Mr. Sheppard, under the good hand of God, made his way to the great town where the king lives, and was most kindly received by the king and his people. There had been an old story among these people that the spirit of a dead king, who had ruled over the tribe, went to a foreign land and so, when the people saw Mr. Sheppard, they said that the spirit of the dead king was in him. In this way they explained Mr. Sheppard’s skill in finding his way along the forest paths to the town where Lukenga reigned. You see that God uses even the strange superstitions of the heathen to open the way for his Gospel. (“The Congo Boat Company” 113-114)

In this account, the *Missionary* attributed Sheppard's reception to Kuba superstition. Two months later, the *Missionary* retold the narrative of Sheppard as part of a longer unsigned article, which had more particulars, including the name of the deceased king: "‘It is all well,’ said Toenzida; ‘and now you need not try to hide it; you are Po Pay M’Cobba, who reigned before my father. He died, and his spirit went to a foreign land. When your mother gave birth to you, that spirit was in you’" ("The Bakuba" 170). In May 1890, two years before he traveled to the Kuba capital, Sheppard recognized his African ancestry without the genealogical specificity: "I am certainly happy in the country of my forefathers" (Letter [17 May 1890] 355).

Although Sheppard claimed to reject the lore of his ancestry, the accolades of his colleagues confirmed his distinctive affinity for Central Africa. In addition, there is internal evidence within Sheppard's own oeuvre that he identified with the people of the Congo. In the dedication to *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, Sheppard set up a personal relationship to the church that mirrored that of the church's Congolese subjects: "To the Southern Presbyterian Church/Which took me as a half-clad, barefoot boy and trained me for the ministry of Christ [...]" (PPC 12). Sheppard described his condition prior to his religious awakening with the same language that he used to describe his prospective acolytes. In *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, he referred to the "half-clad" Luonga and Baluba, and the "very scantily clad" Lulua (PPC 21, 81; 79).¹⁹ Their near nakedness was taken as an absence of "civilization." This interpretation is concomitant with what

¹⁹ One of his photographs in the collection at the Presbyterian Historical Society visually conveys a similar message. In the picture, three children are standing side by side with the middle one, possibly Sheppard's son, elevated on a chair above the others. The elevated middle child is the only one of the three wearing shoes. See Photograph 835.01.07b, Presbyterian Historical Society, Montreat, North Carolina.

historian Matthew Frye Jacobson describes in *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* as a “tendency to define ‘natives’ as a kind of ‘wilderness in human form’—so ‘natural’ as to be less than human” (111). Nakedness was read as an absence of civilization, a situation demanding repair. At weddings officiated by the APCM, the grooms wore clothes borrowed from Sheppard for the occasion (Lapsley, *Life and Letters* 84, 86). Under the circumstances, Sheppard’s loan of his clothes was a strikingly empathetic gesture.²⁰

Sheppard cast his lot with the Congolese, representing his once “half-clad, barefoot” self as both a subject and an agent of Christian conversion. Sheppard was not alone in using Africans as a yardstick to measure the status of African Americans. In the hands of Teddy Roosevelt, a similar discourse was used to vindicate America’s legacy of slavery: “It is pleasant to be made to realize in vivid fashion the progress the American negro [sic] has made, by comparing him with the negro who dwells in Africa untouched, or but lightly touched, by white influence” (qtd. in Jacobson 121). For Sheppard, and contrary to Roosevelt, the highest levels of civilization existed among the remote Kuba. During a question and answer session at Hampton, Sheppard was asked, “Do the Bakuba attribute their superiority to the outside influence of any other people?” (“Into the Heart of Africa” 186). His response was unequivocally “no.” By answering without explanation, Sheppard challenged the presumptions implied by the question. He, in

²⁰ Maria Fearing saw instruction on the importance of clothes as one of her “hardest task[s]” as a missionary. In anticipation of an attack on their residence, Fearing advised the girls in her care to wear all of their clothes in layers: “Now children, if you must run, and your lives are spared, you will have your clothes.” See Edmiston, *Maria Fearing* 20, 24.

effect, asserted that all of the accomplishments of the Kuba were unadulterated products of African culture.

When Sheppard entered the kingdom of the Kuba, a more profound sense of respect surfaced. From first sight, he noticed their “apparent superiority in physique, manners, dress and dialect” (*PPC* 81). Sheppard’s original impression was borne out: “I grew fond of the Bakuba and it was reciprocated. They were the finest looking race I had seen in Africa, dignified, graceful, courageous, honest, with an open, smiling countenance and really hospitable. Their knowledge of weaving, embroidering, wood carving and smelting was the highest in equatorial Africa” (*PPC* 137). These markers of civilization were complemented by the absence of idolatrous religion: “I have seen in no Bakuba village an idol” (*PPC* 113). The brightness and vitality of Sheppard’s landscape contrasted with archetypal versions of Africa as a place of absolute darkness: “The moon shines nowhere more brightly and beautifully than on Lukenga’s plain. And the beauty is enhanced by the thousands of majestic palms, and the singing of the birds with voices like the mocking bird and the nightingale. I have sat in front of my house moonlight nights until 12 and 1 o’clock” (*PPC* 117-118).

In addition to revising some of the generic tropes of exploration narratives, *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* shrewdly acknowledged their most famous exemplar, Henry M. Stanley. Like George Washington Williams, Sheppard consciously tread paths once passed by Stanley. In England in June 1893, Sheppard was elected, as Stanley had been twenty years earlier, a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society. However, in the Congo, missionaries understood that Stanley was a symbol of repressive state practices.

As Lapsley explained, Stanley's reputation was well known from the beginning of the mission:

The missionaries here say that the Congo natives here learned the important lesson of discrimination between the missionary and other white men. Since Stanley, the State officials, and even the white settlement here, is called *Bula Matari* (Stanley's native name; it means breaker-of-rocks, from his road-making achievements). White man is *Mundila*; the missionary is *Mundila-Nzambi*, "God's white man," or, sometimes *Ngangi-Azambi*, "God's medicine man." (*Life and Letters* 38)

Even with Lapsley's extremely generous etymology of "Bula Matari," he realized that, in order to be effective, the APCM needed to distance itself from Stanley's legacy.

As Sheppard literally followed Stanley's footsteps, he saw firsthand the shameful legacy of his Royal Geographic Society associate: "We found a road had been made by Mr. Stanley and saw some of Stanley's heavy iron wagon wheels lying by the roadside; also sun-bleached skeletons of native carriers here and there who by sickness, hunger or fatigue, had laid themselves down to die, without fellow or friend" (*PPC* 28). This account from the second chapter of *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* set the stage for Sheppard's revisionist intrusion into an established discourse. Soon after passing the horrific trail of bones, Sheppard encountered another Stanley inheritance in the possession of Bateke Chief N'Galiama:

He showed also a white handkerchief with W. M. Stanley's [sic] name on it. We asked the old chief to give it to us, but he refused; then we tried to buy it, but he would not part with the handkerchief of the great explorer.

The religious work with these people was not very hopeful. They were reserved, hard to reach, and clung to their idols of wood. (*PPC* 34)

Sheppard's desire to possess the handkerchief represented his interest in occupying Stanley's mantle, even while he maintained a critical posture. Even Sheppard's typographical mistake, the replacement of his own first initial for Stanley's, can be read as his anxiousness to supersede Stanley. N'Galiama's refusal to sell the handkerchief somehow reflected the corruption of the Bakete people's potential as missionary subjects. In effect, Stanley's demons needed to be exorcised for either Sheppard or Christianity to make inroads in the Congo.

In the early 1880s, before entering seminary, Sheppard attended Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he was a student in Booker T. Washington's night school. Sheppard maintained a strong connection to Hampton throughout his career and frequently appeared in the *Southern Workman* synchronous to his association with the Presbyterian press. In December 1893, the *Southern Workman* published "Into the Heart of Africa," an address Sheppard delivered at Hampton. "To satisfy frequent requests," the full text of the popular November 14, 1893, oration was reprinted in two installments in April and May 1895 ("A Semi-civilization in Africa" 82). As elsewhere, Sheppard proclaimed his admiration of the Kuba, who "make one feel that he has again entered a land of civilization" ("Into the Heart of Africa" 185). In the capital city of Mushenge, he saw the surest sign of "civilization": "The people all wore clothes, even the children"

("Into the Heart of Africa" 185). This acknowledgement of Kuba "superiority" enhanced Sheppard's pride in his royal welcome.

The tale of Sheppard's reception by the Kuba was prominent in his Hampton speech, as in most of his autobiographical works. In "Into the Heart of Africa," Sheppard related what "Toenzaida," the son of Kuba King Lukenga, told him:

My father called the wise men together and said to them, Who is this stranger? He knows our roads without a guide, yet he is a foreigner. He speaks our language, yet he is a foreigner. The wise men studied this mystery and they told my father, we know who this stranger is. He is no stranger, but Bo-pe Mekabe of your own family, who has returned to earth. Then my father was glad and said to me, Son go and tell all our people that 'Bo-pe has returned to us.' The people are rejoicing. You need not try to hide it from us longer. You are Bo-pe Makabe who reigned before my father and who died. His spirit went to a foreign land, your mother gave birth to it, and you are that spirit. (185)²¹

The 1893 publication of "Into the Heart of Africa" was directly preceded by an announcement of the *Southern Workman's* new Department of Folk Lore and Ethnology, which became one of the magazine's most popular attractions. The following month, the *Southern Workman* commenced its regular "Folk Lore and Ethnology" column.

Alexander Crummell, who served for two decades as a missionary in Liberia, sent a letter of endorsement that emphasized the importance of maintaining connections to Africa

²¹ Spellings of names vary from one source to another and sometimes even within a single source (e.g. "Bo-pe Makabe"). I have been faithful to my sources, despite irregularities.

(Letter 5). Therefore, Sheppard's "Into the Heart of Africa" appeared in the *Southern Workman* as part a broad revival of interest in African American connections to Africa. Alongside Sheppard's oration, the *Southern Workman* specifically requested folk tales that could be "traced back to Africa," "African words surviving in speech or song," and "songs that go back to Africa" ("Folk-Lore" 181). The editors also requested oral histories from "survivors of the later importations from Africa" ("Folk-Lore" 181). Thus, Sheppard appeared in the *Southern Workman* at a time when the magazine was actively soliciting material about "Traditions of ancestry in Africa, or of transportation to America" ("Folk-Lore" 181).

The Kuba explanation of the arrival of Sheppard was, by all means, an account of "transportation to America." Sheppard extended Hampton's interest in oral histories of the Middle Passage to include repatriation stories such as his narrative of return to Africa. Sheppard's story of return and reincarnation reads like an African explanation of the transatlantic slave trade. Recent scholarship on the circulation of oral narratives of return among indentured Africans in the diaspora establishes the possibility that accounts of forcible transatlantic migrations circulated in Central Africa during Sheppard's time there (Heywood 17). To put it differently, Sheppard was recognized as a returned ancestor in an era not far removed from the era of the transatlantic slave trade.

Not everyone appreciated Sheppard's work with the Kuba. De Witt Snyder, who was elsewhere complimentary of Sheppard, privately disparaged his colleague's pursuit of the Kuba as the product of an active "imagination." In a January 1894 letter, Snyder explained: "From what I hear and see here I cannot endorse all Mr. S[heppard's] talk [since] he is given to draw on his imagination and in the end will, I am afraid, do more

harm than good. [...] Personally, from what I know, I am sorry Mr. S[heppard] is saying what he did about the Bakuba and the king and the country, but say nothing of this" (Benedetto 97). In a letter to Arthur Rowbotham around the same time, Snyder affirmed his skepticism of Sheppard's report on the Kuba: "A short time ago Mr. & Mrs. A[damson] went into the Bakuba country [and] were gone about three weeks. Their report differs *very* much from Mr. S[heppard] and I am afraid Mr. S[heppard] is drawing much on his imagination" (Benedetto 98n4). The healthy imagination that informed Sheppard's relationship with the Kuba was quite different from the fantastic type disparagingly implied by Snyder. Sheppard's imagination, in fact, enabled him to engage the Kuba people in ways that transcended the missionary archetype.

The relationship Sheppard envisioned with the Kuba was not far removed from the basis for Presbyterian appointments of black missionaries. The substance of Sheppard's narrative is quite similar to the genealogical connection that excited church authorities in the case of an 1895 appointee: "The matter of particular interest that engaged the Committee was the case of Mr. Joseph Phipps, a native of St. Kitts, West Indies, whose father was a native African. [...] Mr. Phipps is practically a trained native. We are informed that he speaks some of the African dialects."²² In this instance, the

²² See Samuel H. Chester, "Foreign Mission Committee Notes," *Missionary* 28.10 (Oct. 1895): 446. Joseph Phipps was referred to the APCM by the Second Presbyterian Church of Scranton, Pennsylvania, a Northern Presbyterian (USA) congregation. The Northern Presbyterians (USA) did not allow blacks to serve on their own missions. However, the Southern Presbyterians (US) had cordial relationship with other Protestant denominations in the United States and in the Congo. The case of Phipps is evidence of the unique reach of the Presbyterian Church (US). According to church records, Phipps was not listed as a member of Second Presbyterian and did not appear in the minutes of the Lackawana County (Pennsylvania) Presbytery until 1896, when he had already been appointed to the APCM. Following his return to the United States in 1908, Phipps lived in Harlem (128 West 134th Street, New York City) and the South (Jacksonville, Florida,

Presbyterian Church appointed a missionary on the basis of a familial connection to the Congo without the rote disavowals that became pro forma for Sheppard.

A reading of Sheppard's narrative along with the Hampton Department of Folk Lore and Ethnology's statement elicits provocative interpretations of his experiences among the Kuba. However, when the Hampton connection is minimized by scholars, as is often the case, Sheppard is portrayed as a rootless neophyte in this and other ways. For example, in *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-Century Congo*, Pagan Kennedy interprets Sheppard's successful journey to Mushenge as "luck" (85). Certainly Sheppard's studied fluency in the Kuba language, unprecedented for a foreigner, and his active pursuit of the city facilitated his success. According to his own account, "Every day we were secretly trying to get a clue to the right road" ("Into the Heart of Africa" 184). Sounding more like Sherlock Holmes (whose creator Arthur Conan Doyle was an advocate for Congo reform) than someone rolling dice, Sheppard reached the capital by befriending people along the route and by arranging for an acquaintance to mark a trail for him to follow. Similarly, Sheppard gained access to the site of the 1899 Zappo Zap raid by manipulating a personal relationship. Kennedy writes off the latter tactic as Sheppard's "usual luck" (138).

As for Sheppard's welcome as "Bope Mekabe," the reincarnation of a past ruler, Kennedy reasons, "As one ethnographer has noted, Kuba oral history contains no record of a 'Bope Mekabe'—which is all the more reason to assume that the king and his advisers came up with the story during a brainstorming session" (89). Based on "one ethnographer," Kennedy speculates that the Kuba saw in Sheppard a "political

and Eutonville, South Carolina). According to Northern Presbyterian (USA) records, Phipps was nominally affiliated with the Lackawana Presbytery until at least 1915.

opportunity,” rather than a reincarnated ancestor (89).²³ In *William Sheppard: Congo's African-American Livingstone*, published within weeks of Kennedy's *Black Livingstone*, William Phipps (no known relation to Joseph) is less quick to dismiss Sheppard's royal welcome.²⁴ William Phipps cites the scholarship of anthropologist Jan Vansina on the Kuba belief in reincarnation as consistent with Bope Mekabe's return (*William Sheppard* 73-74). As Sheppard narrates the encounter, he himself realized as much: “The Bakuba all believe in the transmigration of souls” (“Into the Heart of Africa” 185). However, neither Kennedy nor Phipps situate Sheppard's reception within the history of the transatlantic slave trade, which is crucial to understanding the relationship of African Americans to Africa. This framework is evident in the *Southern Workman's* calls for oral histories of the Middle Passage.

In the 1890s, the *Southern Workman* was shifting direction under Hollis Burke Frissell, who became principal and editor in 1893 after the death of Hampton's founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong.²⁵ What had, under Armstrong, been a mouthpiece for Hampton's educational philosophy and a forum for alumni notes became increasingly broad-based under Frissell's looser reign. In June 1895, Frissell reported to the *Southern*

²³ Kennedy does not name the ethnographer in the text or the endnotes. A reader may deduce that she is referring to “the ethnographer Emil Torday,” who she introduced on the previous page (Kennedy 88). Her bibliography cites a 1969 reprint edition of Torday's *On the Trail of the Bushongo*, without giving its original date of publication, 1925. In fairness to Kennedy, *Black Livingstone* makes no pretense to academic or scholarly history.

²⁴ William E. Phipps, *William Sheppard: Congo's African American Livingstone* is an expansion of Phipps, *The Sheppards and Lapsley: Pioneer Presbyterians in the Congo* (Louisville, KY: Presbyterian Church [USA], 1991).

²⁵ For more on Frissell, see Wilma King Hunter, *Coming of Age: Hollis B. Frissell and the Emergence of Hampton Institute, 1893-1917* (Diss. Indiana University, 1982).

Workman's readers: "Acting upon the advice of your President, arrangements have been made with the leading colored men to furnish articles which will make clear the condition of the race in the South" ("Twenty-Seventh Annual Report" 88). In the summer of 1897, Hampton hosted a conference attended by many prominent African Americans. In addition to publishing the proceedings, the *Southern Workman* reported that at the conference, "a promise was made by representatives of the Hampton School that they would endeavor to make the *Southern Workman*, the school paper, the medium for useful information" relevant to "the development of the Negro race" ("*Southern Workman* Prospectus 1898" 2). The 1898 "Prospectus" also advertised a list of future contributors, which was a who's who of African American intellectuals. For the most part, the editors delivered. In 1899 and 1900 alone, the *Southern Workman* featured essays by Anna Julia Cooper, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Kelly Miller, short fiction by Charles W. Chesnutt, Alice Dunbar, and Paul Laurence Dunbar, and poetry by Paul Dunbar, James Corrothers, and Daniel Webster Davis.

In the 1900 annual report of the *Southern Workman*, Frissell acknowledged the achievement:

An earnest endeavor has been made to enlarge the scope and increase the attractiveness of the school's paper. Race questions are of such vital importance to the country and Hampton has such close relations with them that it has seemed wise to make the *Southern Workman* as far as possible an authority on race problems. Writers of national reputation have contributed to its columns and there have come to us many grateful

acknowledgements of its valuable work. (“Thirty-Second Annual Report” 300)

Correspondingly, the magazine’s length increased from twenty pages per issue in 1898 to sixty-four pages in 1900. As the size expanded, so did the number of advertisements. Throughout the 1890s, Hampton was printing approximately three thousand copies of the *Southern Workman* per month.²⁶

From the 1890s forward, Sheppard regularly appeared in the increasingly cosmopolitan *Southern Workman*. In addition to brief notices, two separate articles about Sheppard appeared in 1900. Excerpts from two Hampton addresses Sheppard delivered in February 1905 were published together as “Light in Darkest Africa” two months later. Following his retirement from the APCM, Sheppard was invited to campus to deliver the prestigious Founder’s Day Address in January 1915. The publication of his oration was announced on the cover of the March 1915 issue of the *Southern Workman*. In the same year, Hampton Institute Press published a series of Christian morality tales set in Africa for children: “Four little ‘True African Stories’ written by Rev. W. H. Sheppard, ex-student ‘83 [...]’. The four stories, which are small pamphlets, price ten cents each, are: ‘An African Daniel,’ ‘The story of a girl who ate her mother,’ ‘A little robber who found a great treasure,’ and ‘A young hunter’” (“Graduates and Ex-Students” 125).

²⁶ Most of the 2,574 subscriptions reported in 1898 were probably distributed free of charge to friends, supporters, and alumni. In 1892, with a reported monthly print run ranging from 2,800 to 4,000, only six hundred were paid subscriptions, down from more than 2,000 paid subscriptions a decade earlier. Many Hampton patrons, a group that included formerly paying subscribers, were transferred to a complimentary list. For circulation figures, see “The *Southern Workman*,” *Southern Workman* 27.12 (Dec. 1898): 234; and “Editorial: The *Southern Workman*,” *Southern Workman* 21.1 (Jan. 1892): 3.

Sheppard remained loyal to Hampton. The art collection that he sold to Hampton for a modest price became part of the curriculum for generations of students.²⁷ Hampton purchased the main group of four hundred Kuba objects from Sheppard in 1911. They acquired additional items in 1915 and from his estate after his death in 1927 (Cureau 346). His art collection was the subject of articles in the *Southern Workman* throughout the 1920s. In 1921, the article "Hampton's African Collection" appeared. In 1925, the *Southern Workman* published Sheppard's own discussion of the cultural significance of the objects, "African Handicrafts and Superstitions." In 1928 and 1929, Sara Lane, the curator of the Hampton Museum, published articles on Sheppard's Kuba collection, which was then and remains today the centerpiece of the museum. Art historian Harold Cureau contends, "Through this collection of African art, Sheppard emerges as a person who contributed a major resource to a vital aspect of black higher education in America, the visual arts. This is significant because, historically, this class of institution has been deficient in such resources, particularly facilities for housing and display" (342).

Art historians and anthropologists uniformly consider Sheppard's Kuba collection to be, in the words of Vansina, one of "three great early collections" of Kuba art (*Children of Woot* 211). Of the three collections (the others being from Leo Frobenius of Germany and Emil Torday of Hungary), Sheppard's is the earliest. However, for Kennedy, Sheppard's "luck" as an explorer was apparently transferable to what she

²⁷ There are conflicting figures for the amount Sheppard received from Hampton for the four-hundred piece collection. Jeanne Zeidler and Mary Lou Hultgren cite \$500. Benedetto claims \$5,000, which, he acknowledges, would have been a modest price for the objects in 1911. The precise figure matters since Benedetto recklessly raises the specter of profiteering by Sheppard. See Jeanne Zeidler and Mary Lou Hultgren, "'Things African Prove to be the Favorite Theme': The African Collection at Hampton University," *Art/artifact: African Art in Anthropology Collections*, ed. Arthur Danto et al. (New York: Center for African Art, 1989) 102; and Benedetto 29.

considers his chance appraisals of Kuba art: “Despite his lack of training in anthropology, Sheppard somehow guessed the significance of what he saw in the Kuba capital [...]. Later scholars would prove him right. According to Jan Vansina, the region’s most eminent ethnographer, Sheppard had stumbled into the last of the stately courts in Central Africa [...]” (Kennedy 94). To begin with, Sheppard probably took seriously the assessments of his Kuba hosts, assuming everyone did not always deceive him. As for stumbling, even Vansina describes Sheppard’s travels a bit differently (albeit in the typically masculine language of exploration): “By the end of 1885 Europeans were living at Luebo, on the southern border of the kingdom, but not until the summer of 1892 did William Sheppard penetrate the kingdom to the capital [...]” (*Children of Woot* 79).

Kennedy’s language of “luck” and “guessing” and her conflation of “stumbling” and “penetrating” contribute to a portrait that substantially underestimates Sheppard’s achievements. In short, she fails to appreciate the education that Sheppard received at Hampton. Even without a background in academic anthropology, Sheppard had access to methods of inquiry other than guessing. At Hampton, he carefully studied the “Curiosity Room,” which, according to William Phipps, was designed to expose students to “native artifacts” as “one of the best ways of inculcating appreciation of other peoples” (*William Sheppard* 93). The “Curiosity Room” was on Sheppard’s mind as soon as he arrived in the Congo. As early as September 1, 1890, Sheppard wrote Armstrong of his intent to collect Congolese artifacts: “I have many spears, knives, idols, etc., saving them for the curiosity room at Hampton.”²⁸ From the moment of his arrival in the Congo, years

²⁸ See William Henry Sheppard, Letter (1 Sept. 1890), *Southern Workman* 20.3 (Mar. 1891): 168. For further discussion of Sheppard’s commitment to collecting on behalf of the Hampton Institute “Curiosity Room,” see Phipps, *William Sheppard* 93;

before he reached the Kuba capital, Sheppard planned a collection for Hampton. The collection was intended to be functional. Sheppard used the pieces as visual aids in his lectures, and Hampton instructors used them in their classes.

That Sheppard's collection of what V. Y. Mudimbe terms "worked objects" included items from the Royal Court reveals something of how he was seen by the Kuba (*The Idea of Africa* 62). If Kuba leaders were disingenuously flattering Sheppard for political gain, they were not pawning modern frauds off on him, but presenting him with works of art that were verifiably several centuries old according to Jan Vansina (*Children of Woot* 212). The dating of the objects in Sheppard's collection lends credence to the sincerity of the Kuba belief regarding his ancestry. It also confirms Sheppard's accounts, for example, of being given a knife that "had been handed down through the reigns of seven Lukengas" (qtd. in "The Bakuba" 171). Sheppard's art collection remains a rich source for researchers assessing his complex relationship to the Kuba.

Still, despite all of this, scholars such as Robert Benedetto are unable to grasp the consequence of Sheppard's collection:

One also wonders what prompted the venerable Sheppard to spend his time and energy collecting boxes and trunks full of Kuba curios. [...]

Sheppard was generous and almost certainly collected for personal enjoyment rather than self-enrichment. Yet, as fortunate as we are to have these pieces preserved in an institution where they can be admired and studied, historians of the Mission may still question Sheppard's art

Harold G. Cureau, "William H. Sheppard: Missionary to the Congo, and Collector of African Art," *Journal of Negro History* 67.4 (Winter 1982): 341; and Zeidler and Hultgren 99.

collecting activities which seem to run counter to his primary purpose for being in the Congo. (29-30)

Benedetto disapproves of those aspects of Sheppard's work in Africa that were not narrowly defined as religious proselytizing. William Phipps is rightly critical of Benedetto's position: "Sheppard's appreciation of Congolese art illustrates one way by which he established an extraordinary rapport with the people he was sent to serve" (*William Sheppard* 216). According to the sources in *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa*, Benedetto did not visit the Hampton archives and none of his primary archival sources are from Hampton. As a result, Sheppard is egregiously underrepresented relative to Morrison in Benedetto's *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa*.²⁹ This suggests a methodological basis for his misinterpretation of Sheppard, whose work fit the mission of Hampton at least as well as it fit the mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Any thoroughgoing study of Sheppard must recognize the centrality of Hampton and the *Southern Workman*. More generally, the critical canon about the four main figures in this study has tended to detach the work of African Americans in Africa from its domestic implications.

In the case of the Sheppards, their work in Louisville, Kentucky, where they settled soon after returning to the United States, rarely receives more than a brief

²⁹ William Phipps points out that in addition to Benedetto's neglect of Sheppard, Thomas Pakenham in *The Scramble for Africa, 1876-1912* (New York: Random House, 1991) never mentions Sheppard and attributes his "testimony" to Morrison. See Phipps, *William Sheppard* 215. Unfortunately, the same can be said for S. J. S. Cookey, who regards William Morrison as the successor to George Washington Williams but, remarkably, makes no mention of Sheppard. See Cookey, *Britain and the Congo Question, 1885-1913* (New York: Humanities P, 1968) 171. Also, Fred H. Matthews mentions Morrison, but not Sheppard in "Congo Reform and Tuskegee" (chapter 3) of *Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1977) 58.

mention. The ongoing underappreciation of Lucy Gantt Sheppard is one outcome of this domestic neglect. Pagan Kennedy, who was able to construct a biography out of William Sheppard's incomplete archive, claims: "The circumstances of Lucy's own passing have become hazy; rarely do any of the brief accounts of her life include a death date. The *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* does give the date 1940, but follows it with a question mark" (204). Lucy Sheppard did not die until May 26, 1955. Kennedy's fifteen-year error and her citation of the *Biographical Dictionary* is especially problematic since she previously acknowledged that "a male interviewer visited her [Lucy] in the 1940s" and cited a 1941 interview (105; 218n107[a]). Lucy Gantt Sheppard's "last" interview appeared posthumously in the September 1955 *Presbyterian Survey*. In it, Lucy herself affirms the dearth of documentation that Kennedy laments: "No, I never kept a diary, and I regret it very much. [...] I regret it because I think a woman's point of view is quite different from a man's" (qtd. in Horner 28).³⁰

Kennedy's error regarding Lucy Sheppard's death points toward a problem beyond carelessness. Neither Kennedy nor William Phipps (despite getting Lucy's death date right) adequately accentuate the Sheppards' decades of work in Louisville, robbing the biographies of continuity between their commitments to African missionary work and domestic faith-based community service. A transatlantic approach to the Sheppards could partly fill in the archival gaps that Kennedy identifies, by bringing both biographers' research closer to the more recent careers of the Sheppards. Such a

³⁰ Kennedy acknowledges the "few fading letters, those fragmented biographies, and some polite articles she wrote for *The Missionary*" that remain of Lucy Gantt Sheppard. See Kennedy 106. However, Lucy wrote regularly for the *Kassai Herald* and published two admittedly tepid eight-page pamphlets, "From Talladega College to Africa" and "Children of the Kassai." Kennedy never mentions either.

methodology might include, for example, oral histories with people who knew the Sheppards in Kentucky. As a pioneer of Louisville social work, Lucy Gantt Sheppard embodied a link between missionary work in the Congo and domestic strategies of social uplift.

Even before settling in Louisville, William Sheppard's work was being recognized in his home state. In her 1910 collection *Virginia Dreams*, African American poet Maggie Pogue Johnson included, "Dedicated to Dr. W. H. Sheppard (The returned missionary, who spent twenty years in Africa)." Johnson offered a straightforward narrative of Sheppard's religious achievements in "Ethiopia," without any reference to the trial or activism. Despite the faithfulness of "Dedicated to Dr. W. H. Sheppard" to the details of its subject's career, the Congo is never named. The lone footnote explicates a reference to the "Forbidden Land" as "a tribe of savages in the interior, known as Bakubas" (39). Johnson's poem demonstrates how the historical specificity of Sheppard's accomplishments can be translated into a more generic narrative of Christian conversion:

For twenty years he struggled,
In Africa's darkened land,
Giving them the light
As they heeded his command. (40)

This 108-line poem elevates Sheppard to the status of a mythologized hero. As such, his experience in the Congo could be efficiently incorporated into Johnson's *Virginia Dreams*. "Dedicated to Dr. W. H. Sheppard" demonstrates how romantic literature about Africa was often grounded in direct connections to the Congo.

During William Sheppard's exile from the church in 1911, he went on a speaking tour with his former teacher Booker T. Washington to raise funds for Hampton. In their association, local and transatlantic strategies of racial uplift came together. In the process, Sheppard's career was being redefined for the domestic stage. In 1912, Sheppard became Pastor of Louisville's Grace Presbyterian Church, where his proselytizing skills came in handy. In *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930*, George C. Wright notes, "Church attendance and membership at Grace Presbyterian increased steadily during Sheppard's tenure" (148). Sheppard's contemporaries appreciated the continuity between his work in the Congo and the United States. The NAACP's *Crisis* named him one of their "Men of the Month" for May 1915.³¹ In his biographical sketch of Sheppard, *Crisis* editor W. E. B. Du Bois acknowledged, "many of his friends felt sure that African labors and hardships had incapacitated him from further service. [...] That Dr. Sheppard has 'come back' physically is a genuine gain for the South. Today Dr. Sheppard is doing in Louisville, Kentucky, some notably constructive social uplift work for his people."³² The *Crisis* gave Sheppard's contributions a transatlantic frame.

³¹ Du Bois included women in the "Men of the Month" column.

³² See [W. E. B. Du Bois], "Men of the Month: A Missionary," *Crisis* 10.1 (May 1915): 15. William Phipps attributes authorship of the article to Du Bois. See Phipps, *William Sheppard* 180.

Even before William Sheppard returned to the United States, his career was informed by a domestic landscape that included not only Hampton, but the white supremacist politics of the Southern Presbyterian Church. As the APCM was increasingly staffed by a group of highly educated African Americans, there was an intense push by church officials to maintain white field leadership. The pages of the *Missionary* were littered with appeals for white missionaries. Given this context, scholars must not situate the work of the APCM outside the domestic racial politics of the United States. In September 1895, under the headline “Help Needed for Africa,” Samuel Chester requested

four additional white men, one of these to be stationed at Matadi, one at Lukunga, one at Leopoldville, and one at Luebo. On account of “The State,” with which we have relations of many kinds, it is desirable to have white men at all these points to represent the business interests of the mission. Outside of this, our policy is to reinforce the mission chiefly with colored men. More of these are offering than we are able to send, but at present no white man is offering for the African work. [...] Dr. and Mrs. Snyder ought to be brought home at once, to recuperate their strength but they *will not* come till their places are supplied. (398)

In retrospect, Chester’s candor draws attention to the centrality of race to the mission. Under the guise of the “business interests of the mission,” racial hierarchy took precedence over the physical health of its members.

As the Snyders’ health deteriorated, Chester became less interested in credentials and more desperate in his recruiting. The following month, he pleaded:

On account of relations with “The State,” and for other reasons, it is absolutely necessary that we have one white man, and very desirable that we have a least two, in our mission work on the Congo. Dr. Snyder, the only white man now connected with that work, will be compelled to come home for rest very soon, in order to save his own life and that of his noble and devoted wife.

[...]

A full medical education is not essential, neither is it essential that one should have any seminary training, or be an ordained minister, though both of these are desirable. (Chester, “A Man Needed at Once for Our African Work” 446-447)

In an October 18, 1895, letter, May Snyder, De Witt’s “noble and devoted wife,” made the appeal herself: “My dear husband is now longing for at least one white male helper, but his constant reply to my question, ‘Do you really think they mean to send any more white missionaries here?’ is, ‘This is the Lord’s work. He knows our need. He will take care of it’” (78). Although the Snyders believed that divine intervention would ensure a white volunteer, the *Missionary* continued to help out as well.

Immediately following Chester’s racist pleas for white missionaries in September and October 1895, the Presbyterian Mission Board announced the appointment of Samuel Phillips Verner to the APCM in November 1895. Although three years of seminary education were required for appointment, Verner was ordained with none, under the “extraordinary clause,” an emergency provision of the church’s charter according to church historian John R. Crawford (45). In addition, there were serious questions about

Verner's mental health; three years earlier, a nineteen-year-old Verner had suffered a nervous breakdown (Crawford 42). All the same, Verner's appointment was approved because it enabled the APCM to maintain white leadership while the sickly Snyders took "a much-needed furlough" (Chester, "Foreign Mission Committee Notes" [Nov. 1895] 491). After two years in the field, Verner was "ordered to return home" by Samuel Chester, ostensibly for health reasons (Crawford 53).³³

Verner did not travel home from Africa alone. As Verner's grandson Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume explain in the 1992 book, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo*, Verner purchased two African boys Kondola and Kassongo, who he then tried to "rent" to the Smithsonian in Washington.³⁴ According to Crawford, "The receipt of his payment" for the two boys apparently remains in the Samuel Verner Papers at the University of South Carolina (57n54). This transaction was an omen of Verner's future career. In 1903, when he was no longer a missionary, Verner signed a contract with W. J. McGee, formerly of the Smithsonian, to bring eighteen Congolese people for an exhibit at the 1904 St. Louis Fair. William and Lucy Sheppard, who were leaving Africa on furlough, traveled on the same transatlantic steamship as Verner and the Congolese people he was bringing to St. Louis. Verner's traveled with Ota Benga, who was later displayed at the Bronx Zoo and the American Museum of Natural History in New York. By all accounts, William Sheppard and Verner were little more than cordial. Absent any

³³ Following the unceremonious end of Verner's tour, appeals for white missionaries continued. See, for example, "Needs of the Congo Mission," *Missionary* 31.8 (Aug. 1898): 339; "The Congo Mission," *Missionary* 35.1 (Jan. 1902): 5; and "Wanted—Another White Missionary for Africa," *Missionary* 35.10 (Oct. 1902): 461.

³⁴ In 1902 in Birmingham, Alabama, Kassongo tragically died in a stampede at a Booker T. Washington speech. See Phillips Verner Bradford and Henry Blume, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (New York: St. Martin's P, 1992) 92, 95-96.

reports of the Sheppards' encounters with Ota Benga, one may reasonably assume at least a passing acquaintance during the transatlantic trek.

The Presbyterian Church tried to bury the history of Verner and Ota Benga. As recently as 1982, Crawford's article on Verner in the *Journal of Presbyterian History* mistakenly claimed, "Verner was to succeed in bringing several Batwa pygmies and Kasai people to the St. Louis Exhibition of 1904, and returning them home safely" (55). Although Ota Benga did accompany Verner on a return trip to Africa, Ota Benga did not remain there. Ota Benga came back to the United States with Verner and, in 1906, was displayed at the Bronx Zoo. An organized protest led by black clergy secured his release. Ten years later, on March 20, 1916, in Lynchburg, Virginia, Ota Benga used a gun to take his own life. Incredibly, Crawford failed to mention Ota Benga or the Bronx Zoo in his sanitized profile of Verner.

Although Verner was no longer a missionary at the time when he met Ota Benga, the Presbyterian Church clearly bears substantial responsibility. Indeed, the church's racial policies were the only explanation for Verner's initial appointment to the APCM, which introduced him to the Congo. Some scholars have presumed that Verner's 1899 resignation from the APCM ended his affiliation with the Presbyterian Church.³⁵ However, Bradford and Blume explain that even after Verner was diagnosed with brain fever and spent six months in a sanitarium, "the church and he continued to have uses for each other domestically" (93). First, Verner's book, *Pioneering in Central Africa*, was published under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in 1903. Second, after leaving the APCM, Verner periodically worked at Stillman Institute, the Presbyterian Church's

³⁵ See, for example, Kennedy's suggestion that Verner's departure from the APCM represented a clean break with the Presbyterian Church. See Kennedy 124.

seminary for black theology students and Sheppard's alma mater, which was run by Verner's relative at the time.³⁶ When Verner traveled to the Congo on his St. Louis Fair expedition, he was accompanied by Alonzo Edmiston, an APCM appointee and Stillman graduate (Bradford and Blume 99). Third, in a January 1904 letter, Belgian Ambassador Baron Moncheur recounted a meeting with a Presbyterian official in Washington, DC: "Reverend [Alexander White] Pitzer [of Central Presbyterian Church] was mentioning the names of Sheppard, Morrison and Verner among those missionaries who would be returning this year to Africa" (Benedetto 197n5). The Moncheur letter implied that the Mission Board was considering the reappointment of Verner. Taken together, these elements suggest that the Presbyterian Church was more closely tied to the St. Louis Fair fiasco than has been previously acknowledged. It was not until 1907, while Verner was publicly defending an embattled Leopold, that Morrison issued a forceful statement to discredit Verner (Benedetto 244-248).

For twenty-first century scholars invested in a heroic history of the APCM, Verner's association with the Presbyterian Church continues to cause problems. William Phipps, for one, goes too far to detach Verner's racism from the APCM:

The views of Verner on blacks mirrored those of many of his fellow Americans. But those views, and his later outlook on Leopold's enterprise, stood in sharp contrast to the commitments of other APCM missionaries. There is no evidence that other members of that staff were mainly interested in Caucasian and capitalistic power at the expense of the human rights of the Africans. (*William Sheppard* 149)

³⁶ See Phillips Verner Bradford, "Re: Ota Benga Query," e-mail to the author, 4 May 2003.

Verner is frequently dismissed as an unusual rogue on a nonracist mission. However, in his 1903 Presbyterian Church-published book, *Pioneering in Central Africa*, Verner wrote that, in Africa “the invincible Caucasian is marching on to add one more continent to his heritage” (3). In the same church publication, Verner provided his ten-point program for Africa which closely ties Christianity to white supremacy: “Africa must be made a stronghold of Caucasian power, of Christianity, of European and American civilization rather than the cess-pool of Asiatic vice and corruption” (3-4). If Verner’s *Pioneering in Central Africa* provides insufficient evidence, the *Missionary* further contradicts any claims that white supremacist goals were not integral part of the APCM. Likewise, in a private correspondence, De Witt Snyder reinforced the policies of the Presbyterian Church: “It is my opinion that they will do well if they always have white help at the head. I don’t think our colored brethren are capable of doing good work by themselves” (qtd. in Phipps, *William Sheppard* 103).

Such ideas were contradicted by the actual work taking place in the Congo State. This rift was revealed clearly in the pages of the *Missionary*, where requests for white missionaries appeared alongside enthusiastic praise for the work of Sheppard. Despite their public pleadings for “white help at the head,” Sheppard and other black men held the mission’s highest leadership positions. Sheppard served as either Chairman or President of the APCM in 1897, 1899, 1903, and 1909. Other African Americans served in positions of authority. In 1899, Henry Hawkins was Secretary, and in 1907 Alonzo Edmiston was President.³⁷ The roles of African Americans in the field did not always

³⁷ See John R. Crawford, “Pioneer African Missionary: Samuel Phillips Verner” *Journal of Presbyterian History* 60.1 (Spring 1982): 51; and Phipps, *William Sheppard* 215.

accommodate the official policies of the Presbyterian Church or the racist beliefs of many of its white missionaries. Neither did their achievements.

Althea Brown Edmiston, a college graduate of Fisk University, stands out as exemplary in this regard.³⁸ Edmiston spent her first eleven years on the APCM writing the 619-page *Grammar and Dictionary of Bushonga or Bukuba Language*. Although she completed it in 1913, the Presbyterian Church insisted that the reference book was unnecessary and refused to authorize its publication for nearly twenty years.³⁹ Her white colleague, Robert Dabney Bedinger, acknowledged her frustration: “It was this delay which tested her. It tested her faith in her fellow-missionaries. It tested her loyalty to the Mission, and to the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions” (277). When the Presbyterian Church finally approved her *Grammar and Dictionary* in the late 1920s, they still refused to fund it. Edmiston needed to raise money for its publication from non-Church sources. So in 1929, she circulated a letter requesting funds: “It is the language of the Bukuba tribe who are considered the most superior people of all Central Africa. Their language is beautiful and highly inflected. The verb has a full conjugation with many shades of tenses. There are ten classes of nouns as well as all the other various parts of speech” (qtd. in Bedinger 279).

³⁸ Althea Brown was appointed to the APCM in 1902. She married Alonzo L. Edmiston took his last name in 1905.

³⁹ During the twenty-year obstruction, she spent two years rewriting the entire book “to conform to the State method” of orthography. In the orthographic change, *x* became *sh*, and *c* became *tsh*. See Robert Dabney Bedinger, “Althea Brown Edmiston: A Congo Crusader,” *Glorious Living: Informal Sketches of Seven Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, US*, ed. Sarah Lee Timmons (Atlanta, GA: Committee on Women’s Work, Presbyterian Church [US], 1937) 279. The APCM adopted the state orthography in 1921, which, in a larger sense, suggests the increasing conformity of the APCM to the government of the Belgian Congo.

In 1932, two decades after its completion, the book was finally published thanks in large part to Edmiston's alma mater, Fisk University. As with Sheppard and Hampton, Edmiston maintained close ties to Fisk University. In 1901, she delivered a valedictory speech at her graduation, and, during a furlough in 1921, she accepted an invitation to give the school's commencement address (Jacobs, "Their 'Special Mission'" 165-167). Where the Presbyterian Church failed to finance her *Grammar and Dictionary*, Fisk recognized its importance and gave \$400 toward its publication (Bedinger 280). This publication debacle exposed the gap between how the Presbyterian Church saw the work of its missionaries and how black missionaries defined their own labors. In addition, it exposed the conflicting priorities of HBCUs and white churches. Tellingly, the same church under whose auspices the *Grammar and Dictionary* nominally was produced also blocked its publication for twenty years. Despite obstacles from church leaders, Edmiston's linguistic achievements made the dictionary the standard for generations of scholars. When the Belgian anthropologist Jan Vansina was studying in England in the early 1950s, Edmiston's *Grammar and Dictionary of Bushonga or Bukuba Language* was the primary text for his language instruction.⁴⁰ While the accomplishments of black

⁴⁰ While attending University College, London, Vansina was studying the Kuba language at the School of Oriental and African Languages with the "famous Bantuist Malcolm Guthrie":

I would present myself in his office, gliding between shelves loaded with books and pieces of paper classified by Bantu language from *A* to *T*. He'd look up, surprised to see me there, remember, and then pick up a missionary grammar and teach from it, stopping from time to time to warn me that this or that was certainly not right. As he did not know a word of Bushong (as its speakers call their language) himself, but knew enough to see that something was seriously wrong with the book, his tutoring was surrealistic. Still, it gave me an inkling of what a Bantu language was like, although I learned no Bushong. Indeed, I never even managed to acquire the book and take it with me. The other anthropology students

missionaries demand wider recognition, these achievements must not be used to deny the racism of the Presbyterian Church or to dismiss an overarching critique of the missionary presence in Africa.⁴¹

In particular, the tragedy of Ota Benga points toward some of the more grotesque ramifications of the Presbyterian Church's policies. The common perception that Sheppard and Lapsley were able to "pioneer a new kind of relationship between the races" is unconvincing (Kennedy 4). While this version of events makes for a pleasant variation on the still-popular interracial male friendship narrative, it should not be taken as a parable of antiracism. As historian Barbara J. Fields points out in "Ideology and Race in American History," "Racial prejudice is sufficiently fluid and at home with contrariety to be able to precede and survive dramatic instances of interracial unity in action" (159). A racial history of the APCM that avoids reductive categorizations is essential to situating Sheppard in the broadest possible context, which includes the African Diaspora lurking in the recent biographies of Sheppard.

Pagan Kennedy was first introduced to Sheppard by Bradford and Blume's *Ota Benga*. Kennedy's initial attraction was deeply personal, yet inexplicable: "For—and I

thought that this learning of a language beforehand was weird: Did one not pick up the language during one's fieldwork? So why bother with linguists?

The "missionary grammar" was "A. Brown Edmiston, *Grammar and Dictionary of Bushonga or Bukuba Language*... [...]." See Jan Vansina, *Living With Africa* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1994) 11, 259n13.

⁴¹ See, for example, Bradford and Blume's suggestion that Verner was transformed when he met Sheppard: "from that moment, a change can be dated in Reverend Verner's character and writings. There were no more letters home calling for an end to fully integrated missions, no more strident demands that black missionaries be demoted. Verner, as an advocate of Jim Crow, ceased to exist." It is not clear how they can argue for the transformation of a man who, less than a decade later, arranged for an African man to be displayed at a zoo. See Bradford and Blume 75-76.

couldn't say why—as I read Sheppard's writings, I began to believe that he held a key to my own history" (xiii-xiv). A visit to her grandmother in a Virginia nursing home revealed the connection: her grandmother's first cousin, Robert Dabney Bedinger, served on the mission that Sheppard founded (and wrote a biography of Althea Brown Edmiston).⁴² Kennedy was not the only 2002 Sheppard biographer to claim a personal connection to her subject. Religious historian William Phipps's *William Sheppard* shares a publication date with *Black Livingstone* as well as "a personal reason for my interest in writing the biography" (xi). Phipps continued, "Sheppard and I were born in the same town in Virginia" (*William Sheppard* xi).

While the conclusion to Ota Benga's story remains difficult to misread, his experience in the United States evokes with gravity the transatlantic connections that both Kennedy and Phipps use to preface their biographies. The biographers of Sheppard neglect what their introductions intuit—the intrinsically transatlantic nature of the story. Sheppard himself referred to Africa first and foremost as "the country of my forefathers," not as the land of "adventure." The biographers' personal accounts, along with Bradford's story of Ota Benga, the history of Hampton, and the domestic careers of the Sheppards, suggest that the history of the Congo does not take place exclusively on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean. This transatlantic history has tentacles that extend deeply into the fabric of the lives of black and white Americans.

⁴² By 1911, when Pagan Kennedy's cousin Robert Bedinger was appointed to serve on the APCM, African American applicants were no longer being considered.

“THE AFRICAN AT HOME”:

READING BOOKER T. WASHINGTON’S BLACK ATLANTIC

Whereas William H. Sheppard’s twenty years as a missionary in the Congo eclipsed the significance of his association with Hampton Institute and his career in Louisville, Booker T. Washington’s staunch commitment to the Southern United States overwhelmed the transatlantic aspects of his career. When Pagan Kennedy, one of Sheppard’s biographers, notes Washington’s work with the Congo Reform Association (CRA), she concludes, “the cause was hardly his passion. As head of the Tuskegee Institute and one of the most powerful political leaders in America, his gaze was steadily fixed on his own country” (158). Beyond underestimating Sheppard’s breadth of influence, Kennedy does a disservice to Washington’s vision, which, throughout his career, was able to connect his work at home with his African interests. For both Sheppard and Washington, local and transatlantic perspectives were part of one seamless continuum. In the case of Washington, international concerns were embedded in the local rhetoric which is the foundation of his reputation.

In 1890, as Sheppard and George Washington Williams were departing for the Congo, Senator John Tyler Morgan of Alabama was vociferously advocating forcible deportation of blacks, which was the basis for his leadership of the earlier movement for diplomatic recognition of Leopold’s Congo State.¹ Meanwhile, an editorial in the March

¹ For more on Morgan and the Congo, see Edwin S. Redkey, *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1969) 59-60; and Joseph O. Baylen, “Senator John Tyler Morgan, E. D. Morel, and the Congo Reform Association,” *Alabama Review* 15.2 (Apr. 1962): 117-132.

1890 issue of the *Southern Workman* reprinted an excerpt from an address by Hampton alumni Booker T. Washington on emigration to the Congo:

You may talk of our disadvantages because of our color, because of race prejudice, because of friction in enjoying civil and political rights; may advise emigration to the West or the Congo, but I am free to say to you as young people preparing for life, that I had rather take my chances for an opportunity to lead a positive, helpful and independent life, right here in Alabama as a black man—and I would not change my color if I could—than in any other section of the Union or anywhere in the world. (qtd. in “Mr. B. T. Washington on the Emigration Question” 25)

Washington spoke against his state’s racist Senator while forcefully asserting his identity as a black Southerner. In this 1890 speech, Washington publicly proclaimed his devotion to the South in response to the specter of emigration to the Congo.

Washington’s most famous speech, his September 18, 1895, Atlanta Cotton States Exposition address, known as the “Atlanta Compromise” because of its conciliatory pitch, recognized the international dimensions of America’s racial dilemma:

To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say: “Cast down your bucket where you are”—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

[...]

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, “Cast down your bucket where you are.”²

By speaking in the conditional—“were I permitted”—when addressing his white audience, Washington ironically acknowledged the transgressive potential of his platform and the diversity of his listeners. In its simultaneous address to black and white audiences, his local message to “Cast down your bucket where you are” was elevated to a quintessentially national manifesto. From this podium, Washington spoke against African American emigration and domestic migration. Likewise, by alluding to the specter of “strikes and labour wars,” he maligned the mostly European immigrants who he believed threatened African American job opportunities (*Up From Slavery* 1:332). His message of conciliation between blacks and whites in the South was based on a defense of the regional integrity of the United States, without an exodus of African Americans or an influx of European immigrants. Washington’s localism, therefore, developed on a global stage.

Washington’s relationship to Africa, including several years of service as Vice President of the Congo Reform Association, contrasted with his outspoken emphasis on local strategies of racial uplift. The CRA was not Washington’s first foray into African affairs, but rather an affirmation of his longstanding participation in a geographically wide political arena. Washington’s fierce advocacy of Southern autonomy, which

² See *Up From Slavery* (1901), *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989) 1:331-332. All citations from Washington’s Atlanta Cotton States Exposition address are taken from the version he incorporated into *Up From Slavery*, his popular 1901 autobiography.

sometimes resembled anticolonialist arguments in its emphasis on local sovereignty, was complicated by his ongoing collaborations with prominent Northern figures and institutions. Thanks largely to the work of his biographer, Louis Harlan, this disparity between Washington's public persona and his behind-the-scenes activities is generally well known.³ Washington's skill as a speaker and a writer strategically enabled his local rhetoric to overshadow the transatlantic dimensions of his work.

An alternative to traditional readings of Washington as either a traitor or a trickster can facilitate a reassessment of his legacy and a more inclusive understanding of the larger corpus of literature about diaspora. An interest in African politics existed at the elite levels of black leadership, across the spectrum of ideological orientation, and even in instances of apparent contradiction. An international perspective was embedded in Washington's principles on race in the United States. Washington's African work was not an aberration, but was integral to his career.

Washington was the founder and principal of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which was the physical incarnation of his local ideology. All the same, Tuskegee undertook its own international initiatives. In 1900, a decade after his public opposition to Congo emigration, Washington responded favorably to a German request that Tuskegee graduates be sent to West Africa.⁴ Between 1900 and 1909, nine Tuskegee

³ For example, Washington financed the very same nonracial suffrage litigation that he publicly argued against. He privately bankrolled a 1900 legal challenge to Louisiana's grandfather clause, a law which was used to deny African Americans the franchise on the absurd grounds that their grandfathers, who had been denied the franchise, were not registered voters. See Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford UP, 1972) 1:298.

⁴ For more on Tuskegee's Togo initiative, see Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," *American Historical Review* 71.2 (Jan. 1966):

graduates worked in Togo to introduce new cotton production technology. The deaths of several Tuskegee alumni involved in the project, including two in a dramatic shipwreck, made recruiting difficult. By 1909, the initiative ultimately petered out.⁵

In *The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery*, which merges personal narrative and epic history, Washington articulated the vision that the Togo project had implemented:

While I had been a student at Hampton Institute, Virginia, it was one of my ambitions, as it has been the ambition of a great many other Negro students before and since, to go out some day to Africa as a missionary. I believed that I had got hold at Hampton of a kind of knowledge that would be peculiarly helpful to the Native Africans and I felt that my interest in the people out there, vague and indefinite as it was, would in some way or other help and inspire me in the task of lifting them to a higher plane of civilisation.

After I went to Tuskegee I gave up my ambition of going to Africa. I had not been long there, however, before I was convinced that I could, perhaps, be of larger usefulness through the work I was able to do in this country, by fitting, for the same service I wanted to perform, Africans who came as students to America, and by sending from Tuskegee men and

442-447. Subsequent references to this article abbreviate the title as "White Man's Burden."

⁵ For more on "Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee Institute, and the Togo Experiment," see Milfred C. Fierce, *The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1919: African-American Interest in Africa and Interaction with West Africa* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993) 171-197.

women trained in our methods, as teachers and workers among the native people. (1:36-37)

The Story of the Negro was published in 1909, the year that the Togo project ended. Under the section heading, “The African at Home,” Washington autobiographically traced the relationship between Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Africa. Interestingly, a desire to work in Africa was nurtured at Hampton and abandoned, voluntarily according to Washington, on his arrival at Tuskegee.

In “The African at Home,” Washington rationalized his compromised mobility by arguing that he could be most useful to Africa by working in the United States. Washington, at the very least, took his own advice from his 1895 Atlanta Cotton States Exposition address to “Cast down your bucket where you are.” The speaker’s decision to cast down his bucket at home was a representative act, apt for *The Story of the Negro*, in which he cast his own life as illustrative of the larger “story” indicated by the title. The subtitle of the two-volume work, “The Rise of the Race from Slavery,” echoed the title of Washington’s popular 1901 autobiography *Up From Slavery*. The continuity running from the 1895 address to the 1909 book elevated Washington’s thinking to an ethos of immobility, a principle that was central to Washington’s posture toward the United States and, significantly, Africa.

In *Up From Slavery*, Washington acknowledged his status as “a representative of the Negro race” when setting the stage for the Atlanta Exposition (1:330). In his 1911 autobiography *My Larger Education*, Washington more consciously related the historical significance of his Atlanta Exposition platform, in particular its timing: “Frederick Douglass died in February, 1895. In September of the same year I delivered an address

in Atlanta at the Cotton States Exposition.”⁶ To put it differently, Washington’s life is *The Story of the Negro*, and the story of the Negro is a story “at home,” a domestic story, a story of immobility.

Booker T. Washington’s vexed relationship to Africa reveals the possibilities and the limitations of his status as “representative.” In this way, Washington’s career is compatible with the paradigm of “mulatto modernism” that Houston A. Baker Jr. outlines in *Turning South Again: Re-Thinking Modernism/Re-Thinking Booker T.* Baker parses the paradigm of modernism along the lines of “mulatto modernism” and “Afro-modernity” as a means of revising his ideas on black modernism in general and Washington in particular.⁷ Baker explains, “mulatto modernism” relies on “‘uplift,’ the translation of individual, bourgeois, class achievement into doctrinal and pedagogical imperatives for the black masses” (*Turning South Again* 34). Whether articulated in his “Atlanta Compromise” speech or *The Story of the Negro*, Washington’s individual

⁶ See Booker T. Washington, *My Larger Education* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1911) 106. In *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the “Racial” Self* (New York: Oxford UP, 1987), Henry Louis Gates Jr. discusses Douglass’s status as “representative.” Gates mistakenly attributes Washington’s juxtaposition of Douglass’s death and his own ascension to *Up From Slavery* (Gates 109). Gates relies on Robert B. Stepto’s discussion of Washington in *From Behind the Veil* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983), which, like “Frederick Douglass and the Language of the Self” (chapter 4) of *Figures in Black*, does not have detailed endnotes or footnotes (Stepto 46-49). Gates’s error emblemizes the problematic reduction of Washington’s enormous oeuvre to *Up From Slavery*. The lack of critical nuance regarding Washington’s transatlantic work partly results from the use of *Up From Slavery* as a synecdoche for the entirety of Washington’s career.

⁷ *Turning South Again* revises Baker’s argument in his influential *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987), which posits Washington’s September 1895 “Atlanta Compromise” as a unique signpost of African American modernism. To simplify a sophisticated revision, Baker’s earlier work emphasizes Washington’s rhetorical structures whereas his more recent work situates Washington’s career in a wider sociopolitical framework.

achievements and his embrace of the title of “representative” provided the foundation for his model of racial advancement.

On the other hand, “mulatto modernism” is a sort of qualified modernity which is local in terms of geography and exclusive in terms of accessibility. As a counterpoint to “mulatto modernism,” “Afro-modernity” demands a more inclusive transatlantic political vision. Baker uses “Afro-modernity”

to signify the general effects of African, African diasporic, and Afro-American people’s “stride toward freedom,” their move toward cosmopolitan mobility of citizenship, work, cultural reclamation and production that enhance the lives of a black majority globally conceived. [...] The preeminent dynamics of Afro-modernity are the “search” for Africa, the query “What is Africa to me?” (*Turning South Again* 34)

While Washington never achieved the level of cosmopolitan mobility needed to facilitate an Afro-modern realization of global black empowerment, his career manifest an implicit diasporic sensibility and a “search” akin to the opening query of Countee Cullen’s 1925 poem “Heritage.”

Washington’s “peculiar mobility,” as Baker terms it, depended on his acquiescence to a particular racial policy that did not alienate his white patrons and on his “commitment to imperialism as Tuskegee Institute’s normative relationship to the black ‘country districts’” (*Turning South Again* 59). In this regard, Tuskegee was a product not solely of the domestic scene but also of “social imperialism,” which Eric Hobsbawm defines as the strategic “use of imperial expansion to diminish domestic discontent” (69). Any good work that took place on Tuskegee’s Alabama campus was facilitated by the

school's satisfied white patrons, who were also the financiers of Washington's European travels. These patrons were deeply invested in the school's policies toward external black communities. When the protagonist of Tuskegee graduate Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* chaperones a white trustee through the community surrounding the college, the trustee, Mr. Norton, becomes enamored with the horrific stories told by Trueblood, a sharecropper and blues singer. As Ellison describes them, Tuskegee's patrons such as Mr. Norton, were invested equally in the college campus and the country districts. Similarly, in *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, historian James D. Anderson makes clear that the Hampton-Tuskegee educational philosophy was to train its students as missionaries of industrial education to the country districts of the South (77).

The qualities that Baker identifies as Washington's "mulatto modernism" are ideologically the most consistent with colonial systems. As Baker maps it, Washington's Tuskegee Institute was moved from its original location in a town church to the rural grounds of an abandoned plantation (*Turning South Again* 79). This trajectory differs from the cosmopolitan mobility of Afro-modernity, signifying that Tuskegee's institutional history was not an early version of Martin Luther King Jr.'s Afro-modern "stride toward freedom," but rather a characteristic example of the regress that led historian Rayford Logan to characterize the years between the 1877 repeal of Reconstruction and World War One as the "nadir."⁸ Scholars must ground Tuskegee's achievements (as well as its failures) in the context of Jim Crow. Characteristic of the South, and a reason that Baker argues for its metonymic importance for the United States,

⁸ See Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (1954), revised and enlarged as *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier Books, 1965).

is a racialized control of space, from the Middle Passage on slave ships to enslavement on plantations to convict labor to modern imprisonment (all financially profitable to particular parties). A spatial analysis was central to Washington's politics with regard to the United States and Africa. Baker's emphasis on space as well as his adoption and adaptation of Washington's privileged geographical South reconfigure a Washingtonian paradigm for the critical sphere.⁹ The dramatic limitations on Washington's mobility and, per Baker, his modernity defined his relationship to diaspora, a relationship which is encapsulated in his unrealized opportunities to travel to Africa.

Washington's interests in Africa were circumscribed by a remarkable series of stymied attempts to journey to the continent. Though Washington traveled to Europe in 1899, 1903, and 1910, his public career with regard to Africa was profoundly marked by a peculiar immobility. Washington and Tuskegee were particularly well regarded in South Africa through several South African students in the United States who spent time at the Alabama campus. In 1903, Washington was recruited by British colonial authorities to serve as an educational advisor in the Orange Free State and elsewhere in South Africa. He declined the invitation only after consulting with President Theodore Roosevelt (Harlan, "White Man's Burden" 448).

⁹ Baker's revision of the South fits Madhu Dubey's critique of romantic "nonliterary southern regionalism" in her compelling analysis of the politics of cultural geographies of the southern United States. See Madhu Dubey, "Postmodern Geographies of the US South," *Nepantla: Views from South* 3.2 (2002): 365.

In the following year, Washington joined the American Congo Reform Association as a Vice President. The CRA was a transatlantic enterprise which E. D. Morel founded in England in 1903 to oppose King Leopold II's brutal monarchy in the Congo.¹⁰ By 1905, after an effective year in the Congo fray, Washington's influence made him a target for cooption by Leopold. Leopold hired Henry Kowalsky, a prominent albeit unscrupulous San Francisco attorney, to try to persuade Washington to visit the Congo State. To Washington's credit, he flatly refused Kowalsky's persistent promises of an expense account and unbridled access.

Although Washington never seriously considered traveling to the Congo, under less compromising circumstances, he came close to going to Liberia, a country which he represented in the United States as a lobbyist.¹¹ In early 1909, Washington was scheduled to head a delegation to Liberia organized by Secretary of State Elihu Root. His trip was blocked by President-elect William Howard Taft, who demanded Washington's attention and advice for his administration's transition. As a result, Washington's secretary Emmett J. Scott went to Liberia in his boss's stead, disappointing the hosts who had been excited at the prospect of meeting the man known as the Wizard of Tuskegee. In response to these diplomatic efforts, the United States paid down some of Liberia's high foreign debt and gave it protectorate status, which Washington considered preferable

¹⁰ For more on the CRA, see Stanley Shaloff, *Reform in Leopold's Congo* (Richmond, VA: John Knox P, 1970).

¹¹ According to Basil Mathews, Sir Harry Johnston, a British official who had traveled to the Congo with Stanley, "had in mind the possibility of putting Booker Washington in charge of Liberia." See Basil Joseph Mathews, *Booker T. Washington: Educator and Interracial Interpreter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1948) 248.

to the seemingly imminent prospect of European colonization.¹² In this instance, Washington's domestic service directly prevented a scheduled visit to Africa. Washington managed to spin the situation appropriately: "I was very happy, however, when [...] President Taft decided to relieve me from the necessity of making the trip" (qtd. in Mathews 249).

Washington's national mantle and access to political leaders foreclosed travel prospects. Although Washington's access to the seats of political power was unique, his restricted mobility was more common. The same forces that circumscribed his mobility impacted a wide cross-section of the African American community. As Rayford Logan posits in *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*, the post-Reconstruction pre-World War One era was a time of increasing segregation, disenfranchisement, and lynching, masked by occasional political advisory opportunities for race leaders like Washington.

In the decade between George Washington Williams and William H. Sheppard's 1890 expeditions and Booker T. Washington's emergence in the Congo reform movement, prospects for African Americans to travel to Africa were declining.¹³ As

¹² For a detailed account of Washington's relationship to Liberia, see "Booker T. Washington: Diplomatic Initiatives" (chapter 8) of Elliot P. Skinner, *African Americans and US Policy Toward Africa, 1850-1924* (Washington, DC: Howard UP, 1992) 291-347; and "The Appeal From Africa" (chapter 16) of Mathews 241-254. For an analysis of the intersections of United States financial policies toward Liberia and cultural production, see Emily Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999), esp. 201-204. For a more general account of United States policy toward Liberia, see Raymond W. Bixler, *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Liberia* (New York: Pageant P, 1957).

¹³ On this trend, see William Seraile, "Black American Missionaries in Africa, 1821-1925," *Social Studies* 63 (Oct. 1972): 200-201.

historian Walter L. Williams explains in *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa*, black missionaries were systematically excluded from service in Africa at the insistence of European colonial administrators (42). As documented throughout the pages of the *Missionary*, the Southern Presbyterian Church (US) was explicitly rejecting qualified black applicants to the Congo mission while desperately waiving educational prerequisites for white missionaries. Such policies were not always opposed by Washington, who, according to Harlan, “supported those conservative South Africans who considered missionaries, particularly Negro American ones, as subversives” (“White Man’s Burden” 449). Irrespective of Washington’s position on black missionaries, this pattern of exclusion reflects a chronology of escalating repression and diminishing opportunity. Walter Williams’s account suggests a parallel to Logan’s “nadir” as a period when the exclusion of African Americans from church missions overseas paralleled disenfranchisement in the United States. Domestic racial politics were being applied abroad, and corollary imperialist policies were being inscribed domestically.

Apropos of his individualistic, bootstraps ethos, Washington rationalized his non-travel to Africa as a decision made of his own volition. However, for other prominent black figures, the true reasons for their restricted mobility transparently lay elsewhere. In 1895, as a young college student, educator Mary McLeod Bethune “applied to the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, asking to be assigned to ‘somewhere in Africa’” (Holt 45). Her application was rejected amid the changing climate of the 1890s. Bethune responded by committing herself to the education of blacks in the United States, not unlike the path Washington undertook at Tuskegee. As Bethune told sociologist Charles S. Johnson in 1940, “for years I just had a yearning to go to Africa and thought

that when I was through with my education I could be sent, but instead, I found my way into the deep South” (Bethune 42). Activists such as Washington and Bethune productively reinvented themselves for a domestic stage, as did the Sheppards after two decades in the Congo. Washington’s modus operandi was later adopted by his former student William H. Sheppard, who, after his return from Africa, maintained his commitment to the Congo through writing and lecturing. In February 1911, Washington and Sheppard, who by this time had known each other for nearly thirty years, shared the podium on a speaking tour on behalf of Hampton (Schall 120).

Government jurisdiction put Washington’s immobility in a longer tradition of African American relationships to Africa. In 1952, nearly sixty years after her mission application, Bethune finally traveled to Africa. As she reflected in “Yes, I Went to Liberia,” an article published in *Responsibility*, Bethune went “as representative of the United States Government” on the occasion of the second inauguration of President William V. S. Tubman.¹⁴ Bethune’s insistent journey was circumscribed by the same governmental system that derailed Washington’s planned 1909 trip to Liberia. And while W. E. B. Du Bois’s decision to live the last years of his life in Kwame Nkrumah’s newly independent Ghana may signify the sort of Africa-centered cosmopolitan mobility that Washington’s and Bethune’s confinements precluded, Du Bois was likewise constrained. Du Bois spent nearly a decade prior to his departure for Ghana without his passport,

¹⁴ *Responsibility* was the organ of the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women’s Clubs. See Mary McLeod Bethune, *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World*, ed. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999) 275.

which had been revoked in 1950 on the basis his political activities.¹⁵ Even as the boundaries of African American transatlantic mobility appeared to be expanding, government control remained firmly intact.

Whereas Washington differed from William H. Sheppard and George Washington Williams in his immobility, all three of them shared an ability to communicate transnationally through their writings. This textual mobility is integral to Paul Gilroy's exploration of transatlantic cultural and political formations in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Gilroy identifies ships as a central chronotope because they "immediately focus attention on the middle passage, on the various projects for redemptive return to an African homeland, on the circulation of ideas and activists as well as the movement of key cultural and political artefacts: tracts, books, gramophone records, and choirs" (*Black Atlantic* 4). The tragic deaths associated with Tuskegee's Togo initiative hauntingly evoke the Middle Passage and Gilroy's chronotope. Furthermore, Washington's ideas and writings circulated more widely than those of any other black leader in the early twentieth century. His popular 1901 autobiography *Up From Slavery* was translated into several European languages as well as Hindi, Zulu, Marathi, and Telugu.¹⁶ After reading *Up From Slavery*, many important early-twentieth-century African leaders corresponded with Washington and visited the Tuskegee campus. Washington's extraordinary popularity throughout the diaspora was part of the

¹⁵ For a consideration of Du Bois's work during this period, see Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Albany: State U of New York P, 1986).

¹⁶ For references to translations of *Up From Slavery*, see Harlan, "White Man's Burden" 459; Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford UP, 1983) 2:278; and Mathews 224.

emergence of a transatlantic black political culture exemplary of Gilroy's "Black Atlantic."

The circulation of translations of *Up From Slavery* established a form of mobility that contrasted with Washington's rhetoric of Southern autonomy. Beyond Washington's political involvement in Liberia and the Congo, and Tuskegee's export of agricultural technology and expertise to Togo, the Alabama campus became a magnet for Africans studying in the United States and, like other HBCUs, played a formative role in the education of several generations of African leaders.¹⁷ As Washington intimates in *The Story of the Negro*, Tuskegee Institute provided a base from which he could productively support Africa without leaving the South. Visits to Tuskegee were de facto parts of the curricula for Africans, even those educated at historically white institutions in the United States and Europe. For a generation of African leaders, Washington's conservative pleadings for social segregation were easily translated into anticolonial nationalism. Louis Harlan explains Washington's appeal in Africa: "The separatist concept which was Tuskegee conservatism in the American context became radical nationalism in the African context" ("White Man's Burden" 461).

For South Africans, Tuskegee held a particular appeal. The *Southern Workman* published John L. Dube's 1897 Tuskegee commencement address about the application

¹⁷ For example, John Chilembwe, who led a major anticolonial uprising, spent formative years at the Virginia Theological Seminary in Lynchburg, Virginia, in the late 1890s. For more on Chilembwe, see George Shepperson, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyassaland Native Uprising of 1915* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1956). The more recent examples, such as Kwame Nkrumah's enrollment at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in the 1930s, are better known and too numerous to list.

of Washington's educational philosophy in Africa.¹⁸ Dube, a graduate of Oberlin College in Ohio and a minister, later founded the Zulu Christian Industrial School of Natal in South Africa. Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, a Zulu graduate of Columbia University in New York, visited Tuskegee in 1906 and later helped to found the African National Congress (ANC).¹⁹ Although Seme was fond of Tuskegee and Washington, when the two men met in London in 1910, there was quite a bit of tension between them (Harlan, "White Man's Burden" 464). The radical ANC pioneer was enamored of Washington's writings but disappointed by the man's conservatism. Nonetheless, Washington's ideology, as articulated in his writings and in the structure of Tuskegee, elastically facilitated his far-reaching influence in Africa.

After graduating from the University of London, Davidson D. T. Jabavu spent three months at Tuskegee. He later founded the South African Native College at Fort Hare and in 1920 published, "Booker T. Washington: What He Would Do if He Were in South Africa."²⁰ At Tuskegee in September 1913, Jabavu first met Alfred Xuma, a South African student there. Back in South Africa after graduating from Tuskegee and Northwestern University Medical School, Xuma collaborated with Jabavu to lead the All-

¹⁸ See John Dube, "Need of Industrial Education in Africa," *Southern Workman* 26.7 (July 1897): 141-142. For more on Dube, see R. Hunt Davis Jr., "John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of African Studies* 2.4 (Winter 1975-1976): 497-528; Steven Gish, *Alfred B. Xuma: African, American, South African* (New York: New York UP, 2000) 22-23; and Manning Marable, *African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube* (Diss. U of Maryland, 1976).

¹⁹ For more on Washington's influence on the anticolonial movement in South Africa, see Manning Marable, "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism," *Phylon* 35.4 (Dec. 1974): 398-406.

²⁰ See Davidson D. T. Jabavu, *The Black Problem: Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems* (Lovedale, Cape Province [South Africa]: Book Department, Lovedale Institution P, [1920]) 27-70.

African Convention in 1936. Steven Gish, Xuma's biographer, acknowledges, "The impact that Xuma's American experiences had on his later influence in South Africa is difficult to overstate. [...] The imprint of Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington would remain with Xuma long after his return home" (50). Xuma served as President of the ANC in the 1940s.

Gish believes that Xuma's "contact with African-American individuals and institutions [...] symbolized the larger cross-fertilization of ideas that occurred between the United States and South Africa since the nineteenth century" (205). The "cross-fertilization" between HBCUs and South Africa evokes some of the Black Atlantic possibilities for locating Washington's internationalism in the localism of Tuskegee. In 1930, when Tuskegee graduate Xuma published a biography in South Africa of ANC activist Charlotte Manye, he solicited a contribution from W. E. B. Du Bois.²¹ In the Foreword to *Charlotte Manye: "What an Educated African Girl Can Do,"* Du Bois wrote of their association: "I have had the opportunity of following her work throughout the glimpses which I have had from far-off South Africa" (Foreword 8).

Du Bois first met Charlotte Manye (later Maxeke) while teaching at Wilberforce University in Ohio from 1894 to 1896.²² Manye came to the United States with the

²¹ For more on Manye and her circle, see James T. Campbell, *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa* (1995; Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998), esp. 249-294.

²² David Levering Lewis characterizes Du Bois's two years at Wilberforce as generally unhappy. During this period, Du Bois even wrote to Washington seeking a post at Tuskegee (Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois* 1:176-177). Lewis considers Du Bois's time at Wilberforce important for several lasting acquaintances, though Manye is not among them. Lewis does note that Du Bois met his future Nina Gomer, poet Paul Laurence Dunbar, Second Lieutenant Charles Young, and commencement speaker Alexander Crummell. Crummell, a minister and educator with twenty years experience working in Liberia, became the iconic subject of a chapter in *The Souls of Black Folk*. See "On

African Choir, a South African singing group modeled on the Virginia Jubilee Singers, who toured South Africa for five years in the early 1890s.²³ The Virginia Jubilee Singers were started by Washington's Hampton classmate Orpheus McAdoo, who had performed with the Hampton Male Quartette and Frederick Loudin's Fisk Jubilee Singers, the latter being the same ensemble that featured Lucy Gantt (Sheppard). The popular Virginia Jubilee Singers inspired South Africans to form their own vocal ensembles, the most famous of which was the African Choir. When the African Choir's European manager absconded with the group's money during their American tour, the singers enrolled at HBCUs thanks to the philanthropy of African American religious leaders. As a result, in 1895, Manye became the first South African student to enroll at Wilberforce, where she was joined by at least ten additional South African students in the next four years.²⁴

The presence of African students among educated classes of African Americans did more than ensure the influence of Washington and others in Africa; African students

Alexander Crummell" (chapter 12) in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), *Writings*, ed. Nathan I. Huggins (New York: Library of America, 1986) 512-520. For more on Crummell, see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Alexander Crummell: A Study of Civilization and Discontent* (New York: Oxford UP, 1989).

²³ For a study of the African Choir, see Veit Erlmann, "'Spectatorial Lust': The African Choir in England, 1891-1893," *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999) 107-134. For more on the Virginia Jubilee Singers in South Africa, see Veit Erlmann, "'A Feeling of Prejudice': Orpheus M. McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers in South Africa 1890-1898," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14.3 (Apr. 1988): 331-350.

²⁴ Two singers with the African Choir registered at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, where a significant contingent of Liberian students had been enrolling since the early 1870s. For a partial list of African students in the United States prior to 1900 arranged by college, see Walter L. Williams, *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1982) 191-194. The listing by Williams is a valuable point of departure for research on the impact of African students on United States campuses.

on United States campuses influenced American understandings of modern Africa in ways that have yet to be fully appreciated. Unfortunately, Tuskegee, Hampton, and Wilberforce get left out of Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*.²⁵ Du Bois's relationship to Manye seems to challenge Paul Gilroy's assertion that Du Bois's early writings, including *The Souls of Black Folk*, were "so deeply rooted in the post-slave history of the new world that it became difficult for Du Bois's understanding of modernity to incorporate contemporary Africa. Africa emerged instead as a mythic counterpart to modernity in the Americas [...]" (*Black Atlantic* 113). Just as Tuskegee and Togo intersected through the collaborations initiated by Washington, South Africa and Wilberforce exemplify the type of transatlantic association that did not preclude contemporary Africa in favor of its "mythic counterpart," and that is absent from *The Black Atlantic*. As Brent Hayes Edwards correctly points out, "'Diaspora' here ultimately functions more as one of the figures for Gilroy's obstinate anti-absolutism and anti-essentialism than as an elaboration of that 'new structure of cultural exchange'" (61).

Introducing a vexed figure such as Washington, along with his extensive South African contacts, into a discourse about modernity challenges assumptions about the exclusivity of mythic Africa in the African American imagination. Du Bois's contact with Manye defies the common presumption that, according to Marion Berghahn in *The Image of Africa in Black American Literature*, the "concept of Negro liberation and the Pan-Africanism which he [Du Bois] developed in the course of his life must be seen largely as an abstraction from his own experiences [...]" (68). Far from an abstraction,

²⁵ Gilroy does discuss Du Bois and Fisk University, specifically in connection with the Fisk Jubilee Singers. See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993) 116-117.

Charlotte Manye was a South African woman who toured the United States and Europe with an African singing group modeled on a black American choir, returned to South Africa, cofounded a school, and worked with the ANC. Manye used her civil service post with the Johannesburg Juvenile Magistrate to issue passports for South Africans to study in the United States as she had. Via Manye, Gilroy's chronotope and its essential ingredients—Africa, Europe, and America; choirs, music, and politics—can suggest non-mythic, contemporary sources for Du Bois's understanding of Africa. Du Bois's modernity is not based solely on a mythic connection to Africa.²⁶ Washington's career in conjunction with the histories of HBCUs renders Africa as something other than an abstraction for a wide spectrum of African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

On the other hand, Gilroy's map of modernity privileges African American travel to Europe at the expense of HBCUs. While an examination of African Americans in Europe is a worthwhile project, Gilroy frames his argument without this sense of

²⁶ In *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1993), Eric J. Sundquist recognizes Manye as a less abstract source for Du Bois's Africa in *The Souls of Black Folk*:

In 1930, however, Du Bois contributed an introduction to a biographical study of Charlotte Mayne [sic], in which he noted her friendship with Nina Gormer [sic] and praised her as a race leader. This seems but one indication that Du Bois was more than superficially affected by the well-publicized relationship between the churches and by writings about Ethiopianism appearing in [Henry McNeal] Turner's organ, *The Voice of the Missions*. (561)

Whereas Gilroy notes the influence of Europe on Du Bois's racial consciousness, Sundquist suggests that personal contacts with Africa ought to be considered. Across the spectrum, historian Walter Rucker, who is critical of readings of Du Bois as "Eurocentric," begins a genealogy of Du Bois's Pan-Africanism in 1903, rather than a decade earlier at Wilberforce. See Rucker, "'A Negro Nation Within the Nation': W. E. B. Du Bois and the Creation of a Revolutionary Pan-Africanist Tradition, 1903-1947," *Black Scholar* 32.3-4 (Fall/Winter 2002): 38.

geographical precision. Gilroy sees England as a particular site of radical transformation for African American artists and intellectuals, finding antilynching activist Ida B. Wells's account of "her productive times in England as like 'being born again in a new condition'" to be "typical" (*Black Atlantic* 17-18). Du Bois's experiences in Europe place him in a tradition with Frederick Douglass and James Weldon Johnson, whose "consciousness of 'race,' self, and sociality were profoundly changed by the experience of being outside America" (*Black Atlantic* 132). Gilroy takes the experiences of some African Americans in England as representative of the entire Atlantic world. Joy James incisively points out that in the process, Gilroy "decontextualizes Du Bois and African American culture from radical politics to argue for the primacy of European influence on Du Bois's thought and African-American culture" (57).

In contradistinction to Gilroy's pantheon of prominent intellectuals and artists, Booker T. Washington's European travelogue *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe* described an African American laborer in London who wished to return to the United States: "I can see the pork chops and the corn bread and the hot biscuit calling me to come over and get some and many a time I have tried but failed" (35). Washington was as ill advised to draw conclusions from this statement as Gilroy is to see the travels of well-known black Americans as representative. *The Man Farthest Down* suggests that the modernist import of European travel was compromised by its limited availability to an elite, albeit influential, segment of the population. In addition, the European travels of Douglass and Washington were funded by white patrons. The confines of black cosmopolitan mobility are an important part of any complete picture of diaspora.

During his first trip to Europe in 1899, Washington clearly connected his English travels to his African immobility. Washington sent a letter to the Washington, DC, *Colored American* newspaper that seemingly concurred with Gilroy's privileging of England: "Outside of Africa there is no better place to study Africa than London, and, in some respects, London is better for a careful investigation than Africa itself."²⁷ Through one lens, even Washington's 1910 trip seemed to confirm this perspective. In his 1911 autobiography *My Larger Education*, Washington described how his 1910 travels provided an opportunity for him to reconnect with Congo Reform Association comrades such as E. D. Morel and Arthur Conan Doyle (259). However, in *The Man Farthest Down*, Washington did not mention his political reunions with Morel and Doyle. When Washington chronicled his travels as such (rather than as part of a "larger" autobiography), he deliberately chose not to mention his otherwise important CRA associates. The significance of this ellipsis is that Washington did not consider his political involvement with the Congo to be bound up with his physical mobility. Washington's involvement in the Congo, though included in what he titled *My Larger Education*, was not geographically defined by his mobility.

On his 1910 visit to London, unlike his 1899 stay, Washington did not explicitly investigate Africa. While his patrons funded the trip as a vacation, the workaholic Washington wanted to see the conditions of the European working class. The European tour was designed to enable Washington to debunk the more vicious racial explanations for inequality and discrimination in the United States. In this way, he differed from

²⁷ See Washington, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (14 vols.; Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989) 5:164. Subsequent references parenthetically abbreviate *The Booker T. Washington Papers* as *Papers*.

Gilroy's archetypal African American traveler. Rather than finding in Europe a society free of inequity, Washington found a society free of race as the organizing principle of social relations.²⁸ For Washington, the visible presence of white poverty affirmed that black Americans were not the "farthest down" on the scale of civilizations. Whereas other travelers may have experienced a psychological awakening in Europe, Washington detailed a particular sort of sociological epiphany.

In *The Man Farthest Down*, Washington fully eschewed the significance of any sort of past as a matter of principle, going so far as to avoid museums during his European travels: "I have never been greatly interested in the past, for the past is something that you cannot change. I like the new, the unfinished and the problematic" (10). His outlook contrasts with Gilroy's vision of the overwhelming domination of a romantic tradition:

Blacks are urged, if not to forget the slave experience which appears as an aberration from the story of greatness told in African history, then to replace it at the centre of our thinking with a mystical and ruthlessly positive notion of Africa that is indifferent to intraracial variation and is frozen at the point where blacks board the ships that would carry them into the woes and horrors of the middle passage. (*Black Atlantic* 189)

In Gilroy's opinion, the Afrocentric celebration of classical African civilization has obfuscated more pertinent, if less glamorous, aspects of black history.

²⁸ For an a consideration of Washington's examination of "race" in *The Man Farthest Down*, see Dickson D. Bruce Jr., "Booker T. Washington's *The Man Farthest Down* and the Transformation of Race," *Mississippi Quarterly* 48.2 (Spring 1995): 239-253.

Washington's oeuvre points toward a trend in African American thought (not limited to the admittedly peculiar Washington) that has not been unconditionally obsessed with what Gilroy sees as a desire to "rewind the tape of history" and "get back to the original moment of our dispersal!" ("Black Cultural Politics" 57). In an interview with philosopher Tommy Lott one year after the publication of *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Gilroy explains, "If I were going to write the book again, I would not use modernity as the framework for it," because, "there's a tension that gets set up around modernity as a chronological and temporal category—when did modernity begin?" ("Black Cultural Politics" 75). Thus, for Gilroy, the problem with "modernity" is the problem with "diaspora"—its reliance on chronology, linear temporality, and a positing of origins. Gilroy prefaces *The Black Atlantic*: "the contents of this book are unified by a concern to repudiate the dangerous obsessions with 'racial' purity which are circulating inside and outside black politics" (xi). What Gilroy considers "dangerous obsessions" within black politics might otherwise be interpreted as empathy grounded in a body of political thought. In the interview with Lott, Gilroy recognizes the need "to fight over the concept diaspora to move it away from the obsession with origins, purity and invariant sameness" ("Black Cultural Politics" 57). Gilroy paints African American intellectuals with the same ahistorical brush that he accuses African Americans of bringing to Africa. His strict paradigm leaves no space to consider Washington's diverse influence on a heterogeneous cross-section of people throughout the African Diaspora.

Washington's involvement with the Congo marked the beginning of his collaboration with white sociologist Robert E. Park. Park was Secretary of the Congo Reform Association when he first met Washington, a CRA Vice President, in 1904. Thus, the Congo proved central to one of the most important associations of the careers not only of Washington but of Park, who is considered a pioneer in the field of sociology. Prior to his arrival at Tuskegee, Park earned a Ph.D. in philosophy at Heidelberg, worked for two years as an assistant in the Harvard University Department of Philosophy, and turned down a job offer from the University of Chicago (Raushenbush 40-41).²⁹ In a 1941 article, Park recalled his initial connection to Washington: "When, however, I told him that I was thinking of going to Africa; that there was, I had heard, at Lovedale, South Africa an industrial school for natives, and that, if there was any solution of the Congo problem it would probably be some form of education, he invited me to come to Tuskegee" (312). For the next eight years, Park worked as a publicist for Tuskegee.

²⁹ After working with Washington for nearly a decade, Park accepted a post at the University of Chicago. His well-known contributions to the field of sociology at Chicago have underappreciated roots in Tuskegee and the Congo. For surveys of Park's work on the Congo and at Tuskegee, see Fred H. Matthews, *Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1977) 57-84; and Winifred Raushenbush, *Robert E. Park: Biography of a Sociologist* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1979) 36-63. For an idiosyncratic philosophical analysis, see Stanford M. Lyman, "Park's Congo Studies: Toward a Gothic Perspective on Capitalism and Imperialism" in *Militarism, Imperialism, and Racial Accommodation: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Early Writings of Robert E. Park* (Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1992) 41-80. Lyman generously appendices Park's writings on the Congo; see Lyman 205-245.

Robert Park, who collaborated with Washington on *The Man Farthest Down*, was explicit in terms of locating an international model in Tuskegee's mission.³⁰ In a letter recommending that Washington accept an invitation to the 1905 Congress on Economic Expansion in Belgium, Park identified the compatibility of Tuskegee's mission with forms of colonialism:

I believe it will give you an opportunity to say something at once for your school and our own colonial system, more fundamental than has yet been uttered. The difference between our colonial system and others consists in the fact that we are preparing the peoples we govern for citizenship, either in the United States or as independent states [...]. (qtd. in Harlan, "White Man's Burden" 441)

³⁰ The relationship between Park and Washington was not one of celebrity and ghostwriter, but rather one of author and researcher. Washington dictated portions of his text to Park and then wrote the book himself from Park's transcript. Harlan shows that Washington's correspondence with a previous secretary, Max B. Thrasher, reveals limited manuscript changes, and even the most incidental of these were submitted to Washington for approval (*Booker T. Washington* 1:246-247). If any disservice was done, Washington's collaboration with Park, the longest of his career, could never have survived his meticulousness. Harlan explains the relationship:

Park researched, drafted, or revised most of Washington's writings for publication between 1905 and 1912, including his principal magazine articles and even many of his letters, particularly to foreigners. More importantly, Park took the book manuscripts that other ghostwriters had bungled and brought them into more polished and sophisticated condition, while retaining the distinctive Washingtonian plainness of style. (*Booker T. Washington* 2:291)

While Park requested coauthorship before they began *The Man Farthest Down*, St. Clair Drake makes a strong case in defense of Washington's primary credit (Introduction xxii-xxiii). Aware of the presumptions regarding black literacy, in *The Man Farthest Down*, Washington asserted what Robert Stepto calls "authorial control" by directly attributing one passage to Park's notes. See Stepto 45; and Booker T. Washington, *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe* (1912; New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984) 269-270.

Park saw “our” colonial systems as a counterpoint to European models, especially the Belgian-based brutality of Leopold, the host of the Economic Congress. Park envisioned the synchronicity of United States colonial policy and Tuskegee Institute’s civilizing mission. Ultimately, such compatibility was integral to Tuskegee’s liquidity and Washington’s effectiveness.

The mistake, therefore, is to assess Washington’s work with the CRA as marginal to his better-recognized efforts to build Tuskegee Institute. This interpretation has led to the overarching neglect of Washington’s work in Africa on the basis that it fails to fit neatly with Washington’s biographical self-fashioning. Robert Park’s biographer Winifred Raushenbush sweepingly insists, “Historians agree that Washington cared little about the problems of Africans” (39). After working with Washington for nearly a decade, Park remained unable to grasp the substance of African Diaspora connections and dismissed Washington’s commitment to Africa: “He wasn’t really interested in the Congo natives, or in anything else for that matter, except for the American Negro and his school in Tuskegee” (qtd. in Raushenbush 39). Although best remembered as a domestic figure, there were clear indications that Washington understood the work of Tuskegee to be intimately connected to African affairs.

What’s more, Washington’s writings and ideas traveled independently of their author’s declared intent. In 1914, Methodist Episcopal Reverend Paul Barnhart of Coquimbo, Chile, wrote a letter to Washington that revealed the geographical range of Washington’s influence:

We are trying to stimulate our Chilean members to learn self-help. Your life story is being read and discussed and they have just asked our

superintendent and our bishop to establish a school. The mission cannot pay the bill. The people do not know how, but are willing to be guided. If you could take the trouble to have your secretary mail us a very small package of literature telling of the present condition of the Institute and showing how the boys or girls pay their way, it would be a great stimulus... It might interest you to know that Captain Ruxton of the British Government over Benue district of Northern Nigeria in Africa told me when I was there that the ideal of your *Up from Slavery* formed the norm for his government policies there. (qtd. in Mathews 310)

The ability of Washington's writings to travel from the United States to Nigeria to Chile says something about his pliable influence as well as something about the commonalities of the regimes in those places.

Washington's malleability can be seen in a 1902 letter he received from Robert Elliott Speer, who was Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions from 1891 to 1937. Speer wrote to Washington about letters he had received with "frequent expressions of appreciation of the value of your example and methods to missionaries" (*Papers* 6:524). Speer shared a letter from a white missionary in China: "The practical wisdom and sagacity which Booker Washington has brought to bear upon the education of the Negroes is the same that is largely needed in dealing with the poorer classes in China" (*Papers* 6:524). Washington's writings, including a 1900 *Century* article "Signs of Progress Among the Negroes," explicate, in the words of critic Carla Willard, "a model of global uplift based on southern example" (640). Washington was attuned to the international dimensions of domestic racial policy during a period when, as historian C.

Vann Woodward explicates, “the North [...] was looking to Southern racial policy for national guidance in the new problems of imperialism resulting from the Spanish war” (324).

Another white Presbyterian missionary recognized the utility of the Southern example while reading Washington’s “autobiography” aloud to a group in Kobe, Japan:

I am a Southerner of the Southerners yet I have a feeling of justifiable pride in recalling that I am a fellow-statesman of Booker T. Washington, also of William H. Sheppard that noble missionary on the lower Congo. His old mother used to be our bath-woman at the Warm Sulphur Spring back in old Virginia. When the negro [sic] race is capable of producing such high types as these truly there is great hope for it, is there not?³¹

The nostalgia of the unnamed “Southerner of the Southerners” for Sheppard’s “old mother” and for “old Virginia” indicates the ability of the decidedly antimodern plantation to coexist with a missionary-style imperial vision. The category “such high types” included not only Washington and Sheppard, but also Sheppard’s mother Sarah Frances Martin Sheppard, a free mulatto woman, who worked at a bathhouse in Virginia.³² The accomplishments of Washington and the Sheppards enhanced, rather than threatened, the idyllic plantation memories of this unnamed “Southerner of the

³¹ Even though Washington had other published autobiographies at this time, the unnamed writer presumably—based on its date of publication (relative to the reference) and unrivalled popularity—is referring to *Up From Slavery*. See Washington, *Papers* 6:524-525.

³² For more on Sarah Frances Martin Sheppard, see Pagan Kennedy, *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-Century Congo* (New York: Viking, 2002) 7-8; and Orra Langhorne, “The Mother of a Famous Missionary,” *Southern Workman* 29.4 (Apr. 1900): 218-219.

Southerners.” The Presbyterian Church’s imperialist application of Washington’s ideas abroad coincided with a romantic Southern racial order. As philosopher V. Y. Mudimbe asserts, missions and colonization “implied the same purpose: the conversion of African minds and space” (*The Invention of Africa* 47).

The association between Washington and Sheppard had longstanding roots at Hampton and was not solely the product of Christian missions. Sheppard had been Washington’s student at Hampton Institute two decades earlier. The American Presbyterian Congo Mission’s *Kassai Herald* printed Washington’s “Industrial Schools as an Aid to Missions” in July 1906, while Henry Hawkins was editor.

Like the other figures who shape this study, Washington is part of a tradition of African American writers and intellectuals whose concern with modern Africa emphasized modern political affairs rather than fantasies of return. While Washington was involved in a marginally modern enterprise at best, his vision of a “Black Atlantic” challenges Gilroy’s model by avoiding the obsession with origins that Gilroy believes taints African American intellectual history. Washington’s writings about the Congo vigorously suggest models of African American identification with Africa that are not “mystical,” “ruthlessly positive,” or obsessed with origins. While Washington’s beliefs may not have represented a large cross-section of people, they nonetheless prominently reveal the possibility of an alternate form of identification.

Booker T. Washington publicly announced his entry into the emerging debate about the Congo State in a 1904 *Outlook* article, “Cruelty in the Congo Country”: “My interest in the race to which I belong, and in the advancement of the cause of humanity regardless of race, is my excuse for discussing a subject which I have not hitherto called attention in public print” (8:85). After broadly positioning himself in the service of “humanity,” Washington returned to the notion of racial identification, extending it explicitly to the political sphere. The second paragraph of the article begins, “The oppression of the colored race in any one part of the world means, sooner or later, the oppression of the same race elsewhere” (“Cruelty” 8:86). Washington’s articulation of a global vision of race did not represent a radical shift in his outlook. Rather, he was affirming the international dimensions of racial justice which he had acknowledged as early and as prominently as his 1895 address to the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition.

Washington’s “Cruelty in the Congo Country” follows two of the three elements demarcated by political scientist Michael Hanchard in “Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics and the African Diaspora”:

Afro-Modern politics are characterized by (a) a supranational formulation of people of African descent as an “imagined community” that is not territorially demarcated but based on the shared belief in the commonalities of Western oppression experienced by African and African-derived peoples; (b) the development of alternative political and cultural networks across national-state boundaries; and (c) an explicit critique of the uneven application of the discourses of the Enlightenment

and processes of modernization by the West, along with those discourses' attendant notions of sovereignty and citizenship. (248)

In "Cruelty in the Congo Country," Washington quickly acknowledged a "supranational formation" based on shared experiences of oppression. Later in the article, Washington referenced Sheppard's reports, enacting a textually based form of transatlantic political networking. Likewise in *The Story of the Negro*, Washington envisioned Tuskegee's relationship to Africa (absent his physical presence on the continent) as including the sorts of alliances that Hanchard proposes.

The political networks that Hanchard describes in the second part of his definition can be seen in Washington's relationships to the factions that emerge within the CRA. The Congo reform movement attracted a wide variety of people to its ranks, including supporters in the United States who saw the organization's mission in strictly national terms. After serving alongside Washington as Vice President of the American CRA for two years, Mark Twain, for example, resigned from the organization in 1906 upon learning that the United States Senate never officially approved the 1885 Berlin Act granting Leopold dominion over the Congo State. In a letter to Thomas S. Barbour, who recruited Washington to the CRA, Twain explained: "The American branch of the Congo Reform Association ought to go out of business, for the reason that the agitation of the butcheries can only wring the people's hearts unavailingly—unavailingly, because the American people unbacked by the American government cannot achieve reform in Congo" (qtd. in Hawkins 169). Twain was alluding to President Grover Cleveland's refusal to submit the Berlin Act to the Senate for ratification on the grounds that United States involvement in supposedly European affairs would jeopardize the standing of the

Monroe Doctrine. Twain felt that his potential as an agent of change depended on official ongoing state complicity. According to Twain, since the Senate never ratified the Berlin Act, the United States could wash its hands of responsibility for the Congo. Others activists, George Washington Williams for one, vigorously believed and publicly insisted that the United States was culpable.

Washington's racial empathy created a staunchly transatlantic vision for reform in the Congo, quite different from Twain's grumblings about the British-born CRA. Even when their opinions converged, Twain and Washington had very different, though equally idiosyncratic, political philosophies. Washington's politics, domestically and internationally, rarely took aim at the government. Whether the subject was lynching in the United States or forced labor in the Congo, Washington never saw the government as the primary target of black political activity. Unlike Twain, therefore, Washington did not feel that his involvement in the Congo crisis hinged on the complicity of the state. As he explained in "Cruelty in the Congo Country," his identification was racial and human. Whether or not the government had been an official party to the Berlin Treaty was beside the point. While it may contradict his principled provincialism, Washington's activism on behalf of the Congo fit his staunch belief that the people of the South work among themselves without looking to the government for aid.

Washington, along with the entire CRA, fell short of the third part of Hanchard's definition of Afro-Modern politics.³³ Neither Washington nor the CRA ever issued an "explicit critique" of Enlightenment philosophy and Western discourses of

³³ Hanchard uses "Afro-Modernity," whereas Baker uses "Afro-modernity." Since both distinctly define their usages of the term, I follow the capitalization of whichever scholar's paradigm I am referencing.

modernization, or took a principled anti-imperialist stance based on the rights of African people to govern themselves. Instead, they made the more conservative argument that brutal imperialism hindered the humane importation of Western civilization. Although Washington's leadership embodied a challenge to white supremacy, his condemnation of Leopold's excesses never extended to the racialized rhetoric of "civilization." Indeed, principles of "civilization" were central to Washington's domestic agenda. Washington's Southern regionalism demonstrated that he was not bound by the confines of a centralized nation-state. The same political position that limited Washington's agitation toward the state created new possibilities for transnational alliances based on race. All the same, Hanchard's paradigm is useful to pinpoint the limitations of Washington's transatlantic activities.

Washington's diasporic sensibility is frequently limited by a comparative framework which prevents him from offering absolute critiques. In "Cruelty in the Congo Country," Washington placed the Congo in the context of African continental slavery: "King Leopold has been led to set up a system in the Congo which, from all that I can learn about it, is harsher and more evil in its consequences than any form of slavery that has ever existed on African soil" (8:87). Along with its examination of diaspora, "Cruelty in the Congo Country" includes a lot of the kind of rhetoric for which Washington is more commonly maligned. From his perch at Tuskegee, he downplayed the destruction caused by chattel slavery, claiming, "there was never anything in American slavery that could be compared to the barbarous conditions existing to-day in the Congo Free State" ("Cruelty" 8:86). Washington's troubling ideas about American slavery figured into his analysis of the Congo and were illuminated by his transatlantic

interests. His variation on forgetting, which in another form is the target of Gilroy's criticism, was not based on an obsession with African origins. Washington's interest in the "country districts" emerged out of a decidedly antimodern belief in racial authenticity.

Washington's concern with colonialism was not limited to those who suffered most violently at its hands. As for colonial agents, he pointed out: "All reports agree that these men almost invariably give themselves over to the worst vices" leading him to conclude, "that the native is not the only victim of this system" ("Cruelty" 8:90). Washington, echoing a common theme in African American literature, carefully bound the fate of black people to that of their white oppressors:³⁴

One of the most unfortunate results of this method of dealing with the African is the heritage of misunderstanding, mutual distrust, and race hatred that it inevitably leaves behind it. This alone, in my opinion, will render fruitless for many years to come every effort to bring the great mass of the natives under the better and higher influences of our Christian civilization. ("Cruelty" 8:88)

In language that echoes missionary ideologies, Washington framed an argument against Leopold's reign on the grounds that it was antithetical to "Christian civilization," the shared goal of missionaries and colonialists. As such, Washington's political

³⁴ In a prominent example of this ethos, Frederick Douglass discusses the damage that slavery causes to whites, his mistress Mrs. Auld in particular: "Slavery proved as injurious to her as it did to me." See chapter 7 of Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (1845), *Autobiographies*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. (New York: Library of America, 1994) 40.

involvement in the Congo should not be misconstrued as an anti-imperialist position, at least as that idea has been understood since the middle of twentieth century.³⁵

Much of the data in “Cruelty in the Congo Country” came to Washington from his former Hampton student William H. Sheppard. Washington quoted Sheppard’s famous report of his interview with the chief of “a tribe of cannibals known as the Zapo-zaps” following a raid in which people’s hands were cut off for failing to harvest their quota of rubber (“Cruelty” 8:88). In Washington’s account, as in its source, Sheppard asked the chief to see the severed hands after being told of the casualties. Sheppard counted 81. For Washington, Sheppard’s matter-of-fact account was indispensable evidence: “a report written on the spot by an eye-witness” (“Cruelty” 8:88). Washington’s dependence on Sheppard exposed the distinction between the Hampton alumni, namely that Washington’s writings were not able to boast valued personal accounts of Africa. “The African at Home,” Washington’s reflections on a strategy to serve Africa without traveling, was timely. *The Story of the Negro* was published in 1909, Sheppard’s last full year in the Congo and a time when African American eyewitnesses were increasingly rare.

³⁵ Despite Washington’s absence from such factions, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was African American opposition to the so-called Spanish-American War and the United States invasion of the Philippines. For newspaper coverage, see George P. Marks, *The Black Press Views American Imperialism* (New York: Arno P, 1971). For attitudes toward United States expansion to Cuba and the Philippines, see Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1975); and Willard B. Gatewood, “*Smoked Yankees*” and *the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902* (Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1987).

In a chapter of *The Story of the Negro* on “The West Coast Background of the American Negro,” Washington compared the rural-urban dialectic of the United States to the relationship of coastal and interior regions in Africa:

The Negro people of the country districts in the Southern states are, I suspect, much more like the masses of the Africans, who live beyond the influences of the coast towns, than any other portion of any race in the United States. As often as I can find the time to do so, I get out into the country among this class of people. I like to sleep in their houses, eat their food, attend their churches, talk with them as they plant and harvest their crops. In this way I have gotten the inspiration and material for much that I have written and much that I have had to say from time to time about the Negro in America.

In recent years I have noticed among the people, in what I have called “the country districts,” a growing distrust for the city, not unlike that distrust of the Africans in the bush for the coast towns. (*Story of the Negro* 1:62)

For Washington, African Americans in the country districts represented an appealing milieu. He set up a contrast between “this class of people” and city dwellers, positing a parallel relationship between residents of the African interior and the coast. And he carefully noted intraracial distrust among residents of the American “country districts” and the African “bush.” Washington argued that the masses of continental Africans were more similar to African Americans in the rural South “than any other portion of any race in the United States,” explicitly rejecting, as he did in *The Man Farthest Down*, racially

bound comparisons. For Washington, race may be deployed as a point of political identification but not as a means of absolute sociological classification. Similarities between African Americans and Africans resulted from shared geographic experiences of isolation and autonomy, not shared racial origins.

As Washington explained in *The Story of the Negro*, the absence of discernible parameters of racial categorization rendered race as much a red herring in Africa as in the United States: “it is as hard for one, not an expert, to find the ‘true Negro’ in Africa—that is without any mixture of foreign blood—as it is to find the color line in the United States” (*Story of the Negro* 1:20-21). Washington, ostensibly a backer of racial segregation, was arguing the case that Homer Plessy failed to make before the Supreme Court—namely that the color line was a fiction. Washington further complicated the notion of the “true Negro” by recognizing “the multitude of different people that inhabit Africa and the variety of civilisations represented among its inhabitants” (*Story of the Negro* 1:28). Washington’s point was to show that the African continent was diverse, not monolithic.

Washington’s denigration of coastal towns offers insight into the particular appeal that the Congo held for him. As one of the later regions of Africa to be inhabited by Europeans, the Congo reminded Washington of the country districts in the South. For authors as varied as Henry Stanley and Joseph Conrad, the Congo symbolized an unknown frontier. Equally resonant for a writer like Washington was the dramatic corruption of something that once had been seen as mysteriously idyllic. Washington’s interest in the Congo resulted not only from the grotesqueness of Leopold’s brutality, but

also from a romantic vision of the interior regions of the continent of the sort that Gilroy would find dangerous.

In *The Story of the Negro*, Washington differentiated urban from rural, as coastal from “bush,” in terms that were hardly neutral: “The most self-reliant and substantial characters among my race that I know in the South are those who have been so surrounded as not to get hold of the vices and superficialities of towns and cities, but remained in the country where they lead an independent life” (*Story of the Negro* 1:63). Rather than being locations of modernist hybridity, the places of contact were bankrupt and threatened black autonomy. In his analysis of interracial contact, Washington went even further in identifying a methodological quandary that Africa posed for white observers: “To judge the African by what one may see in these coast towns or by what one may see in South Africa, or in the Nile regions of the Soudan, or wherever the native African has come in close contact with white civilisation, is much the same as if one were to judge the civilisation of America by what one can see in the slums of great cities” (*Story of the Negro* 1:64). In these critical pronouncements, Washington decried white, not European, influence, a fine but significant gradation.

By identifying sites of contact as full of vice and as imprecise indicators of cultural achievement, Washington passed judgment both on the impact of colonization and on the ability of white observers to assess African society. His argument in this section of *The Story of the Negro* was both political and methodological. He identified a research dilemma when he posited that Africans who have contact with whites are not the masses and, therefore, not “representative.” The presence of white observers inevitably

compromised the data.³⁶ However, Washington himself fell into the trap that he identified. *The Story of the Negro* relied heavily on the accounts of white writers, including Franz Boas and Mary Kingsley. On one level, Washington can be read as self-critical of his dependence on methodologically suspect sources. On another level, he can be read as questioning the unconditional authority of firsthand observation, a strategic position for someone who never traveled to Africa. More subtly, he undermined the white authorities whose names litter his footnotes thereby exhibiting proficiency with the parameters of a specific type of research. Washington's methodological self-consciousness demonstrated versatility in deploying a range of multifaceted evidence. According to the criteria that Washington outlined in *The Story of the Negro*, black eyewitnesses were more credible than whites in their observations. By proxy, Washington's own racial identity was an asset in his reporting.

Washington's celebration of the lives of blacks in the "country districts" of the Southern United States and Africa appealed, often simultaneously, to a variety of people, from archracists like popular novelist Thomas Dixon to leaders of African independence movements.³⁷ Consider the rhetorical dexterity that allowed his maxim "Cast down your

³⁶ This phenomenon has been noted elsewhere, specifically with regard to the impact of white interviewers on the testimonials of formerly enslaved African Americans interviewed during the oral history projects of HBCUs and the Work Progress Administration. See Martia Goodson's analysis, "The Significance of 'Race of Interviewer' in the Collection and Analysis of Twentieth Century Ex-Slave Narratives: Considering the Scene," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 9.3 (Fall 1985): 126-134.

³⁷ In January 1906, Thomas Dixon, who opposed Reconstruction as a form of Northern imperialism, attempted to donate money to Tuskegee but was rebuffed by Washington. Washington, well known for his aggressive approach to fundraising, refused to hold a public debate with Dixon to raise funds for Tuskegee. Washington's refusal contradicts assumptions of his undiscerning opportunism. See Washington, *Papers* 8:508-510. For more on Dixon, see Joel Williamson, "Thomas Dixon and *The*

bucket where you are” to appeal to both black and white audiences in the same speech. His address offered an illusion of equality by putting forward a single mantra with two different interpretations. Despite his popularity among radicals in the African Diaspora, Washington remained committed to the South until his death in 1915. As Washington was dying, he rejected his doctor’s orders to remain convalescing in New York. He insisted on returning to Tuskegee: “I was born in the South. I have lived and labored in the South, and I expect to die and be buried in the South” (qtd. in Holloway 116). Washington died the day after he disembarked the train at Chehaw Station in Alabama.

Unlike historian George Washington Williams and missionary William H. Sheppard, Washington’s interest in the Congo State emerged out of a combination of racial identification and moral outrage. While racial empathy was implicit in both Williams’s and Sheppard’s work in Africa, neither initially went to the Congo with any inkling of the genocide that was taking place. Washington, however, was well aware of the brutality of King Leopold II of Belgium’s regime by the time he became Vice President of the CRA in 1904. In this regard, the starting point of Washington’s relationship to the Congo differed substantially from that of Williams and Sheppard. That is, thanks to the work of his predecessors, Washington was informed about the violent atrocities taking place in the Congo without ever traveling there.³⁸

Understanding Washington’s role in these discursive communities provides an alternative way to interpret the haziness surrounding his lack of support for explicitly

Leopard’s Spots” (chapter 5) of *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford UP, 1984) 140-179.

³⁸ As horrific proof that one need not travel to the Congo to have a dramatic impact there, it should be noted that King Leopold II never traveled there either.

radical politics in Africa. Such positions did not automatically negate his radicalness. While Washington collaborated with European colonial administrators, many of his best-known domestic writings maintained an anticolonial influence. His arguments about the South largely opposed Northern intervention which was precisely the “colonial system” that Park recognized. Herein lays the remarkable range of Washington’s work. While the mission of Tuskegee was appealing to colonial authorities and to someone of Thomas Dixon’s ilk, it was also appealing to Marcus Garvey, who began a correspondence with Washington from his home in Jamaica after reading *Up From Slavery*. Ironically perhaps, Washington’s diasporic audience found his ideas about the United States more congenial than his overt positions on Africa. Through Washington’s writings, Garvey found in Tuskegee a model for building independent institutions for people of African descent.

The 1915 death of Washington, who first came to international prominence in the year that Frederick Douglass died, was followed in 1916 by the arrival of Garvey in the United States. An exploration of the relationship of African American writing to modern Africa in the years before Garvey’s arrival can add new dimensions to how discourses about diaspora and modernity are understood. Whereas Baker emphasizes the spatial dimension of Afro-modernity, Hanchard looks at the ways that African Diaspora communities have related to time. By viewing both the past and future as foundational to its political articulations, African Diaspora thought challenges an understanding of modernity as chronologically fixed or obsessed with origins. In preventing this type of reification, the temporality of Afro-Modernity, which incorporates the contemporary Congo, is able to include both a classical vision of African glory and a future caution

regarding the dangers of imperialism, a fusion which brilliantly emerged in the speculative fiction of Pauline Hopkins.

“BLOOD WILL FLOW”:

PAULINE E. HOPKINS, THE *COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE*, AND
INDEPENDENT BLACK LITERATURE

The disparity between the rhetoric and reality of Booker T. Washington's localism was not lost on his contemporary critics. In October 1901, Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins, editor of the *Colored American Magazine*, wrote a markedly ambivalent profile of Washington for the year-old Boston-based magazine.¹ In the article, Hopkins cited a letter written by Washington opposing federal intervention against lynching, carefully noting Washington's European postmark. Washington's presence in Europe pointed to the irony of his absentee suggestion that the South be allowed to deal with its own violence without outside intervention. Hopkins contrasted Washington's letter to a speech by Rev. Quincy Ewing of Mississippi advocating federal antilynching legislation, a position that the *Colored American Magazine* vigorously supported. By using a Southern source to challenge Washington, Hopkins presented her criticism with a modicum of indirection and made it impervious to Washington's typical retorts to Northern detractors. In her conclusion, Hopkins tentatively asserted Washington's "stupendous" influence while insisting that the jury was still out: "Dr. Washington's motives will be open to as many constructions and discussions as are those of Napoleon

¹ See Pauline Hopkins, "Booker T. Washington," *Colored American Magazine* 3.6 (Oct. 1901): 436-441. In the article, Hopkins drew heavily on Washington's own words, especially his 1900 autobiography *The Story of My Life and Work*, to chart Washington's educational background. She outlined the growth of Tuskegee Institute and its successful fundraising in detail, going so far as to record the source and amount of the donations.

today, or of other men of extraordinary ability, whether for good or evil, who have had like phenomenal careers" ("Booker T. Washington" 441).

Such backhanded praise from Hopkins marked the critical attitude of the *Colored American Magazine* during Hopkins's tenure from 1900 to 1904 at the national literary and political monthly. With a circulation of close to twenty thousand, the *Colored American Magazine* was, according to Abby Arthur Johnson and Ronald Maberry Johnson in *Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, "the first significant Afro-American journal to emerge in the twentieth century" (4).² The Washington profile was the final installment in Hopkins's yearlong series, "Famous Men of the Negro Race," which was followed by the "Famous Women of the Negro Race" series.³ The "Famous Men" series began with a profile of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the leader of the 1791 Haitian Revolution, that also invoked Napoleon.⁴ The Toussaint piece indicated Hopkins's commitment to charting a tradition of diasporic black leadership that was not bound by the borders of the United States. For Hopkins, this trajectory ended with serious questions about Washington. The series fit Hopkins's larger oeuvre, which includes a novel that features John Brown (*Winona*) and a story that recounts the rebellion aboard the *Creole* slaveship ("A Dash for

² The circulation figure is cited from Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford UP, 1987) 193n12.

³ For an extend consideration of Hopkins's "Famous Men" and "Famous Women" series, see C. K. Doreski, "Inherited Rhetoric and Authentic History: Pauline Hopkins at the *Colored American Magazine*," *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*, ed. John Cullen Gruesser (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996) 71-97.

⁴ See Pauline Hopkins, "Toussaint L'Overture [sic]," *Colored American Magazine* 2.1 (Nov. 1900): 23-24.

Liberty”).⁵ This body of work indicated her commitment to a literature of black radicalism.

Hopkins’s version of history was similar to that expressed by George Washington Williams, who likewise celebrated Toussaint and John Brown. The Colored Co-operative Publishing Company, the publishers of the *Colored American Magazine* and Hopkins’s novel *Contending Forces*, seemingly planned to issue an edition of Williams’s *History of the Negro Race in America*.⁶ Similar to the aims of Williams’s histories, the Colored Co-operative Publishing Company was committed to promulgating writing that had a social function and to providing an institutional model of nationalist enterprise.⁷ In addition to hiring a mostly black staff, the *Colored American Magazine* developed a cooperative model in which subscribers were members who owned a portion of the magazine and writers were compensated in part with certificates of deposit in the

⁵ For more on these trajectories in her work, see respectively Colleen O’Brien, “Slave Insurrections, White Anxiety, and the ‘Mystic Spell of Africa’ in the Fiction of Pauline Hopkins,” MLA Convention (Hilton, New York, 29 Dec. 2002); and John Cullen Gruesser, “Taking Liberties: Pauline Hopkins’s Recasting of the *Creole* Rebellion,” *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*, ed. John Cullen Gruesser (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996) 98-118.

⁶ There is no evidence that the Colored Co-operative actually published Williams’s *History of the Negro Race in America* or any book other than Pauline Hopkins’s novel *Contending Forces*. Even so, the company’s announced intent to publish “The Story of the American Negro, as Slave, Citizen and Soldier,” the title of which approximates the subtitle of Williams’s history, provides a sense of their historiographic orientation. See R. S. Elliott, “The Story of Our Magazine,” *Colored American Magazine* 3.1 (May 1901): 44. Elsewhere, Hopkins included Williams in an auspicious roll call of great men and women (*Primer* 17).

⁷ For more on the Colored Co-operative Publishing Company, see Donald Franklin Joyce, *Black Book Publishers in the United States: A Historical Dictionary of the Presses, 1817-1990* (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1991) 80-83; and Donald Franklin Joyce, *Gatekeepers of Black Culture: Black-Owned Book Publishing in the United States, 1817-1981* (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1983) 60-62, 187.

cooperative (Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood* 124). The *Colored American Magazine* had branch offices and agents throughout the United States, mainly in Northern cities, as well as in the West Indies and in Liberia. Its organizational apparatus affirmed the transnational affiliations that were articulated in its pages. The *Colored American Magazine* became a contested site in the debates that it covered. In 1904, Washington secretly bought the magazine and deposed Hopkins, its popular editor.

Hopkins's experience with the *Colored American Magazine* as a writer and editor demonstrates how a widespread consciousness of contemporary Africa permeated the literary and intellectual culture of the period. While Washington's attention to the Congo coincided with a generally conservative political agenda, Hopkins's involvement was part of a more progressive platform. As the author of four novels and numerous stories, Hopkins evoked the Congo in more traditional literary forms than did writers like Williams and Washington. Hopkins's substantial contributions to Pan-Africanism are underscored by her multilayered references to Africa. The specificity and diversity of contemporary Africa in Hopkins's novel *Of One Blood. Or, The Hidden Self* incorporates not only its explicit naming of Ethiopia, but its more subtle allusions to the Congo. Hopkins's multidimensional references exemplify the extent to which a contemplation of modern Africa was enmeshed in the broader racial discourse of the period.

In *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist*, a study central to the revival of interest in Hopkins in the late 1980s, Hazel V. Carby discusses Hopkins's magazine fiction and suggests a useful method: "The network of these relations between *Of One Blood* and other, nonfictional articles in the *Colored American Magazine* indicated the extent of an intertextual coherence, achieved under

Hopkins's literary editorship, which aimed at the reconstruction of a sense of pride in an African heritage" (159-160). A methodological imperative, then, is to recognize how Hopkins, as an author and an editor, rearticulated ideas about Africa that were circulating throughout the press and the community.

Pauline Hopkins's novel *Of One Blood. Or, the Hidden Self* was, according to John Cullen Gruesser, the first African American novel that "featured both an African setting and African characters" ("Pauline Hopkins's *Of One Blood*" 77). More specifically, *Of One Blood*, which was serialized in eleven installments in the *Colored American Magazine* from 1902 to 1903, narrates an intricate process of African American identification with Africa. The novel has three core characters: Reuel Briggs, an African American Harvard University medical student passing for white; Aubrey Livingston, his best friend and a fellow student; and Dianthe Lusk, a star vocalist with the Fisk Jubilee Singers. The serial opens in Reuel Briggs's Cambridge, Massachusetts, room. Reuel is reading about the human subconscious in an article titled "Unclassified Residuum" by "M. Binet."⁸ Later that evening at a Fisk Jubilee Singers concert, Reuel

⁸ Binet did not write "Unclassified Residuum." Reuel is reading Harvard psychologist William James's 1890 essay "The Hidden Self," which is a study of Binet and Janet that uses the phrase "Unclassified Residuum." Although Hopkins does not attribute the article to James, she adopts the title of James's essay, "The Hidden Self," as the subtitle for her novel. Cynthia Schrager points out that all of the passages attributed to Binet are "taken verbatim" from James's article. This intertextual introduction is the sort of reference that is particularly exciting to late twentieth century literary critics and is responsible, at least in part, for the renewed interest in this novel. The frequent commentary on the James connection instructively reveals the interests of the commentators. For examples of scholarship that emphasizes Hopkins's use of William James, see Cynthia D. Schrager, "Pauline Hopkins and William James: The New Psychology and the Politics of Race," *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*, ed. John Cullen Gruesser (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996) 186; Susan Gillman, "Pauline Hopkins and the Occult: African-American Revisions of Nineteenth-Century Sciences" *American Literary History* 8.1 (Spring 1996): 57-82; Thomas J.

recognizes the visage of an apparition that had interrupted his reading in the person of Fisk vocalist Dianthe Lusk. Later, Dianthe is injured in a train accident and ominously pronounced dead by Aubrey. Reuel miraculously revives her to semiconsciousness. He uses the language of William James's new psychology to explain his process to a disbelieving group of medical professors who presume Dianthe to be white.⁹

Despite his accomplishments, Reuel is unable to find a job in the United States due to rumors about his racial identity. A dilemma arises since he has fallen in love with Dianthe but needs to leave her to find employment. The couple marry; however, soon thereafter, Reuel leaves to work on a British-led scientific expedition to East Africa. Still not fully conscious, Dianthe remains in Cambridge to continue her recovery under the watch of Aubrey. Unbeknownst to Reuel, Aubrey's evil designs include killing his current fiancé Molly Vance and kidnapping Dianthe to the plantation South, where he will "renew the ancient splendor of his ancestral home."¹⁰ Two parallel transatlantic narratives develop out of the newlyweds' separation.

Otten, "Pauline Hopkins and the Hidden Self of Race," *ELH* 59:1 (Spring 1992): 227-56; and Ross Posnock, *Color and Culture: Black Writers and the Making of the Modern Intellectual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998) 64-69.

⁹ The most prominent incorporation of Harvard psychology in African American letters appears in W. E. B. Du Bois's conception of "double consciousness" in *The Souls of Black Folk*. Although many of the psychological ideas that are prominently associated with Du Bois's 1903 book did appear in *Of One Blood* in 1902, Arnold Rampersad and Robert Stepto identify previously published essay versions of several of the chapters of *The Souls of Black Folk*. W. E. B. Du Bois's "Of Our Spiritual Strivings" (chapter 1) in *The Souls of Black Folk*, which elaborates on the idea of "double consciousness," appeared in an early form as "Strivings of the Negro People," *Atlantic Monthly* 80 (Aug. 1897): 194-198. See Arnold Rampersad, *The Art and Imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1976); and Robert B. Stepto, *From Behind the Veil* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983) 53-56.

¹⁰ The location of Livingston's "ancestral home" is given once each as Virginia and Maryland. See Pauline E. Hopkins, *Of One Blood. Or, the Hidden Self* (1902-1903),

The fourth through eighth installments of the novel focus on Reuel's trip to Africa. Although Reuel initially goes abroad due to financial necessity, while traveling, he uncovers the Ethiopian roots of Western civilization and the secrets in his own family background. However, Aubrey has sent Jim Titus, an African American servant, on the expedition to intercept Dianthe and Reuel's correspondence and to sabotage their marriage. Jim, acting on Aubrey's instructions, lies to Reuel and tells him that Dianthe is dead. Upon learning this harrowing news, Reuel loses consciousness. He awakens in the Great Pyramid of the hidden city of Telassar.¹¹ In a turn of events that mirrors Dianthe's revival, Reuel comes to racial consciousness amid the magnificence of Ethiopian civilization. Ethiopian Prime Minister Ai anoints Reuel "Ergamenes," the lost King of Ethiopia, based on a unique birthmark. Ai has been waiting for the "coming of the king to restore the race" to its former glory before white invaders spoiled the Edenic society (*OOB* 547). Also patiently awaiting Reuel's arrival is Queen Candace, who with the restored Ergamenes is going to "give the world a dynasty of dark-skinned rulers, whose destiny should be to restore the prestige of an ancient people" (*OOB* 570).

In the final three installments of the novel, Dianthe is wandering around Aubrey's Southern homeland, much as Reuel is wandering when he happens upon Telassar. In the South, Dianthe arrives not at a pyramid, but at a "typical Southern Negro cabin" (*OOB*

The Magazine Novels of Pauline Hopkins, ed. Hazel V. Carby (New York: Oxford UP, 1988) 493; 597. Subsequent page numbers from *Of One Blood* refer to this edition and will be abbreviated parenthetically *OOB*.

¹¹ This awakening recalls the account of West Indian-born educator Edward Wilmot Blyden on an 1866 visit to the Pyramid of Cheops: "Feelings came over me far different from those which I felt when looking at the mighty works of European genius. I felt that I had a particular heritage in the Great Pyramid." See Blyden quoted in Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1998) 75.

603). There, she meets her grandmother, Aunt Hannah, “the most noted ‘voodoo’ doctor or witch in the country” (*OOB* 603). Dianthe’s physical journey with its accompanying return to consciousness closely resembles Reuel’s journey. As a trope, the restoration of consciousness is narratively reinforced through the equation of Reuel’s recovery of an African heritage with Dianthe’s more literal recovery of cognition. These parallels are integral to the structure of the serialized novel. Both Reuel and Dianthe discover their family’s genealogy independently of one another. Their backgrounds are revealed thanks to Jim and Hannah, the only two African American characters whose race is identifiable by sight. From Jim, Reuel learns that Dianthe is his sister. As part of a deathbed confession, Jim also reveals that Aubrey is half sibling to Reuel and Dianthe. Reuel, Dianthe, and Aubrey all share a father, the deceased Aubrey Livingston (père).

In her reunion with Dianthe, Hannah adds to Jim’s disclosure by divulging that Aubrey is not a half brother, but a full sibling to Dianthe and Reuel due to a switched child scheme reminiscent of Mark Twain’s 1893 novel *Pudd’nhead Wilson*. In *Of One Blood*, Aubrey, who is introduced as having “the beautiful face of a Greek God,” is black in terms of United States racial categories (*OOB* 446). Reuel, Dianthe, and Aubrey are the offspring of Hannah’s daughter Mira, an enslaved woman, and her late owner Aubrey Livingston (père). Before the novel begins, Mira has been sold away after the birth of her third child (the future Aubrey), though her spirit does make several appearances on both sides of the Atlantic. Hannah acknowledges that she presented her grandson, the current Aubrey, to the white Livingstons as their offspring after their child, the original Aubrey, died. With Hannah functioning as the scheme’s mastermind, the white Livingstons are duped into raising the African American child as their progeny. Hopkins’s plot

destabilizes racial determinism because her three primary characters, who range from heroic to villainous, are all African American, and their fates range from tragic to royal. The child raised “white” by white parents is the villainous one.

At the end of the novel, Aubrey poisons Dianthe, who postpones her death until the precise moment of Reuel’s return from Africa. As she dies in his arms, the two transatlantic narrative threads converge in a symbolic union. Unfortunately this reunion requires Dianthe’s death so that the male protagonist can marry Queen Candace. Aubrey, after his acquittal in court for Dianthe’s murder, follows instructions from Ai to commit suicide as mandated by the royal Ethiopian tradition (*OOB* 619). Following the deaths of Dianthe and Aubrey, Reuel returns to Africa with “his faithful subjects, and old Aunt Hannah,” her nobility affirmed by her grandson, the ascendant king (*OOB* 621).

Of One Blood culminates in the ascension of the African American doctor to the Ethiopian throne, a declaration of Pan-African kinship, and an argument for Ethiopia as part of a modern diasporic consciousness. As Carby notes, “The movement of the novel takes the reader away from the American consequences of secret histories and toward an Africa that embodies both the history and future possibilities of black people” (Introduction xliii). This movement occurs both in the scientific world and in the physical migrations of the characters. Incorporating devices associated with science fiction, Hopkins describes the achievements of African technology throughout *Of One Blood*. The new psychology of Harvard University, which appears at the opening of the novel, is not the only source of scientific advancement. Ethiopia’s scientific developments include a device which informs Reuel that Dianthe is still alive, debunking Jim’s fraudulent claims to the contrary. Reuel reflects, “What would the professors of

Harvard have said to this, he asked himself. In the heart of Africa was a knowledge of science that all the wealth and learning of modern times could not emulate” (*OOB* 576). This revelation forces a consideration of the African origins of Western civilizations, a debate that remains contentious today as seen in the hullabaloo around Martin Bernal’s *Black Athena*.¹² Aunt Hannah’s “voodoo,” like the mysticism that Reuel uses to restore consciousness to Dianthe, is understood to have roots in Ethiopian sciences.

Upon learning of the scientific greatness of Africa, Reuel feels “shame” at having “played the coward’s part in hiding his origin” (*OOB* 560). The restoration of Ethiopia to its former greatness requires a reconfiguration of racial hierarchy. This newfound racial pride includes a celebration of physical black beauty, which Prime Minister Ai uses to articulate the political ascension of Ethiopia:

What more beautiful than the satin gloss of the raven’s wing, the soft glitter of eyes of blackest tint or the rich black fur of your own native animals. Fair haired worshippers of Mammon, do you know that you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting? that your course is done? that Ethiopia’s bondage is about over, her travails passed? (*OOB* 585)

¹² For examples of Bernal’s critics, see Mary Lefkowitz and Guy Rogers, eds., *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1996). For Bernal’s responses to his critics, see Martin Bernal, *Black Athena Writes Back: Martin Bernal Responds to his Critics*, ed. David Chioni Moore (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2001).

Hopkins's celebration of dark-skinned physiognomy, uncommon in literature of the period, suggests an alternative to the generic light skinned heroes, which both Dianthe and Reuel typify.¹³

Aunt Hannah's regal stature is apparent to Dianthe from their first meeting, when Dianthe has a flashback: "Somewhere she had read a description of an African princess which fitted the woman before her" (*OOB* 603). More than any other character in the novel, Aunt Hannah represents Africa. Through this characterization, Hopkins locates African civilization within African American culture. Similarly the narrative structure links an immersion into the folk culture of the rural South to an immersion into classical African civilization. Both journeys are essential to the attainment of cultural consciousness.

Hopkins drew on discourses about the Ethiopian origins of Egyptian civilization to associate the well-known glories of Egypt with the Sub-Saharan African homeland acknowledged by many African Americans. Part of the appeal of Constantine Francois Volney's writings about the ruins of Ethiopia and Egypt, which Reuel's exploration echoes, is his assertion that the ancient Ethiopians are "a people of black complexion, thick lips, and woolly hair."¹⁴ As a result, Volney has been a staple of African American

¹³ *Of One Blood* makes allusions to dark-skinned heroism even though Hopkins's main characters are light skinned and fall within the type of the "tragic mulatto/a." Barbara Christian describes the significance of Zora Neale Hurston (more than thirty years after Hopkins) in this regard: "In the journey from this image of the tragic mulatta to a more varied, more complex view of the black woman as she appears in American literature, Zora Neale Hurston's work is transitional." See Barbara Christian's groundbreaking essay, "Images of Black Women in Afro-American Literature: From Stereotype to Character" (1975), in her collection *Black Feminist Criticism: Perspectives on Black Women Writers* (New York: Pergamon P, 1985) 8.

¹⁴ See Volney quoted in Moses, *Afrotopia* 56. Volney published *Travels in Syria and Egypt* in 1783 and *The Ruins, or Meditation on the Revolutions of Empire and the*

discourse about Africa since the late nineteenth century and is cited by the narrator in *Of One Blood*: “That great French writer, Volney, exclaimed when first his eyes beheld the sight, ‘How are we astonished when we reflect that to the race of Negroes, the object of our extreme contempt, we owe our arts, sciences and even the use of speech!’” (*OOB* 536). Volney’s racial lineage provides a scholarly basis for the incorporation of African Americans into a continuum that links Egypt and Ethiopia. As Dr. Stone, the British leader of the Ethiopian expedition in *Of One Blood*, explains, “The theories of prejudice are swept away by the great tide of facts. It is a *fact* that Egypt drew from Ethiopia all the arts, sciences and knowledge of which she was mistress. [...] But of this we are sure—all records of history, sacred and profane,, [sic] unite in placing the Ethiopian as the primal race” (emphasis in source, *OOB* 520-521).

Of One Blood’s African setting and references resonated on multiple levels. Hopkins drew on the work of her literary forebears such as Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, who spoke to the Boston Literary and Historical Association, of which Hopkins was a member, in October 1902, the same month that *Of One Blood* opened (McHenry 184, 361n89). In 1869, Harper published a long poem, *Moses: A Story of the Nile*, describing ancient Egypt as a product of Ethiopian civilization. George Washington

Law of Nature in 1791. The first English edition of *The Ruins* appeared in London in 1797. According to Moses, *The Ruins* exemplifies a “historiography of decline” (*Afrotopia* 55). For more on the use of Volney by abolitionists including Frederick Douglass, see Dickson D. Bruce Jr., “Ancient Africa and the Early Black American Historians, 1883-1915,” *American Quarterly* 36.5 (Winter 1984): 691-692.

Williams's *History of the Negro Race in America* likewise detailed evidence of a Negro presence in ancient Egyptian militaries. According to Williams, this Egyptian tradition was not solely a thing of the past: "at the present time, they ["Negroes"] are no inconsiderable part of the standing army of Egypt" (*History of the Negro Race* 1:15). Discussions about the influence of Ethiopia on Egypt were common among black intellectuals for much of the nineteenth century.

Hopkins's references to Ethiopia also drew on Psalm 68's oft-cited Biblical prophecy of rejuvenation: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hand unto God" (68.31). This propitious divination was widely used by nineteenth-century religious leaders such as Henry Highland Garnet as proof of the coming salvation of African peoples.¹⁵ In *The Past and the Present Condition, and the Destiny, of the Colored Race*, Garnet astutely pointed out, "Ethiopia is one of the few nations whose destiny is spoken of in prophecy. This is done in language so plain that we are not driven to dubious inferences" (11). St. Clair Drake documents the longstanding circulation of the term "Ethiopian" as a synecdoche for all persons of African descent (*Redemption of Africa* 9-11). In this, its broadest sense, "Ethiopia" was already inclusively Pan-African, encompassing blacks in Africa and throughout its diaspora.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ethiopia of March 1, 1896, was as important and as familiar as the Ethiopia of Psalm 68. On that day, at Aduwa, Ethiopian forces under the command of Menelik II resoundingly defeated the Italian military. The Italians suffered 7,500 casualties (43% of their forces) and 1,800 captives. Most

¹⁵ For a discussion of the "symbolic value of Ethiopia" to nineteenth century African American leaders, see Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (New York: Africana Publishing, 1974) 132-134.

important to the present project, the Ethiopian victory at Aduwa was uniformly celebrated in the African American press (Jacobs, *African Nexus* 194-96). The military victory of the Ethiopian state fortified “Ethiopianism” as a proud contemporary Pan-African formulation. Hopkins’s decision to set her novel in Christian Ethiopia, the era’s definitive site of militant resistance to European domination, prophesized her Harvard-educated protagonist’s ultimate success in revitalizing Ethiopia.

Literary scholars rarely connect the story of modern Africa, which Hopkins undoubtedly followed, to *Of One Blood*. Even as useful a study as John Cullen Gruesser’s *Black on Black: Twentieth-Century African American Writing About Africa* classifies early African American writings about Africa in binary terms, as either classical or modern:

Whereas [journalist and fiction writer John E.] Bruce remains largely focused on the African present, [novelist Sutton E.] Griggs and Hopkins make only limited efforts to address the situation in contemporary Africa. Hopkins, in fact, adheres closely to monumentalism, depicting an Ethiopian kingdom of ancient origins that still survives beneath the ruins of Meroe. (23)

Gruesser rigidly distinguishes writers who are interested in modern Africa from those he deems “monumentalist,” a term he adopts from historian Wilson Jeremiah Moses.¹⁶

However, the range of black American interest in Africa represented a confluence of ingredients and the coexistence of an African past with an African present. For Hopkins,

¹⁶ See Wilson Jeremiah Moses, “More Stately Mansions: New Negro Movements and Langston Hughes’s Literary Theory” in *The Wings of Ethiopia: Studies in African American Life and Letters* (Ames: Iowa State UP, 1990) 265-272. Moses’s title “More Stately Mansions” comes from an Aaron Douglas painting.

as for other writers, continual engagement with contemporary Africa existed simultaneously with the more visible classical model. Readers should not assume that a text that refuses the parameters of realism as a genre is thusly precluded from contemporary referents. The elusiveness of Hopkins's allusions is not an attempt to avoid modern Africa, but a literary device that subtly avoids turning fiction into pedantry.

Moses posits the "monumentalism" of the twentieth-century pageantry of Du Bois and Garvey, who,

because of their ties to the nineteenth-century tradition in black nationalism [...] portray Africa in terms of its potential as a modern nation and to emphasize the past glories of Ethiopia and Egypt. [...] This monumentalism was an expression of the desire to associate black Americans with symbols of wealth, intelligence, stability, and power.

(*Wings of Ethiopia* 267)¹⁷

For Moses, if "monumentalism" emphasizes the past, it does so without foreclosing an engagement with the "African present" (Gruesser) or Africa's "potential as a modern nation" (Moses). Literary analysis ought to acknowledge that paradoxical ideations of Africa can coexist in a single representation. Hopkins's monumental Africa was not set up in opposition to modern Africa. Rather, in the same ways that Hopkins constructed a novel from two intertwined transatlantic threads, she embedded modern referents in ostensibly monumental models.

¹⁷ Moses is referring specifically to Du Bois's pageant *The Star of Ethiopia*, which was produced on the fifty-year anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. Like Garvey's parades, Du Bois's pageants included hundreds of participants and used identification with Africa as a central frame. For more on *The Star of Ethiopia*, see David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993) 1:459-461.

Hopkins's multidimensional use of Ethiopia is analogous to the case that art historian Judith Wilson makes for artist Meta Warrick Fuller, whose sculpture "The Awakening of Ethiopia," incidentally, appears on the cover of Gruesser's *Black on Black*.¹⁸ In the sculpture of Fuller and Edmonia Lewis, Wilson locates the kind of syncretism that also characterizes Hopkins: "In their art, we can trace the origins of African American modernism in the visual arts to an upsurge of politically-motivated identification with Africa's ancient Nile Valley civilizations and a conflation of this romantic attachment to ancient Egypt and Nubia with concern for modern Ethiopia's fate" (106). Appropriately, the concern for modern Africa emerges most prominently on the final page of *Of One Blood*. A romantic future is not a foregone conclusion. It is "with serious apprehension" that Reuel reflects on "the advance of mighty nations penetrating the dark mysterious forests of his native land" (*OOB* 621). Hopkins's concluding note of caution concerning imperialism seems a fitting end to the novel, since it demonstrates that her interest in Ethiopia, finally, is not exclusively classical; her political interests are based on an understanding of the predicament of modern African independence and the threat posed by European interlopers.

Hopkins's concerns were addressed in the *Colored American Magazine's* coverage of the 1900 Pan-African Conference in London. The magazine explained that isolation was not viable in the modern world:

¹⁸ Meta Warrick Fuller "contributed an art column to Hopkins [sic] magazine, *The New Era*, in February 1916." Hopkins briefly edited the Boston-based *New Era* after a decade away from publishing. See Judith Wilson, "Hagar's Daughters: Social History, Cultural Heritage, and Afro-US Women's Art," *Bearing Witness: Contemporary Works by African American Women Artists*, Curator Jontyle Theresa Robinson (New York: Spelman College and Rizzoli International, 1996) 112n72.

People did make their way all over the world's surface, and it was no longer a tenable proposition for the inhabitants of any part of the world's surface to say: "We do not want to see anybody else, we prefer to isolate ourselves; we won't have visitors [...]." [...] The question they had to settle now was: How was the universal intercourse of man, which they had to recognize as an established fact, to be carried on in the best possible way? (Hamedoe 225)

The challenge facing the Pan-African Conference was the same as that facing the characters in *Of One Blood*—how to conduct transnational interactions in the most beneficial and least exploitative manner. According to Hopkins and many of the Pan-African Conference delegates, diasporic blacks were the agents best suited to the task.¹⁹

In his essay "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology as 'Civilizing Mission': Pauline E. Hopkins on Race and Imperialism," Kevin Gaines situates Hopkins's rhetoric of "civilization" within a domestic sphere of African American uplift: "Because it shared many of the assumptions of an evangelical worldview, the rhetoric of racial uplift often resembled the imperialist notion of the 'civilizing mission'" (437). Gaines points out the overlap between discourses of colonialism and domestic uplift. One model of what the *Colored American Magazine* called "universal intercourse" involved Du Bois's "talented tenth" in projects similar to Tuskegee's Togo initiative. Unlike the incursions of people of European descent, African American involvement in Africa offered an alternate to typically imperial forms of intercourse. For a novel such as *Of One Blood* that focused

¹⁹ Missionaries played a central role at the 1900 Pan-African Conference. See Walter L. Williams, *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1982) 171.

its ideological message and its narrative threads on transatlantic relationships, a conclusion that questions imperial encounters presented a suitably cautious resolution. By concluding the novel with Reuel's "serious apprehension," Hopkins distanced her protagonist from the larger European project in Africa.

By 1903, soon after *Of One Blood*'s serialization concluded, Ethiopia was considered sufficiently stable that a commercial treaty that had been rejected by the United States Department of State in 1900 was accepted (Jacobs, *African Nexus* 197). Hopkins was aware of this sanctioning of Ethiopia's stability. In *Voice of the Negro*, she noted that the treaty was incongruous with the government's treatment of black people within its borders: "A treaty has just been signed between the United States' government and 'Menelik II, by the Grace of God King of Kings of Ethiopia.' It is a curious fact that the United States authorities maintain friendly relations with all independent black governments, although dealing very severely with its own Negro population" ("Dark Races of the Twentieth Century, Part IV—Africa" 415). Hopkins drew on modern Ethiopia's unique appeal to black Americans in much the same way that George Washington Williams used Liberia in *History of the Negro Race in America*. Knowing that Ethiopia was decidedly on the political radar of the United States, Hopkins, like Williams, focused on independent African states. Judith Wilson, in her discussion of sculptor Meta Warrick Fuller, explains Ethiopia's appeal: "Ethiopia stood as a lone symbol of African autonomy at the height of the age of imperialism, serving as a beacon of hope to Africans and African Americans in the early twentieth century, as they began to imagine a postcolonial future" (105).

Menelik II was one hero of this postcolonial future. The *Colored American Magazine* reported that the Pan-African Conference named Emperor Menelik II an “honorable” member, a position given only to the Presidents of the independent black republics of Liberia and Haiti. If Williams had lived to see the Ethiopian victory at Aduwa, Ethiopia, by all logic, would have figured prominently in his work, particularly as his infatuation with Liberia waned during his last years.²⁰ For both Williams and Hopkins, independent African states were instructive models for the United States. While Ethiopia provided cause for optimism at the close of *Of One Blood*, the novel avoided naïve euphoria. Hopkins’s account of the hypocrisy of the United States-Ethiopia treaty affirmed the cautionary tenor of her novel’s concluding observation.

With this rich array of sources at her disposal, Hopkins constructed a literary Africa from a sophisticated and complex amalgam of ingredients. “Hopkins’s transculturated ‘Africa,’” literary critic Susan Gillman explains, “is a fictional representation derived largely from factual sources and black history, not all of it glorious, and inclusive of both the contemporary US, and a diasporic, Pan-African future, itself contingent on colonial incursions in present-day Africa” (66).²¹ Following Gillman,

²⁰ For the change in Williams’s assessment of Liberia, compare “The Republic of Liberia” (chapter 10) of George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America* 1:95-107; and Williams quoted in Sylvia M. Jacobs, *The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1981) 218.

²¹ Scholar Marla Harris points toward a classical Greek source for the novel. Although it may appear contradictory, her Greek source even further suggests the eclectic

then, Hopkins's "transculturated 'Africa'" incorporates elements beyond a historically specific Ethiopia. Specifically, Pauline Hopkins's *Of One Blood* seems to incorporate and address the experiences of the Congo State under European rule.

To begin, the general warning indicated in the conclusion to *Of One Blood* about the threat posed to Africa by "mighty nations" resonated more with the Congo of 1903 than Ethiopia of the same moment. As Ethiopia's stability was being sanctioned by the State Department, the Congo was emerging as a rallying point for activists outraged by Leopold's brutal reign. Hopkins expressed such concerns explicitly the following year in her *Voice of the Negro* series, "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century":

With the rapid advance which exploration has made in Africa in recent years, there has followed a great rivalry among European nations for colonies and protectorates; but while great wealth and boundless avenues for commerce have been opened up, civilization has been a mixed blessing to the natives, and today the eyes of Christendom are fastened upon the Congo Free State and its attendant acts of atrocity in the enforcement of slavery within its borders. The regeneration of Africa is upon us, but blood and tears flow in its train. ("Dark Races of the Twentieth Century, Part IV—Africa" 415)

Such ambivalent reflections on foreign intervention were contiguous with the conclusion to *Of One Blood*. Over the course of the novel's yearlong serialization, the meaning of diaspora changed for Reuel from barely visible apparitions haunting Harvard University

syncretism of Hopkins's Africa, which yokes together classical monuments, contemporary oppression, and future greatness. See Marla Harris, "Not Black and/or White: Reading Racial Difference in Heliodorous's *Ethiopica* and Pauline Hopkins's *Of One Blood*," *African American Review* 35.3 (Fall 2001): 375-390.

to a cautious uncertainty about the global trajectory of human relations. When Hopkins addressed the situation in the Congo explicitly in “The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century,” she echoed the foreboding that confronted Reuel Briggs at the end of *Of One Blood*.

An even more specific Congo parable for *Of One Blood* can be found in the life and work of missionaries William and Lucy Sheppard. In narrating a unique African American connection to the African continent, it appears that Hopkins drew heavily on the lives and experiences of the Sheppards. Sheppard’s eventual success in bringing the horrors of the Congo State to the attention of an international audience was foreshadowed by Hopkins’s optimistic vision of the promise that Reuel represents for Ethiopia. In Hopkins’s relationship to the Sheppards, a trope of ancestry that bears substantial consideration in African American literary studies starts to emerge.²² As part of a larger exposition of diaspora, Brent Hayes Edwards explains the significance of return: “If black New World populations have their origin in the fragmentation, racialized oppression, and systematic dispossession of the slave trade, then the Pan-African impulse stems from the necessity to confront or heal that legacy through racial organization itself: through ideologies of a real or symbolic return to Africa” (46).

In the early twentieth century, the details of the Sheppards’ experiences were well known and readily available to Hopkins. As noted, William Sheppard published regularly throughout the 1890s in a variety of newspapers and magazines, including the Hampton, Virginia-based *Southern Workman*, where his writings appeared alongside

²² See, for example, Sutton E. Griggs, *Unfettered* (1902; New York: AMS P, 1971), a novel in which a unique birthmark is taken as a sign of royal African ancestry much like that which identifies Briggs as Ergamenes.

those of Charles W. Chesnutt, Anna J. Cooper, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Paul Laurence Dunbar. Virginia was the birthplace of approximately 30% of Boston's rapidly increasing black population in the late nineteenth century, including all four officers of the Colored Co-operative Publishing Company.²³ Most directly, Walter W. Wallace, company president and managing editor of the *Colored American Magazine*, was the son of Nannie J. Ellerson, one of the first graduates of Hampton: "Mr. Wallace is the oldest grand-child of that institution" (Elliott 45). Overall, the *Southern Workman* was distributed in thirty-five states and internationally to supporters, alumni, and other publishers. Under these circumstances, it seems probable that the *Southern Workman*, to say nothing of other periodicals featuring Sheppard, reached Hopkins before she wrote *Of One Blood*.

A lengthy autobiographical piece by William Sheppard that appeared in the *Southern Workman* in 1893 was reprinted in 1895, both times under the title "Into the Heart of Africa."²⁴ A biography of Sheppard that appeared in the April 1900 *Southern Workman* had a nearly identical title, "In the Heart of Africa." The titles were echoed in the previously cited language of *Of One Blood*: "In the heart of Africa was a knowledge of science that all the wealth and learning of modern times could not emulate" (*OOB* 576). Hopkins and Sheppard both reclaimed the "Heart of Africa" from the colonizers who represented it as a dark, empty space. In *Of One Blood*, Hopkins placed Ethiopia in

²³ From 1870 to 1900, only Massachusetts was the birthplace to more of Boston's black residents than Virginia. Population statistics are from Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty in Boston, 1865-1900* (New York: Academic P [Harcourt Brace Jovanovich], 1979) 46.

²⁴ All references to Sheppard's "Into the Heart of Africa" will follow the December 1893 pagination. See William H. Sheppard, "Into the Heart of Africa," *Southern Workman* 20.12 (Dec. 1893): 182-187.

Central Africa: “The character of the country improved as they neared the interior.

Reuel noticed that this was at variance with the European idea respecting Central Africa, which brands these regions as howling wildernesses or an uninhabitable country” (*OOB* 565). Her creative cartography directly contradicted stereotypes.

What William Sheppard saw among the Kuba also contradicted European stereotypes about Central Africa. When asked by someone in the audience, “What has made the Bakuba so superior do you think?,” Sheppard boldly replied, “I don’t know. Perhaps they got their civilization from the Egyptians—or the Egyptians theirs from the Bakuba (!)” (“Into the Heart of Africa” 187). In *Of One Blood*, the British leader of the Ethiopian expedition presents a comparable revisionist narrative: “It is a *fact* that Egypt drew from Ethiopia all the arts, sciences and knowledge of which she was mistress” (emphasis in source, 521). Hopkins made an analogous argument in her 1905 self-published pamphlet, *A Primer of Facts Pertaining to the Early Greatness of the African Race and the Possibility of Restoration by its Descendants*, which asked, “Were Ethiopia and Egypt ever united kingdoms?” Citing, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and Herodotus, Hopkins affirmed: “That the rule of Cush extended from the Nilotic borders of Egypt in toward the interior of darkest Africa, and known as Ethiopia, is not to be disputed, all historians of ancient history agreeing on this point” (*Primer* 10-11). Backed by the authority of experts, Hopkins carefully appropriated the language popularized by author-explorer Henry Stanley, “the interior of darkest Africa,” to make it clear that the same

regions that were elsewhere disparaged were precisely those that she associated with Egypt.²⁵

Hopkins's *Of One Blood* character Reuel Briggs is, like missionary William Sheppard, an educated reformer who is surprised to find himself embraced as the restored royal heir of an African people. Both narratives of return engaged the subject of the Middle Passage in substantial ways. In Sheppard's case, the Kuba saw him as the reincarnation of a past ruler, insisting, "You are Bo-pe Makabe who reigned before my father and who died. His spirit went to a foreign land; your mother gave birth to it, and you are that spirit" ("Into the Heart of Africa" 185). Likewise, Hopkins's novel is populated by transatlantic spirits, including Reuel's mother Mira who travels seamlessly across the ocean. In *Of One Blood*, Reuel, like Sheppard, is welcomed to the throne. In the famously hidden kingdom of Telassar, the people are anticipating a royal successor from "lands beyond unknown seas" and they "believe in re-incarnation by natural laws regulating material on earth" (*OOB* 534; 562). Sheppard was the first known outsider to contact the notoriously secretive Kuba.

In addition to the central trope of return and ascension, there are other notable parallels in the backgrounds of the Sheppards and the fictional characters in *Of One Blood*. Lucy Gantt Sheppard and Hopkins's Dianthe Lusk are both soprano soloists with the Fisk Jubilee Singers, who travel extensively with the ensemble. Their shared journey holds exceptional cultural significance for they locate African American folk culture at the institutional sites of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. In addition to their

²⁵ See Henry M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890). Also, see Patrick Brantlinger, "The Genealogy of the Myth of the 'Dark Continent'" in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1988) 173-197.

singing careers, these two enormously accomplished women share a temporary separation from their Africa-bound husbands. William Sheppard and Lucy Gantt got engaged before his first trip to the Congo and married during his first furlough. Lucy returned to the Congo with William though they did take subsequent leaves at different times from one another—the *Southern Workman* reported in 1900 that Lucy had been on furlough by herself.

In Africa, Reuel Briggs and William Sheppard found themselves serving in unexpected roles. Reverend Sheppard was lauded in the *Southern Workman* for proficiently nursing other missionaries back to health. An 1893 letter printed in the *Missionary* from Arthur Rowbotham, a white APCM missionary, recounted Sheppard's ability to treat malaria: "Bro. Sheppard is a fine doctor of fever, and a splendid [sic] nurse" (231). In the novel, doctor Reuel Briggs serves as a de facto missionary. When Reuel invokes Jesus Christ, he is told, "Your belief shall be ours" (*OOB* 563).

There are other allusions to missionaries in *Of One Blood*. Aubrey's family name, "Livingston" (spelled without an "e"), approximates that of celebrated British missionary David Livingstone, who was famously "rescued" by Henry M. Stanley.²⁶ In the letters of Samuel Lapsley, posthumously published in 1893, "Livingston" is spelled without the "e" in two separate instances.²⁷ Sheppard visited the grave of Livingstone

²⁶ Literal name associations appear elsewhere in *Of One Blood* and are a consistent device. Martha Patterson identifies Dianthe Lusk as the namesake of abolitionist John Brown's first wife. See Martha H. Patterson, "'kin o' rough jestic fer a parson': Pauline Hopkins's *Winona* and the Politics of Reconstructing History." *African American Review* 32.3 (Fall 1998): 447.

²⁷ See Samuel N. Lapsley, *Life and Letters of Samuel Norvell Lapsley: Missionary to the Congo Valley, West Africa* (Richmond, VA: Whittet and Shepperson Printers, 1893) 17, 26.

with Lapsley prior to going to Africa (Lapsley, *Life and Letters* 29). In *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*, published much later, Sheppard mentioned visiting Livingstone's gravesite, and, despite being ill, Lucy Gantt Sheppard made the pilgrimage four years later.²⁸ Sheppard saw himself as an heir to Livingstone's mantle. During speaking tours of the United States, posters advertised him as the "Black Livingstone."²⁹ In another sense, since Dr. Aubrey Livingston (père) is revealed to be Reuel Briggs's biological father by the end of the novel, Reuel is a black "Livingston." In this, he possesses the auspicious mantle that Sheppard sought for his persona as a public orator.

The analogues between the Sheppards and Hopkins's Livingstons, as between the Congo State and Hopkins's Ethiopia, should be readily visible. Hopkins's writings and editorial work provide more than a catalog of intertextualities. Her work fashions a sophisticated relationship to modern Africa that reveals something of how late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century African American literature negotiated the dynamics of diaspora, particularly its often neglected political dimensions. The genealogy need not be direct intertextuality of Hopkins and the Sheppards. An equally salient case can be made that Hopkins and the Sheppards are participating in a shared discourse which is deeply grounded in both the predicament of modern African and the diasporic experiences of African Americans. Such a line of reasoning suggests that there

²⁸ See William H. Sheppard, *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo* (Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, [1917]) 20; and Julia Lake Kellersberger, *Lucy Gantt Sheppard: Shepherdess of His Sheep on Two Continents* ([Atlanta, GA]: Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church (US), n.d.) 11.

²⁹ Sheppard's earliest dated reference to "Black Livingstone" was 1904. Two recent biographies of Sheppard appropriate the appealing Livingstone reference for their titles. See Pagan Kennedy, *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-Century Congo* (New York: Viking, 2002); and William E. Phipps, *William Sheppard: Congo's African-American Livingstone* (Louisville, KY: Geneva P, 2002).

exists a larger body of writing, with less direct references, that formulates a distinct diasporic identity through an engagement with the complexity of contemporary Africa.

In order to recognize a connection between Hopkins and the Congo, a reader must be familiar with the context of African American literary production in the early twentieth century. Even when yoked together, such links can be overlooked as in the 1999 anthology *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage*, edited by Maria Diedrich, Henry Louis Gates Jr., and Carl Pedersen. In the essay “Voyage Into the Heart of Africa: Pauline Hopkins and *Of One Blood*,” Hanna Wallinger focuses on Hopkins’s “dual view of Africa—the glorious past versus the insignificant present” (206). Wallinger’s dichotomy disconnects literary representations of Africa from the physical place: “Although Africa was unknown in terms of personal experience, Africa as a literary trope, however, was well-known to most black Americans and was much discussed and debated” (“Voyage Into the Heart of Africa” 204). Needless to say, the present study is premised on the notion that, during the period of Hopkins’s publication, African Americans knew Africa in ways other than as a literary trope. And when Africa did function as a trope, the trope was based on some form of “personal experience.”

Remarkably, Wallinger’s essay precedes an article about William Sheppard by Katja Füllberg-Stolberg whose very title, “African Americans in Africa,” suggests an alternative. Even Wallinger’s own title, “Voyage into the Heart of Africa,” uncannily mirrors that of Sheppard’s article in the *Southern Workman*. Clearly, Africa was known to African Americans “in terms of personal experience” through a litany of modes. The ironic juxtaposition of these two essays by the editors of *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage* is an example of either profound dissonance or inspired dialogic intent.

Regardless, this concurrence shows how collaborations like this anthology ideally can facilitate the type of scholarship that can preclude assumptions, common among literary critics, that Africa is or was in some sense “unknown” outside of the literary imagination.

The reconstruction of this historical context, through projects such as multidisciplinary anthologies, can enrich the ongoing appreciation of the contributions of Hopkins. Such frameworks could counter suppositions about *Of One Blood* like those of Wilson Moses in *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925*: “Certainly no one was converted to black nationalism as a result of this, but Pan-Africanism was insinuating its way even into sentimental magazine serials. This symbolizes the pervasiveness of Pan-African ideals, whose contact was unavoidable if one happened to be a literate urban black during the early 1900s” (200).³⁰ Moses is correct to point out the underappreciated pervasiveness of Pan-African thought, which he has done as much as any scholar to recover. Yet he strangely argues that Hopkins’s novel was only symbolic and won no converts. An entirely different critical approach is needed to measure Hopkins’s literary achievements. Pan-Africanism was not a ubiquitous force that inevitably insinuated its way into fiction, but rather it was a product of the effective literary agency of authors and the visionary storytelling commitments of editors.

³⁰ Elsewhere Wilson Moses has taken Kwame Anthony Appiah to task for completely overlooking Hopkins’s attempts to link African Americans to classical Ethiopia. See Moses, *Afrotopia* 84.

Moses sees *Of One Blood*'s contributions as limited by its gendered genre, that of "sentimental magazine serials." This assessment demonstrates one cause of the larger neglect of women's contributions to early-twentieth-century black radical traditions. As Sidney J. Lemelle and Robin D. G. Kelley lament in their introduction to the anthology *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*: "The failure to adopt a serious gendered analysis has been perhaps the biggest weakness in diaspora studies, in general, and the historiography of Pan-Africanism, in particular" (5). A history of black nationalism that incorporates an analysis of sentimentalism could not consider Hopkins peripheral. The political significance of nineteenth-century sentimental fiction, particularly as employed by women novelists, is explored by literary scholar Jane Tompkins in *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860*. According to Tompkins, female authors such as Harriet Beecher Stowe deliberately used the familiar rhetoric of Christianity as a means of impacting their audience. The strategy of sentimental language was instrumental to the popularity of works such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel, if there ever was one, influential enough to spark "conversions."

Building on Moses's own description elsewhere of early Afrocentric writings by Du Bois as "an attempt to create a quasi-religious mythology," it is fitting to read Hopkins's use of Pan-Africanism as similar to Stowe's use of religious sentiment (*Afrotopia* 137). Moses even recognizes that Marcus Garvey, who led the largest and most significant Pan-African movement of his day, used the rhetorical strategies that Moses denigrates in Hopkins: "His conception of African liberation seems melodramatic, romantic, sentimental and ironically 'Eurocentric'" (*Afrotopia* 196). Based on what Carby describes as the "intertextual coherence" of the *Colored American*

Magazine, the politics of *Of One Blood* should not be discounted because of the novel's romantic imagery. Hopkins, like Stowe and Garvey, consciously used sentimentality to undertake what Tompkins terms the "cultural work" of literature. The history of the *Colored American Magazine* can advance an appreciation of Hopkins's contributions to Pan-Africanism, the history of which too often excludes her.

A misreading of Hopkins's literary Pan-Africanism as uninterested in modern Africa leads to a misinterpretation of her overarching political project. Just as Hopkins's contributions to Pan-Africanism have been underestimated, so has her place in the pantheon of Booker T. Washington's critics.³¹ In his 1953 essay "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press: With Special Reference to the *Colored American Magazine*," historian August Meier incredibly makes no mention of Hopkins. Remarkably, Meier overlooks Hopkins's "Famous Men" biography of Washington to conclude: "Though in an early issue they published a vigorous attack on Washington and his philosophy written by George Washington Forbes, coeditor of the Boston *Guardian* (Washington's most bitter newspaper critic), the editors themselves were friendly toward Washington."³² Unlike Forbes's "The Last Act" which, in the second issue of the *Colored American Magazine*, advocated liberal arts education, Hopkins named Washington in her "Famous Men" installment. It is true that the overall attitude of the magazine was gracious. Yet,

³¹ Louis Harlan does not mention Hopkins in his two-volume biography of Washington. See Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford UP, 1972-1983).

³² See August Meier, "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press, with Special Reference to the *Colored American Magazine*," *Journal of Negro History* 38.1 (Jan. 1953): 69. Meier's interpretation of "The Last Act" as "a vigorous attack" may be based more on George Washington Forbes's reputation than the article's content. Forbes was rumored to have said at a 1901 meeting that "it would be a blessing to the race if the Tuskegee school should burn down." See Harlan, *Booker T. Washington* 2:36.

when discussing the “friendly” attitudes of the editors of the *Colored American Magazine* toward Washington, Meier never mentions Hopkins or her expertly ambivalent profile of him. Hopkins’s comparison of Washington to Napoleon was particularly bold since it occurred in a profile of Washington. Washington’s aggressive actions to wrest control of the *Colored American Magazine* from Hopkins may be the best measure of her influence.

The contributions of Hopkins and the *Colored American Magazine* should be situated in the broader context of the black press in Boston. At the time, Hopkins was allied with the provocative *Boston Guardian* newspaper, edited by Forbes and William Monroe Trotter.³³ Due to the political landscape of increasingly vocal opposition to the Tuskegee Machine in Boston, Washington focused a good deal of attention on the city’s press. To counteract the antagonism, in 1902 and 1903, Washington began funding two short-lived newspapers published by members of the National Negro Business League, the *Advocate* and the *Enterprise* (Harlan, *Booker T. Washington* 2:58). When both papers failed, he became “intimate in the affairs of the *Colored Citizen*,” another Boston newspaper which he discretely purchased with the hope of making it an alternative to the *Boston Guardian* (Meier, “Booker T. Washington” 74). And when the *Colored Citizen* was financially fraught, Washington advised editor Charles Alexander to replace it with a monthly, which he did, creating *Alexander’s Magazine* in 1905.³⁴

³³ Hopkins was a member of the Boston Literary and Historical Association, of which Trotter was a founder. See Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2002) 166. In addition, according to Hanna Wallinger, the *Boston Guardian* published transcriptions of two speeches by Hopkins. See Wallinger, “Re: Pauline Hopkins,” e-mail to the author, 23 Jan. 2003.

³⁴ In addition to the *Colored Citizen* and *Alexander’s*, Washington subsidized a handful of other papers, going as far as to purchase the *New York Age* outright.

Washington's increasingly aggressive push to control the black press, which led him to Hopkins, took place in response to increasing divisions among African American leaders. While the Washington/Du Bois rift is best known today, Washington had other fierce opponents such as Trotter, who was allied with Hopkins and Ida B. Wells. These conflicts came to a head on July 30, 1903, when Trotter and some associates protested a speech by Washington to the Boston branch of the National Negro Business League at the Columbus Avenue AME Zion Church. A melee, later dubbed the "Boston Riot," ensued. Washington's subsequent decision to pursue criminal charges against Trotter and others (including Trotter's sister who was accused of stabbing a police officer with a hatpin) caused a great deal of dissension among African American intellectuals.³⁵ Louis Harlan argues that "the Boston Riot precipitates what was slowly evolving anyhow, the polarization of black leadership into two warring camps, one led by Washington and the other led not by Trotter but by Du Bois, the most distinguished intellectual and champion of higher education among blacks" (*Booker T. Washington* 2:52-53). Harlan's attempt to personify the emerging criticism of the Tuskegee Machine creates a paradigm that is too homogenous and, as a result, excludes not only Hopkins, but women generally. Du Bois, in fact, remained on good enough terms with Washington to be invited to the Washington home for dinner four months after the publication of *The Souls of Black Folk*, which was unflinchingly critical of the Tuskegee Machine (Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois* 1:298). Their conviviality did not begin to sour until Du Bois signed a letter written by an Atlanta

³⁵ Washington and Trotter had a history predating the "Boston Riot." In 1902, Washington had Ida B. Wells, a Trotter ally, removed as Secretary of the Afro-American Council. At the Council's next annual session in Louisville, Trotter's faction unsuccessfully attempted a coup against Washington's control of the organization. See Stephen Fox, *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Atheneum, 1970) 47-49.

University colleague criticizing Washington's legal aggression toward Trotter for the Boston Riot as "petty" and "dishonest" (Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois* 1:302).

After failing in his attempt to gain control of the *Boston Guardian*, Washington set his sights on the Boston-based *Colored American Magazine* edited by Trotter's ally Pauline Hopkins.³⁶ Despite its commitment to radical politics, the *Colored American Magazine* was never as overtly antagonistic as Trotter's *Boston Guardian*. In its very first issue, the *Colored American Magazine* acknowledged its largely Northern readership's disagreement with many of Washington's positions, but pacifically suggested that he be supported:

His plans may not be yours, but I believe, if they reach the many poor boys and girls in many different sections of the South, you nor I should take exception to them. [...] we of New England can, with credit to ourselves, forbear the spirit of criticism and lend him our encouragement in every method of work he may undertake believing him as loyal to the welfare of the race as we are [...]. ("Editorial and Publishers' Announcements" 61-62)

³⁶ Washington tried to gain control of the *Boston Guardian* via his lawyer Wilford H. Smith. When the *Boston Guardian* ignorantly characterized William Pickens as "the little black freak student at Yale...with his enormous lips, huge mouth, and a monkey grin" for delivering a speech that questioned Haiti's ability for self-rule, Smith enlisted Pickens to sue the *Boston Guardian* for libel. The *Boston Guardian* article is quoted in Harlan, *Booker T. Washington* 2:54. *Boston Guardian* coeditor George Washington Forbes settled the Pickens lawsuit by printing an apology while Trotter was in jail for the "Boston Riot." Trotter and Forbes split over the settlement, leading Forbes to liquidate his co-ownership of the newspaper. Smith then tried to purchase the shares that Forbes was selling. Suspecting Washington's hand in the gambit, Trotter blocked Smith's attempt to gain control of the *Boston Guardian*. For more on the Pickens case, see Fox 68-71.

The magazine's explication of its editorial position toward Washington in its inaugural issue marked their entry into a discussion of African American affairs at a time when Washington was a touchstone. In the same opening editorial, the editors warned against "misconstruing a word uttered by him in the great cause of justice that has been so clearly set forth by his manly and courageous efforts" ("Editorial and Publishers' Announcements" 61). In this spirit, the September 1900 issue, which covered the Pan-African Conference, also gave its readers a chance to hear directly from Washington by publishing a substantial excerpt from a speech he gave to an AME Conference.³⁷

As the *Colored American Magazine* was defining itself vis à vis Washington, the editors made sure to acknowledge what they considered laudable in Washington's program. In October 1900, the "Here and There" section of the magazine announced, "The German government has just applied to Principal Washington in a cablegram for three Tuskegee graduates to take charge of and conduct a model farm in one of the German provinces in the west coast of Africa. This is highly significant" ("Here and There" 333). The transatlantic dimensions of Tuskegee's work were common ground for Washington and the editors of the *Colored American Magazine*. Their coverage earnestly attempted to educe unity by promoting the work of Tuskegee.

³⁷ The title of Washington's AME address, "The Storm Before the Calm," alluded to his overarching and, at times, unrealistically optimistic (though not necessarily insincere) attitude toward race relations. In the speech, Washington argued that African Americans needed to establish an economic foundation, which in the South should be agricultural. Washington contended that disparate treatment between the races was understandable because "the white man is three thousand years ahead of us, and this fact we might as well face now as later, and that at one stage of his development, either in Europe or America, he has gone through every phase of development I now advocate for the race." See Washington, "The Storm Before the Calm," *Colored American Magazine* 1.4 (Sept. 1900): 203-204.

By January 1904, the financially struggling *Colored American Magazine* began offering copies of Washington's books as premiums to entice new subscribers. The magazine was relying heavily on the subsidy of John C. Freund, a New York publisher and a correspondent of Washington. Washington's interest was partly opportunistic; the magazine's financial difficulties created an opening he could exploit. Given what Meier describes as the "friendly" attitude of the *Colored American Magazine* toward Washington, Washington's pursuit of the magazine was seemingly part of his broader efforts to amplify his voice in the African American press and to undermine the Boston-based progressive community.

By the middle of 1904, Washington arranged for Fred R. Moore to purchase the magazine, move its offices from Boston to New York, and fire Hopkins, effectively ending the heyday of one of the premier independent black publications of the century's first decade. As Abby Arthur Johnson and Ronald Maberry Johnson explain, "From a literary standpoint, the magazine certainly did depreciate after Hopkins's resignation" (15-16). While Johnson and Johnson's assessment of the quality of the magazine is correct, they are mistaken to speak in simple terms of Hopkins's "resignation." Hopkins was dismissed because, as Du Bois later explained in the *Crisis*, "her attitude was not conciliatory enough" ("Colored Magazine in America" 33). Pauline Hopkins last appeared in the masthead of the *Colored American Magazine* in May 1904, which was the final issue published in Boston. In what ended up being Hopkins's final issue, the *Colored American Magazine* announced that she was scheduled to travel during the summer to distribute the magazine personally to agents around the country. There is no evidence that the intended tour, an active sales strategy from the magazine's most popular

figure, ever took place. Though the *Colored American Magazine* declared itself “Under New Management” in January 1904, the June issue was the first to be published in New York under the editorship of Fred Moore.

The “Publishers’ Announcements” in the November 1904 issue accounted for Hopkins’s departure by claiming her “ill-health” (700). This explanation seems unlikely since Hopkins covered the October 1904 opening of the New York City Subway for the *Voice of the Negro*. Hopkins continued to publish in the *Voice of the Negro* in 1905, including the nonfiction series “The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century.” She apparently maintained her popularity at the *Voice of the Negro*, where “The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century” was promoted alongside Du Bois’s series “The Beginnings and Endings of Slavery”:

In the July number of *The Voice of the Negro* we will have the last of two series of very valuable papers. [...] Miss Pauline E. Hopkins contributes her last paper on the “Dark Races of the Twentieth Century.” Many people have written us and spoke to us about Miss Hopkins’ articles.

Evidently they have awakened great interest in the history of the colored people of the world. (“*The Voice of the Negro* for July 1905” 364)

The Atlanta-based *Voice of the Negro* broke the story of Washington’s purchase of the *Colored American Magazine* and filled the void it left.³⁸ All the while, in June 1905, the *Colored American Magazine* reiterated the announcement accounting for Hopkins’s absence indicating that she remained on the minds of readers a full year after

³⁸ For more on Washington’s relationship to the *Voice of the Negro*, see Louis R. Harlan, “Booker T. Washington and the *Voice of the Negro*, 1904-1907,” *Journal of Southern History* 45.1 (Feb. 1979): 45-62; and Meier, “Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press, with Special Reference to the *Colored American Magazine*,” 75n40.

leaving the magazine (Moore 342). Over the next few years, the *Colored American Magazine* abandoned its political consciousness so completely that it failed to cover the Niagara movement, which gave birth to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. On the other hand, the *Voice of the Negro*, which published from 1904 to 1907, was instrumental in promoting the work of the Niagara movement and “laid the basis for” the NAACP’s definitive *Crisis* magazine (Johnson and Johnson 24). Despite several years of mediocrity, the *Colored American Magazine* published its final issue in November 1909, outlasting the *Voice of the Negro*. Exactly one year later, in November 1910, the *Crisis*, edited by Du Bois, published its first issue.

One year after her dismissal by the *Colored American Magazine*, Hopkins independently published *A Primer of Facts Pertaining to the Early Greatness of the African Race and the Possibility of Restoration by its Descendents*. Continuing what she began at the magazine, Hopkins opened her thirty-one page *A Primer of Facts* with a version of the “one blood” argument itself: “Man began his existence in the creation of Adam, therefore all races of mankind were once united and descended from one parentage” (5). The theory of monogenesis also was at the center of *Of One Blood* and was used by George Washington Williams to introduce *History of the Negro Race in America*. In Hopkins’s lexicon, “blood” had several layers of meaning. Most prophetically, she described the flow of blood as the unstoppable motion of historical progress:

Blood will flow, but not by the seeking of the Black, and he will only participate in the fight when the government places in his hands arms for its protection. [...] When labor and capital become contending forces, the Black will float into the full enjoyment of citizenship. Blood will flow, for humanity sweeps onward, and God's purposes never fail. (*Primer* 29-30)

In this passage, Hopkins referenced her first novel, *Contending Forces*, to suggest that blood is not only a marker of racial unity, but a product of struggle. Hopkins repeated her essentially Marxist vision of emancipation in a 1906 letter to John Bruce and was aware that her theories of political economy were taken less seriously coming from a woman: "I have argued the union of the Negro with labor for a number of years, but being only a woman have received very small notice; however, it matters not who moves the sun as long as we are convinced that 'she do move.'"³⁹ Hopkins believed that racial justice was going to be achieved through class struggle.

This more literal vision of blood as the product of struggle, whether in a war against slavery or in the struggle of labor and capital, was part of the larger historical lens through which Hopkins viewed the Congo State. She explicitly outlined the possibilities for the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecy of the restoration of Ethiopia, taking as evidence

³⁹ See Pauline E. Hopkins, letter to John E. Bruce, 6 Apr. 1906, John E. Bruce Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York. Thanks to John Cullen Gruesser ("Fwd: Letter to Bruce from Hopkins," e-mail to the author, 5 Jan. 2003) for the transcription. For a biographical sketch of Bruce, see John Cullen Gruesser's Introduction to John E. Bruce, *The Black Sleuth* (Boston, MA: Northeastern UP, 2002) x-xiv.

The establishment of the Liberian Republic, the Anglo-Boer war in South Africa and the rapid opening up of the Continent of Africa by the civilized powers during the nineteenth century and the rapid intellectual improvement of Africans and their descendants in all parts of the world.

What is the obligation of the descendants of Africans in America?—To help forward the time of restoration.

HOW MAY THIS BE DONE?—By becoming thoroughly familiar with meagre [sic] details of Ethiopian history, by fostering race pride and an international friendship with the Blacks of Africa.

Are we obliged to emigrate to Africa to do this successfully?—No. Friendly intercourse and mutual aid and comfort are all that are necessary at the present time. (*Primer* 19-20)

Hopkins outlined a model of transatlantic relations that detailed the responsibilities of African Americans.

The Pan-African vision that Hopkins described in *A Primer of Facts* is embodied by Reuel Briggs, a reluctant student of African history who never advocated mass emigration. At different times, Hopkins referred to both the United States and Ethiopia as Reuel Briggs's "native land" (*OOB* 594; 621). This dual identification is a version of what Du Bois famously termed "double consciousness" (using many of the same psychological sources that were referenced in *Of One Blood*'s opening scene). Hopkins's conflation of the United States and a "transcultured 'Africa'" in the formation of Reuel Briggs's "native land" evoked her vision of diasporic identity. Conceptually, a conflation or layering fits Hopkins better than the notion of a duality. Hopkins's interest in Africa

was driven in part by its domestic implications for the United States. The two were indivisible, which provided a solid foundation for the racial unity that was at the heart of her work.

In *A Primer of Facts*, Hopkins addressed the vision of unity that emerged in response to her experiences at the *Colored American Magazine* and her conflicts with the Tuskegee Machine: “The Propaganda of Silence is in full force. Newspapers and magazines have been subsidized or destroyed if the editors fearlessly advocated the cause of humanity” (21). The pamphlet provided a commentary on her experiences at the magazine and on the plight of the black press in general by implicating not only Washington’s financial shenanigans but also the destructive violence aimed at black journalists by white supremacist groups. Within the same pamphlet, Washington is also impugned by his absence from a roll call of “a few black men who are famous in science, art, literature, etc.” (*Primer* 17). Her list of more than forty women and men includes Blyden, Crummell, Du Bois, Williams, Garnet, and the sculptors Edmonia Lewis and Meta Vaux Warrick [Fuller]. Washington, the best-known African American figure at the time, was conspicuously missing from Hopkins’s platform for the restoration of the race.

The difference between Hopkins and Washington politically might be characterized by her consistent attention to autonomous black states. Hopkins’s celebration of Toussaint in “Famous Men,” her glorification of Ethiopia in *Of One Blood*, and her allusions to the Congo indicated a different position from the apologetic reformist platform on which Washington stood. Hopkins believed in the capacity of black people for self-government. Their differing political ideologies, which can be read through the

institutional history of the *Colored American Magazine*, suggested the wide range of the Congo's appeal. Hopkins advocated independent black institutions of all scales. Her commitment to autonomy applied no less to the black press than to international politics. Certainly this understanding was behind her contemptuous use of the word "subsidized" as parallel to "destroyed" vis à vis the press.

In a climate where black magazines and newspapers were under attack, Hopkins understood the consequence of her literary vocation as a writer, editor, and publisher. *A Primer of Facts* was identified on its cover as "Black Classics Series...Number One," suggesting that Hopkins's Cambridge, Massachusetts-based enterprise projected an ongoing sequence of tracts. Hopkins appealed to her established audience by using the cover to identify herself as the "Author of 'Contending Forces,' 'Hagar's Daughter,' 'Winona,' 'Talma Gordon,' 'Famous Men of the Negro Race,' 'Famous Women of the Negro Race,' Etc." The *Colored American Magazine's* repeated accounting of her absence similarly affirmed that Hopkins had a distinct and dedicated constituency. Moreover, *A Primer of Facts* echoed many of the arguments that appear in her fiction. She described places (Meroe, the "queen city of Ethiopia") and people (Ergamenes and Candace) whose namesakes were familiar to readers of *Of One Blood* (Primer 12-13).

Hopkins's career evinces a community of readers, who were committed to learning about the "dark races." Thanks to the scholarship of Elizabeth McHenry in *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*, these communities, including the Boston Historical and Literary Association of which

Hopkins was a member, are better appreciated.⁴⁰ An understanding of this literary community is invaluable for the ongoing recovery of Pauline Hopkins, a project which must include a recovery of the political, institutional, and cultural contexts in which she lived and worked. After her editorial career at the *Colored American Magazine* ended, Hopkins continued to cultivate her audience and to focus on Africa. *A Primer of Facts* is significant because it is primarily about Africa and explicitly directs itself to readers familiar with Hopkins's writings. Her career became emblematic of the literary vivacity of independent black writing about Africa in the early twentieth century. The recovery of this broad literary context has synergistic implications for an exploration of the Congo State within an American discursive sphere.

In October 1909, the penultimate issue of the *Colored American Magazine*, well past its Hopkins-led heyday, reprinted "The African at Home," an article by Washington that had appeared in *Outlook* and *The Story of the Negro*.⁴¹ The same issue that included "The African at Home" featured a story about the acquittal of William Sheppard.⁴² Washington's rosy explanation of Tuskegee as the voluntary site for his African work contrasted with the legal campaign that Sheppard faced because of his outspokenness in the Congo. In the final issue of *Colored American Magazine* in November 1909, another

⁴⁰ For the discussions about the "dark races" that took place within the Boston Literary and Historical Association, see McHenry 179-183.

⁴¹ See Booker T. Washington, "The African at Home," *Colored American Magazine* 17.4 (Oct. 1909): 261-273.

⁴² See "Congo Missionaries Acquitted," *Colored American Magazine* 17.4 (Oct. 1909): 248.

brief notice on Sheppard's court victory appeared.⁴³ These materials evoke an ongoing community that bridges the local and international worlds that Hopkins incorporated into her fiction. In her writings and her relationships with her readers, Hopkins developed a literary discourse that synthesized the careers of Williams, Sheppard, and Washington, all subjects of the present study.

Amid a contentious state of affairs in Boston, Hopkins argued in her fiction and nonfiction for a unity based on Africa, as both a site of origins and a site of future political interests. The institutional history of the *Colored American Magazine* provides one location for reading Hopkins's career as a commentary on the conflicted political scene. Disagreements among black leaders emerged coincident with the serialization of *Of One Blood*. In *Afrotopia*, Moses, citing examples from the eighteenth century, points out that the "idea among African Americans of making Africa into a center of a national or international movement recurs throughout African American history" (25). "Ethiopia" functions for Hopkins within Henry Highland Garnet's vision of "a grand center of Negro nationality" (qtd. in Moses, *Afrotopia* 25).⁴⁴ Garnet provides a mode of reading Hopkins's Africa as a place where unity can be inscribed. Throughout her oeuvre, blood was the consistent instrument of this inscription. As a foundation for racial unity and a mechanism of struggle, blood fit on a longer continuum of resistance by African peoples

⁴³ See "The Acquittal of Sheppard," *Colored American Magazine* 17.5 (Nov. 1909): 381.

⁴⁴ See Henry Highland Garnet, *The Past and the Present Condition, and the Destiny, of the Colored Race* (1848; Miami, FL: Mnemosyne Publishing, 1969). For an examination of Garnet's vision of Africa, see Earl Ofari, "Let Your Motto Be Resistance": *The Life and Thought of Henry Highland Garnet* (Boston, MA: Beacon P, 1972), esp. 71-102.

throughout the diaspora. As Hopkins wrote in “The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century,” the blood is also the blood that will flow in the Congo.

CONCLUSION

“American Hearts: African American Writing on the Congo, 1890-1915” argues that late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century African American writing was informed by the complex relationships of writers and readers to the Congo. For African Americans such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Africa was a modern political space of great interest, not a faint past. Through networks in the press and at black colleges, an involvement in the political dynamics of contemporary Africa spread through the broader culture. The vital interest of black intellectuals in the unfolding situation in Africa contradicts configurations of a provincial African American identity. In the face of the violent rupture of the transatlantic slave trade, black Americans saw fundamental connections to Africa. Based on empathetic identification, African American activists were in the vanguard of opposition to the colonial practices of King Leopold II and the subsequent Belgian administration, even when their political articulations appeared to have a lot in common with the imperialist rhetoric of their white contemporaries.

In 1915, the year my study ends, Booker T. Washington, the most prominent African American of his generation, passed away. The cultural landscape of the United States was transforming, and new leaders were emerging. Also in 1915, Carter G. Woodson, a recent Harvard University Ph.D., founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. In January 1916, this venerable organization, which continues today as the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, started

publishing the immediately well-received *Journal of Negro History*.¹ The first issue included an article by Monroe Work asserting, with regard to Africa, “Negroes should not despise the rock from which they were hewn” (41).

In 1916, Marcus Garvey arrived in the United States. Garvey came from Jamaica, where he had formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and had wanted to establish a school modeled on Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute. As the UNIA expanded with Garvey’s move to the United States, the organization cultivated a mass movement based on economic development initiatives that connected blacks of the African Diaspora to the continent. Garvey’s arrival in New York and the rise of the UNIA coincided with an increasing presence of Caribbean people in the United States, which hastened the growth of Pan-African consciousness in the increasingly diverse politicized black community.²

As the NAACP was gaining a national profile as a result of its protest campaign against the D. W. Griffith-directed film *Birth of a Nation*, they also honored William Sheppard in 1915. At that time, Sheppard was a popular pastor in Louisville, Kentucky, one step removed from the Congo. He continued to speak about his experiences in the Congo to religious and secular audiences and delivered the 1915 Founder’s Day Address

¹ See letters of praise from prominent readers, including W. E. B. Du Bois and Frederick Jackson Turner, collected as Joel E. Spingarn, et al., “How the Public Received the *Journal of Negro History*,” *Journal of Negro History* 1.2 (Apr. 1916): 225-232. The *Journal of Negro History* continues today as the *Journal of African American History*.

² The Caribbean migration was partly spurred by the 1915 completion of the Panama Canal, which had depended on a large migrant labor force. As Winston James contends in *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1998), Caribbean people were on the frontlines and in leadership positions of many United States-based progressive social movements during this period.

at Hampton Institute in the same year that he was honored by the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine as one of their "Men of the Month" for May 1915. The brief magazine profile written by *Crisis* editor Du Bois, acknowledged at once Sheppard's decades of service in the Congo, his agitation against the imperialism of the Belgians, and his more recent activities in Louisville, Kentucky.

In the same month that the Sheppard profile appeared in the *Crisis*, Du Bois published in the *Atlantic Monthly* his clearest political statement yet on Africa, "The African Roots of the War":

It all began, singularly enough, like the present war, with Belgium. Many of us remember Stanley's great solution to the puzzle of Central Africa when he traced the mighty Congo sixteen hundred miles from Nyangwe to the sea. Suddenly the world knew that here lay the key to the riches of Central Africa. It stirred uneasily, but Leopold of Belgium was first on his feet, and the result was the Congo Free State—God save the mark! But the Congo Free State, with all its magniloquent heralding of Peace, Christianity, and Commerce, degenerating into murder, mutilation and downright robbery, differed only in degree and concentration from the tale of all Africa in this rape of a continent already furiously mangled by the slave trade. That sinister traffic, on which the British Empire and the American Republic were largely built, cost black Africa no less than 100,000,000 souls, the wreckage of its political and social life, and left the continent in precisely the state of helplessness which invites aggression and exploitation. "Color" became in the world's thought synonymous

with inferiority, “Negro” lost its capitalization, and Africa was another name for bestiality and barbarism.

Thus the world began to invest in color prejudice. The “Color Line” began to pay dividends. For indeed, while the exploration of the valley of the Congo was the occasion of the scramble for Africa, the cause lay deeper.³

David Levering Lewis calls the essay “one of the analytical triumphs of the early twentieth century” and points out that Du Bois anticipated Lenin’s thesis on imperialism by two years (*W. E. B. Du Bois* 1:503-504).⁴ Du Bois’s position represented a shift from the late 1890s, when he solicited a collaborative role in the Congo, including “commercial intercourse between the Congo Free State and the Negroes of the West Indies and the United States.”⁵

Du Bois’s intensifying critique of European imperialism, which used the Congo as a touchstone, appeared at the same time that he recognized the accomplishments of Sheppard. Thus, one of the preeminent analyses of the political economy of race and

³ See W. E. B. Du Bois, “The African Roots of the War,” *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Henry Holt, 1995) 643. “The African Roots of the War” was originally published in the *Atlantic Monthly* 115 (May 1915): 707-714. An updated version of the argument appeared as “The Hands of Ethiopia” (chapter 3), W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (1920; reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover, 1999) 32-42.

⁴ See V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1939).

⁵ See a surviving fragment of a memo written by Du Bois to the Philadelphia-based consul general of Belgium to the United States, Paul Hagemans, which Herbert Aptheker dates to 1897. See W. E. B. Du Bois, “On Migration to Africa,” *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887-1961*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1985) 48.

imperialism emerged from networks of African American writing about the Congo. Beyond the *Crisis* profile, Du Bois knew Sheppard personally and had other firsthand sources on the Congo.⁶ In 1919, Du Bois invited Sheppard to address an NAACP Conference on Africa (Roth 37). For a January 1920 address at the NAACP annual meeting in New York, Du Bois “announced as his subject ‘The American Congo,’ a description of conditions in the South rivaling the horrors of the Belgian Congo” (“‘American Congo’ to Be Subject at This Gathering” 1).

All the while, Du Bois used the *Crisis* as a forum to criticize white fascination with a clichéd “Africa” in works such as Vachel Lindsay’s poem, “The Congo (A Study of the Negro Race).”⁷ In a fascinating confluence, the same issue of the *Crisis* that honored Sheppard included an article about Lindsay’s “The Congo.” The article, “A Poem on the Negro,” cited a letter from Lindsay in which he acknowledged his eclectic sources, including Henry M. Stanley and Joseph Conrad, the latter of whom traveled to the Congo the same year as Sheppard and Williams: “I hoped to imply Joseph Conrad’s fatalistic atmosphere in this story ‘Heart of Darkness.’ [...] In my devices and settings for such phrases as ‘Mumbo Jumbo will hoodoo you,’ I often had him consciously in mind” (“A Poem on the Negro” 18). Despite citing as models two writers who both traveled to the Congo, Lindsay unselfconsciously claimed a different interest in “the Africa of the

⁶ Du Bois met Ota Benga in Lynchburg, Virginia. See Bradford and Blume, Phillips Verner Bradford and Henry Blume, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (New York: St. Martin’s P, 1992) 213.

⁷ For discussions of the racial dimensions of Vachel Lindsay’s “The Congo,” see Rachel Blau Duplessis, *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908-1934* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2001) 86-97; and Susan Gubar, *Racechanges: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture* (New York: Oxford UP, 1997) 139-144.

romantic Negro's imagination, a scrap of black grand opera, if not the actual Africa" ("A Poem on the Negro" 18). For Du Bois, William Sheppard provided a counter-narrative to what Lindsay, who claimed *The Souls of Black Folk* as a source, took as his poetic license ("A Poem on the Negro" 18). In 1916, Du Bois explained more directly his criticism: "Mr. Lindsay knows little of the Negro, and that little is dangerous" ("The Looking Glass: Literature" 182). As delineated in the *Crisis*, Sheppard's experience implicitly contradicted Lindsay's presumption about a rigid opposition between the "romantic" and the "actual." In reality, "actual" sources, such as firsthand accounts and encounters with African people, fundamentally helped to shape literary renderings of the Congo during the early twentieth century in underappreciated ways.

At the peak of Lindsay's prominence, publishing opportunities for African Americans were relatively scarce.⁸ In 1916, Pauline Hopkins had been working as a stenographer in Massachusetts for a decade. A brief attempt to return to magazine journalism in 1916 did not succeed; her Boston-based *New Era Magazine* only published two issues. Along with Hopkins, the most prolific African American fiction writers from the early years of the century—Charles W. Chesnutt and Sutton E. Griggs come to mind—published minimally during the 1910s, though they remained active in other fields. With the advent of the New Negro Renaissance (or Harlem Renaissance) in the

⁸ In particular, there were few opportunities for African Americans to publish books of poetry or fiction. Notable exceptions include W. E. B. Du Bois's 1911 novel *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (Boston, MA: Northeastern UP, 1989) and James Weldon Johnson's 1912 novel *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (*Three Negro Classics*, ed. John Hope Franklin [New York: Avon, 1965] 391-511). *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* was published anonymously and presumed to be an autobiography until 1927.

1920s, a new generation of African American writers found white recognition and modest publishing opportunities.

In March 1925, at the height of this flourishing creativity, *Survey Graphic* magazine issued its special Harlem number, edited by Howard University philosophy professor Alain Locke. Later that year, an expanded edition of *Survey Graphic* appeared in book form as *The New Negro*, which Houston A. Baker Jr. identifies in *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* as “perhaps our first *national* book, offering not only a description of streams of tendency in our collective lives but also an actual construction within its pages of the sounds, songs, images, and signs of a nation” (emphasis in source, 85). This eclectic structure is part of what Baker terms a model of “*radical marronage*,” a decentralized albeit “unified community of national interests” (*Modernism* 75, 77). By definition, “marronage” presents a useful model of the decentralized transmission of ideas about the Congo.

Countee Cullen’s poem “Heritage,” which first appeared in the Harlem number of *Survey Graphic*, has provided an ongoing refrain for considerations of the vexed relationship of African Americans to Africa.⁹ *The New Negro* was defined by Cullen’s question “What is Africa to me?” not by its answer. In *Turning South Again*, Baker identifies “the ‘search’ for Africa,” encompassed by Cullen’s interrogative poem, as epitomizing the “preeminent dynamics of Afro-modernity” (34). Cullen’s poem is

⁹ See Countee Cullen, “Heritage,” *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (1 Mar. 1925): 674-675; and Countee Cullen, “Heritage,” *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, [Nov.] 1925) 250-253. A substantially revised version of “Heritage” appeared in Cullen, *Color* (New York: Harper and Brothers, [22 Oct.] 1925) 36-41. The *Color* version of “Heritage” is taken as the source text for nearly all republications. See Countee Cullen, “Heritage,” *My Soul’s High Song: The Collected Writings of Countee Cullen, Voice of the Harlem Renaissance*, ed. Gerald Early (New York: Anchor, 1991) 104-108.

defined by its open-endedness and irresolvability, which contrasts with the presumptuousness of Lindsay's subtitle, "A Study of the Negro Race." Despite this difference, many critics see Cullen's "Heritage" as echoing Lindsay's assumptions about a romantic Africa. Nathan Huggins compared Cullen's poem to Lindsay's "The Congo" in his 1971 history, *Harlem Renaissance*: "The primitivism of Countee Cullen and Claude McKay was very romantic and rested on a very superficial knowledge of African life. Cullen's 'Heritage,' with rain beating incessant rhythms on his 'body's street,' is only slightly more intelligent than Vachel Lindsay's 'Congo.'" ¹⁰ As Huggins used the primitivism of Lindsay as his standard-bearer, his assessment of "Heritage" was somewhat predictable. However, what conclusions might he have reached by considering, for example, the accounts of people like Sheppard?

Generally speaking, this body of writing on the Congo builds a bridge between prominent references to the Congo during the New Negro Renaissance and earlier eras. In June 1921, a teenage author named Langston Hughes published his first poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," in the *Crisis*. Dedicated to *Crisis* editor W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" created a map of the African Diaspora that included the Congo River: "I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep." ¹¹ Whereas Rachel Blau Duplessis interprets "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" as a revision of

¹⁰ Huggins compares the prosody of "Heritage" to "The Congo" as well: "It is a long poem, with unrelenting tetrameter and a regular aa, bb, cc, rhyme setting up a rhythmic beat that echoes Vachel Lindsay's 'Congo.'" See Nathan I. Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford UP, 1971) 188; 80-81. For a more recent characterization of "Heritage" as "somewhat reminiscent of Vachel Lindsay's 'The Congo,'" see Ronald E. Sheasby, "Dual Reality: Echoes of Blake's Tiger in Cullen's Heritage," *CLA Journal* 39.2 (Dec. 1995): 226.

¹¹ See Langston Hughes, *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, ed. Arnold Rampersad and David Roessel (New York: Knopf, 2001) 23.

Lindsay's "The Congo," Hughes's repertoire was more extensive and equally based in black political discourses about the Congo (95).

More explicitly, forty years later, Hughes authored "Lumumba's Grave," a poem in memory of Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹² Along with other poems such as "Lumumba Lives Lumumba Lives!!" by Ted Joans and "Lumumba Blues" by Raymond Patterson, "Lumumba's Grave" is part of a genre of elegiac meditation on the Congo in post-1960 African American writing that, to riff on Kimberly Benston's notion of the "Coltrane Poem," comprise a "Lumumba Poem" genre.¹³ "How, each asks, can the paralyzing pain of loss be transformed into collective progress and productive speech? For the mourner the task is to find celebratory praise where only lamentation seems possible; for the poet, the quest is for expression that dispels silence, for a restorative *poiesis* that reestablishes culture as possibility."¹⁴ In

¹² See Langston Hughes, *The Panther and the Lash* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) 65-66. On the death of Lumumba, see Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, trans. Ann Wright and Renee Fenby (1999; New York: Verso, 2002).

¹³ See Ted Joans, *Black Pow-Wow* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969) 16; and Raymond Patterson, *Elemental Blues* (Merrick, NY: Cross-Cultural Communications, 1989) 36. Also see Michael S. Harper's "Patrice Lumumba," *Songlines in Michaeltree: New and Collected Poems* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2000) 290-291. Amiri Baraka's poem "Black Dada Nihilismus" mentions "patrice." See [Amiri Baraka] LeRoi Jones, *The Dead Lecturer* (New York: Grove P, 1964) 64. Patrice Lumumba appears as a character in Adrienne Kennedy's 1964 play *Funnyhouse of the Negro*. See Adrienne Kennedy, *Adrienne Kennedy in One Act* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1988) 1-23. Kennedy was living in Ghana at the time of Lumumba's assassination. See Adrienne Kennedy, *People Who Led to My Plays* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1987) 119-120. Baraka, Harper, Hughes, Joans, Kennedy, and Patterson all have lived or traveled extensively in Africa.

¹⁴ See Kimberly W. Benston, "Performing Blackness: Re/Placing Afro-American Poetry," *Afro-American Literary Study in the 1990s*, ed. Houston A. Baker Jr. and Patricia Redmond (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1989) 177. Benston elaborates further on this idea in "Renovating Blackness: Remembrance and Revolution in the Coltrane

titles like “Lumumba Lives Lumumba Lives!!” the “Lumumba Poem” performs the traditions of survival and loss. African American writings about the Congo ask how to speak in the face of haunting silence and how to create new political possibilities out of written engagements.

Michael S. Harper’s poem “Patrice Lumumba” acknowledges that the power of colonialism lies, at least in part, in its ability to control the stories that get told:

30 6 60

Belgian

Congo

still

Conrad’s

Intended (291)

Although the official end of Belgian colonialism occurred with the June 30, 1960, inauguration of Lumumba as Prime Minister, European domination continued its reign in the Congo.

The title of a 2001 ABC News series about the Democratic Republic of Congo, “Heart of Darkness,” made clear that “Conrad’s/Intended” lasted longer than the formal strictures of Belgian colonialism. Anchor Ted Koppel began the opening segment of *Nightline*’s weeklong report on the Congo with a mea culpa: “If a football hero accused

Poem” (chapter four), *Performing Blackness: Enactments of African-American Modernism* (New York: Routledge, 2000) 145-186.

of murder is news for months... If every Capitol Hill scandal merits weeks of coverage... How much attention do 2 1/2 million dead merit? It's a story we should have brought you long ago" ("Heart of Darkness: Transcript for September 7"). It was a story that was delayed for more than four months—the second installment was scheduled for Tuesday, September 11, 2001, "the day when," Koppel explained, "3,000 people died in the World Trade Center alone. In the Congo, almost that many people have died each and every day for more than three years now" ("Heart of Darkness: Part One-War in the Congo").¹⁵ Nonetheless, Derek McGinty of ABC *World News Now* offered, "It is the nature of the news business that no matter what you've planned, sometime you have to scrap it all if a bigger and more important story comes along" ("Excerpt from first part of *Nightline* series on the Congo").

Attempts to tell the story of the Congo have been repeatedly interrupted. Whether it was the ostracism and death of George Washington Williams, the exclusion of black missionaries from the American Presbyterian Congo Mission, the profound immobility of Booker T. Washington, or the silencing of Pauline Hopkins by Washington and his cronies, African American stories about the Congo have been rarely heard in any true sense. Nonetheless, all of these voices, in different ways and sometimes at direct odds with one another, found ways to tell the story. Even when they disagreed, African American intellectuals, activists, and writers have insisted on the relevance of the Congo to the United States.

¹⁵ When the series was first scheduled to air, Ted Koppel explained its appeal to the New York *Daily News* in different terms: "'The great tragedy of the Congo is that it may be the richest country in the world in terms of natural resources,' [...] '[It has] gold, copper, diamonds, cobalt and coltan. And in terms people are going to relate to, those beautiful gorillas from "Gorillas in the Mist"—most of them are dead"' (Gould).

The Congo State, a geopolitical entity, was both in the heart of Africa and at the heart of Hopkins's work. By historicizing the relationships of African Americans such as Hopkins, Washington, Williams, and the Sheppards, to Africa, scholars can identify ways that African American writings are informed by contact with contemporary Africa—through, among other sources, newspapers, magazines, missionaries, and the archives of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. What emerges from this context is a larger literary discourse about modern Africa that is able to expand the conversation about the transnational politics of the American imagination during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This tradition belies the history of the Congo that gets told by *Nightline*. In noting the modern ramifications of King Leopold II's reign, Koppel rightly recognized continuity:

Much of what exists in Congo today is a direct or indirect consequence of what he did back then.

No time now for history lessons. The detailed story is brilliantly captured in the book *King Leopold's Ghost*. Suffice it to say that over a 30-year period, from about 1880 to 1910, agents acting in behalf of the Belgian king whipped, shot and hung, maimed and starved, but mostly worked an estimated 10 million Congolese to death. Hardly anyone noticed the loss of a few million Congolese back then, either. ("Heart of Darkness: Part Three-Kisangani")

Despite Koppel's self-flagellation, some people did notice the deaths of "a few million Congolese." George Washington Williams was adamant in his appeals to King Leopold

and President Harrison. William Henry Sheppard witnessed the skeletons left by Stanley and the hands left by Leopold's henchmen. Booker T. Washington wrote about Sheppard's reports and used his considerable prominence to encourage others to do the same. Pauline Hopkins created a body of literature that saw blood everywhere. Tragically, not enough people with the ability or the will, either then or today, listen to the voices loudly asserting that the history of the Congo must not be remanded to the European imagination.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

"The Acquittal of Sheppard." *Colored American Magazine* 17.5 (Nov. 1909): 381.

"The African Slave Trade." *Southern Workman* 18.12 (Dec. 1889): 122.

"'American Congo' to Be Subject at This Gathering." *Cleveland Advocate* 27 Dec. 1919:

1. 23 Jan. 2003 <<http://dbs.ohiohistory.org/africanam/det.cfm?ID=8958>>.

"Americans in Africa." *New York Tribune* 2 Mar. 1890: 19.

"The 'Appeal to Pharaoh.'" *Southern Workman* 18.12 (Dec. 1889): 121.

[Armstrong, Samuel Chapman]. "Invitation to Congo." *Southern Workman* 19.1 (Jan. 1890): 2.

"At Home and Afield: Hampton Incidents." *Southern Workman* 44.3 (Mar. 1915): 182-185.

"Atrocities in the Congo Free State." *Missionary* 33.2 (Feb. 1900): 61-63.

"The Bakuba." *Missionary* 26.5 (May 1893): 168-172.

[Baraka, Amiri] LeRoi Jones. *The Dead Lecturer*. New York: Grove P, 1964.

Benedetto, Robert, ed. *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa: A Documentary Account of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the Human Rights Struggle in the Congo, 1890-1918*. Trans. Winifred K. Vass. New York: EJ Brill, 1996.

Bethune, Mary McLeod. *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World*. Ed. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999.

Bruce, John E. *The Black Sleuth*. Ed. John Cullen Gruesser. Boston, MA: Northeastern UP, 2002.

“Can the Congo Treaties Be Saved?” *New York Tribune* 18 Apr. 1891: 6.

Chesnutt, Charles W. *Essays and Speeches*. Ed. Joseph R. McElrath Jr., Robert C. Leitz III, and Jesse S. Crisler. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1999.

Chester, Samuel H. “Foreign Mission Committee Notes.” *Missionary* 28.10 (Oct. 1895): 446.

---. “Foreign Mission Committee Notes.” *Missionary* 28.11 (Nov. 1895): 491-492.

---. “Help Needed For Africa.” *Missionary* 28.9 (Sept. 1895): 398.

---. “A Man Needed at Once for Our African Work.” *Missionary* 28.10 (Oct. 1895): 446-447.

“The Congo Boat Company.” *Missionary* 26.3 (Mar. 1893): 113-114.

“The Congo Mission.” *Missionary* 35.1 (Jan. 1902): 5.

“Congo Missionaries Acquitted.” *Colored American Magazine* 17.4 (Oct. 1909): 248.

Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness*. 1899. Ed. Robert Kimbrough. 3rd ed. New York: Norton, 1988.

Crummell, Alex[ander]. “Founder’s Day at Hampton Institute.” *Southern Workman* 25.3 (Mar. 1896): 46-49.

---. Letter. *Southern Workman* 23.1 (Jan. 1894): 5.

Cullen, Countee. *Color*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1925.

---. “Heritage.” *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (1 Mar. 1925): 674-675.

---. *My Soul’s High Song: The Collected Writings of Countee Cullen, Voice of the Harlem Renaissance*. Ed. Gerald Early. New York: Anchor, 1991.

Daniels, John. "The Wretchedness of the Congo Natives." *Voice of the Negro* 4.1 (Jan.-Feb. 1907): 22-30.

Douglass, Frederick. *Address by Hon. Frederick Douglass, Delivered in the Congregational Church, Washington, DC, April 16, 1883: On the Twenty-first Anniversary of Emancipation in the District of Columbia*. Washington, DC: n.p., 1883. 23 Jan. 2003 <[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field\(FLD001+90898291+\):@@@\\$REF\\$>](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(FLD001+90898291+):@@@REF>).

---. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*. 1845.

Autobiographies. Ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. New York: Library of America, 1994. 1-102.

Doyle, Arthur Conan. *The Crime of the Congo*. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1909.

Du Bois, W. E. B. "The African Roots of the War." *Atlantic Monthly* 115 (May 1915): 707-714. *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader*. Ed. David Levering Lewis. New York: Henry Holt, 1995. 642-651.

[---]. "The Colored Magazine in America." *Crisis* 5.1 (Nov. 1912): 33-35.

---. *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil*. 1920. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1999.

---. Foreword. *Charlotte Manye: "What an Educated African Girl Can Do."* By Alfred Xuma. N.p.: Women's Parent Mite Missionary Society of the AME Church, 1930.

[---]. "The Looking Glass: Literature." *Crisis* 12.4 (Aug. 1916): 182-183.

[---]. "Men of the Month: A Missionary." *Crisis* 10.1 (May 1915): 15.

- . "On Migration to Africa." [1897]. *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887-1961*. Ed. Herbert Aptheker. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1985. 43-49.
- . *The Quest of the Silver Fleece*. 1911. Boston, MA: Northeastern UP, 1989.
- . *The Souls of Black Folk*. 1903. *Writings*. Ed. Nathan I. Huggins. New York: Library of America, 1986. 357-547.
- . "Strivings of the Negro People." *Atlantic Monthly* 80 (Aug. 1897): 194-198.
- . "The Talented Tenth." 1903. *Writings*. Ed. Nathan I. Huggins. New York: Library of America, 1986. 842-861.
- . *Writings*. Ed. Nathan I. Huggins. New York: Library of America, 1986.
- Dube, John. "Need of Industrial Education in Africa." *Southern Workman* 26.7 (July 1897): 141-142.
- "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements." *Colored American Magazine* 1.1 (May 1900): 61-62.
- "Editorial: The *Southern Workman*." *Southern Workman* 21.1 (Jan. 1892): 3-4.
- Edmiston, Althea Brown. *Grammar and Dictionary of the Bushonga or Bukuba Language as Spoken by the Bushonga or Bukuba Tribe Who Dwell in the Upper Kasai District, Belgian Congo, Central Africa*. [Atlanta, GA]: [Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church (US)], [1932].
- Elliott, R. S. "The Story of Our Magazine." *Colored American Magazine* 3.1 (May 1901): 43-77.
- Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible Man*. New York: Random House, 1952.
- "Folk-Lore and Ethnology." *Southern Workman* 22.12 (Dec. 1893): 180-181.

Forbes, George Washington. "The Last Act." *Colored American Magazine* 1.2 (June 1900): 109-113.

Frissell, H[ollis] B[urke]. "Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Principal of Hampton Institute." *Southern Workman* 29.5 (May 1900): 289-301.

---. "Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Principal." *Southern Workman* 24.6 (June 1895): 87-92.

Garnet, Henry Highland. *The Past and the Present Condition, and the Destiny, of the Colored Race*. 1848. Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing, 1969.

"George W. Williams." *New York Tribune* 5 Aug. 1891: 7.

"Graduates and Ex-Students." *Southern Workman* 44.2 (Feb. 1915): 125.

Griggs, Sutton E. *Unfettered*. Nashville, TN: Orion Publishing Company, 1902. New York: AMS P, 1971.

Hamedoe, S. E. F. C. C. "The First Pan-African Conference of the World." *Colored American Magazine* 1.4 (Sept. 1900): 223-31.

"Hampton's African Collection." *Southern Workman* 50.9 (Sept. 1921): 388-389.

Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins. *Moses: A Story of the Nile*. 1869. *A Brighter Coming Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader*. Ed. Frances Smith Foster. New York: Feminist P, 1990. 138-166.

Harper, Michael S. *Songlines in Michaeltree: New and Collected Poems*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2000.

"Here and There." *Colored American Magazine* 1.5 (Oct. 1900): 333.

Hopkins, Pauline E. "Booker T. Washington." *Colored American Magazine* 3.6 (Oct. 1901): 436-441.

---. *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South*. 1900.

Ed. Richard Yarborough. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.

---. "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century, Part IV--Africa." *Voice of the Negro* 2.6

(June 1905): 415-418.

---. "A Dash for Liberty." *Colored American Magazine* 3.4 (Aug. 1901): 243-247.

Short Fiction by Black Women, 1900-1920. Ed. Elizabeth Ammons. New York:

Oxford UP, 1991. 89-98.

---. Letter to John E. Bruce. 6 Apr. 1906. John E. Bruce Papers. Schomburg Center for

Research in Black Culture, New York.

---. *Of One Blood. Or, the Hidden Self*. 1902-03. *The Magazine Novels of Pauline*

Hopkins. Ed. Hazel V. Carby. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. 439-621.

---. *A Primer of Facts Pertaining to the Early Greatness of the African Race and the*

Possibility of Restoration by Its Descendents. Cambridge, MA: P.E. Hopkins,

1905.

---. "Toussaint L'Overture [sic]." *Colored American Magazine* 2.1 (Nov. 1900): 9-24.

---. *Winona*. 1902. *The Magazine Novels of Pauline Hopkins*. Ed. Hazel V. Carby.

New York: Oxford UP, 1988. 285-437.

Hughes, Langston. *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*. Ed. Arnold Rampersad

and David Roessel. New York: Knopf, 2001.

---. *The Panther and the Lash*. New York: Knopf, 1967.

Huntington, C[ollis] P. *A Few Words to Americans on the Slave Trade in Africa*. New

York: n.p., 1889.

- Jabavu, Davidson D. T. *The Black Problem: Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems*. Lovedale, Cape Province [South Africa]: Book Department, Lovedale Institution P, [1920].
- Joans, Ted. *Black Pow-Wow*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1969.
- Johnson, James Weldon. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. 1912. *Three Negro Classics*. Ed. John Hope Franklin. New York: Avon, 1965. 391-511.
- . *Marie Cahill's Congo Love Song*. Music by Rosamond Johnson. New York: Jos. W. Stern, 1903.
- Johnson, Maggie Pogue. *Virginia Dreams; Lyrics for the Idle Hour. Tales of the Time Told in Rhyme*. N.p.: John M. Leonard, 1910. *Collected Black Women's Poetry*. Ed. Joan R. Sherman. Vol. 4. New York: Oxford UP, 1988
- Johnston, James, ed. *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, Held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th), London, 1888*. 2 vols. 3rd ed. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1889.
- Kennedy, Adrienne. *Funnyhouse of the Negro*. 1964. *Adrienne Kennedy in One Act*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1988. 1-23.
- . *People Who Led to My Plays*. New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1987.
- Lane, Sara. "African Textile Craftsmanship." *Southern Workman* 57.7 (July 1928): 262-267.
- . "African Weapons and Tools." *Southern Workman* 58.8 (Aug. 1929): 353-360.
- L[anghorne], O[rra]. "The Mother of a Famous Missionary." *Southern Workman* 29.4 (Apr. 1900): 218-219.

Lapsley, Samuel N. "Letters from the Missions." 2 Oct. 1890. *Missionary* 24.1 (Jan. 1891): 33-34.

---. "Letters from the Missions." 5 Oct. 1892 [sic]. *Missionary* 25.4 (Apr. 1892): 151-157.

---. *Life and Letters of Samuel Norvell Lapsley: Missionary to the Congo Valley, West Africa*. Richmond, VA: Whittet and Shepperson Printers, 1893.

Lenin, V. I. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. 1917. New York: International Publishers, 1939.

Lindsay, Vachel. *The Congo and Other Poems*. 1914. New York: Dover, 1992.

Locke, Alain, ed. *The New Negro*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925. New York: Touchstone, 1997.

Lyon, Peter. *Success Story: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure*. New York: Scribner, 1963.

McClure, S[amuel] S. *My Autobiography*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914.

Moore, Fred R. "Retrospection of a Year." *Colored American Magazine* 8.6 (June 1905): 342-343.

"More About the Congo." *Voice of the Negro* 4.1 (Jan.-Feb. 1907): 14-15.

Morel, E. D. *Red Rubber: The Story of the Rubber Slave Trade Flourishing on the Congo in the Year of Grace 1906*. 1906. New York: Negro Universities P, 1969.

Morrison, William M. "Africa Between the Upper and Nether Millstones." *Missionary* 33.2 (Feb. 1900): 64-67.

---. "The Late War as Reported on the Congo." *Missionary* 32.1 (Jan. 1899): 29-30.

- . Letter. 5 June 1897. *Missionary* 30.10 (Oct. 1897): 457-458. *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa*. Ed. Robert Benedetto. New York: EJ Brill, 1996. 109-111.
- . Letter. 7 Dec. 1897. *Missionary* 31.4 (Apr. 1898): 172-173. *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa*. Ed. Robert Benedetto. New York: EJ Brill, 1996. 112-114.
- . "Treatment of the Native People by the Government of the Congo Independent State." *William McCutchan Morrison: Twenty Years in Central Africa*. By T. C. Vinson. Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1921. 179-191.
- "Mr. B. T. Washington on the Emigration Question." *Southern Workman* 19.3 (Mar. 1890): 25.
- "Needs of the Congo Mission." *Missionary* 31.8 (Aug. 1898): 339.
- Noble, J. Phillips, ed. *Four Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo: Samuel N. Lapsley, William H. Sheppard, Maria Fearing, Lucy Gantt Sheppard*. Anniston, AL: First Presbyterian Church, 1965.
- Park, Robert E. "Methods of Teaching: Impressions and a Verdict." *Social Forces* 20.1 (Oct. 1941). *Militarism, Imperialism, and Racial Accommodation: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Early Writings of Robert E. Park*. By Stanford M. Lyman. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1992. 306-318.
- Patterson, Raymond R. *Elemental Blues*. Merrick, NY: Cross-Cultural Communications, 1989.
- Pond, James B. *Eccentricities of Genius*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1901.
- "Publishers' Announcements." *Colored American Magazine* 7.11 (Nov. 1904): 700.

"A Remarkable Missionary." *Missionary* 27.7 (July 1894): 272-273.

Rowbotham, Arthur. "Letters from the Missions." 17 Feb. 1893. *Missionary* 26.6 (June 1893): 230-232.

Sheppard, Lucy Gantt. "Progress at Ibanj." *Kassai Herald* 1.2 (Jul. 1901): 16-17.

---. "Sunshine in Congo-land." *Kassai Herald* 3.4 (Oct. 1903): 41-42.

Sheppard, William H[enry]. *An African Daniel: True African Stories*. [Hampton, VA]: Hampton Institute P, [c.1915].

---. "African Handicrafts and Superstitions." *Southern Workman* 50.9 (Sept. 1921): 401-408.

---. "The Bakuba Missions." *Southern Workman* 33.7 (July 1904): 408-411.

---. "Diary—September 13-14, 1899." Ms. folder 12. William Henry Sheppard Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, Montreat, North Carolina.

---. "An Evangelistic Tour Among the Bakuba." *Kassai Herald* 2.3 (July 1902): 27-30.

---. "From the Bakuba Country." *Kassai Herald* 8.1 (Jan. 1898): 12-14. *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa*. Ed. Robert Benedetto. New York: EJ Brill, 1996. 281-283

---. "Give Me Thine Hand." *Southern Workman* 44.3 (Mar. 1915): 166-169.

---. "In the Heart of Africa." *Southern Workman* 29.4 (Apr. 1900): 220-221.

---. "Into the Heart of Africa." *Southern Workman* 22.12 (Dec. 1893): 182-187.

---. Letter. 17 May 1890. *Missionary* 23.9 (Sept. 1890): 352-355.

---. Letter. 1 Sept. 1890. *Southern Workman* 20.3 (Mar. 1891): 168.

---. "Light in Darkest Africa." *Southern Workman* 34.4 (Apr. 1905): 218-227.

- . *A Little Robber Who Found a Great Treasure: True African Stories*. [Hampton, VA]: Hampton Institute P, [c.1915].
- . *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*. Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, [1917].
- . "A Semi-civilization in Africa." *Southern Workman* 24.5 (May 1895): 82.
- . "Some Changed Boys and Girls." *Kassai Herald* 7.1 (Jan. 1907): 6-7.
- . *The Story of a Girl Who Ate Her Mother: True African Stories*. [Hampton, VA]: Hampton Institute P, [c.1915].
- . *A Young Hunter: True African Stories*. [Hampton, VA]: Hampton Institute P, [c.1915].
- Snyder, De Witt. "Letters from the Field." 20 Apr. 1895. *Missionary* 28.9 (Sept. 1895): 410-411.
- Snyder, Mrs. [May Heginbotham Thompson]. "Letter from Luebo." 18 Oct. 1895. *Missionary* 29.2 (Feb. 1896): 78.
- "The *Southern Workman*." *Southern Workman* 27.12 (Dec. 1898): 234.
- "*Southern Workman* Prospectus 1898." *Southern Workman* 27.1 (Jan. 1898): 2.
- Spingarn, Joel E., et al. "How the Public Received the *Journal of Negro History*." *Journal of Negro History* 1.2 (Apr. 1916): 225-232.
- Stanley, Henry Morton. *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*. Ed. Dorothy Stanley. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.
- . *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State: A Story of Work and Exploration*. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1885. Detroit, MI: Negro History P, [1971].

---. *The Exploration Diaries of H. M. Stanley*. Ed. Richard Stanley and Alan Neame.

New York: Vanguard P, 1961.

---. *In Darkest Africa; or, The Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of*

Equatoria. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.

---. *Stanley's Despatches to the "New York Herald" 1871-1872, 1874-1877*. Ed.

Norman R. Bennett. Boston, MA: Boston UP, 1970.

---. *Through the Dark Continent*. 2 vols. 1878. New York: Greenwood P, 1969.

"Stanley the Bugbear of Congo Land." *New York Herald* 14 Apr. 1891: 8.

Twain, Mark. *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of his Congo Rule*. Boston, MA: P.

R. Warren, 1905. *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches and Essays,*

1891-1910. Ed. Louis J. Budd. New York: Library of America, 1992. 661-686.

---. *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. 1893. New York: Signet, 1980.

Verner, Samuel Phillips. *Pioneering in Central Africa*. Richmond, VA: Presbyterian

Committee of Publication, 1903.

"The *Voice of the Negro* for July 1905." *Voice of the Negro* 2.6 (June 1905): 364.

"Wanted—Another White Missionary for Africa." *Missionary* 35.10 (Oct. 1902): 461.

Washington, Booker T. "The African at Home." *Colored American Magazine* 17.4 (Oct.

1909): 261-273.

---. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. 14 vols. Ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W.

Smock. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989. 20 Apr. 2001

<<http://www.historycooperative.org/btw/>>.

- . "Cruelty in the Congo Country." *Outlook* 78 (8 Oct. 1904). *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. Ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989. 8:85-90.
- . "Industrial Schools as an Aid to Missions." *Kassai Herald* 6.3 (July 1906): 30-31.
- . *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe*. With the collaboration of Robert E. Park. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1912. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984.
- . *My Larger Education*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1911.
- . "The Storm Before the Calm." *Colored American Magazine* 1.4 (Sept. 1900): 199-213.
- . *The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery*. 2 vols. 1909. New York: Negro Universities P, 1969.
- . *Up From Slavery*. 1901. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. Ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972-1989. 1:211-388.
- Wells, Ida B. *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*. Ed. Jacqueline Jones Royster. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1997.
- Wheatley, Phillis. *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley*. Ed. Julian D. Mason Jr. Rev. and enlarged ed. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1989.
- Williams, George Washington. *Centennial. The American Negro, from 1776 to 1876*. Cincinnati, OH: Robert Clarke and Co., Printers, 1876.
- . *History of the Negro Race in America, from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens*. 1883. 2 vols. in 1. New York: Arno P, 1968.

- . *The History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888. New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969.
- . *Memorial Day. The Ethics of the War*. Newton, MA: Office of the Graphic, 1884. Louisville, KY: Lost Cause P, 1976.
- . *The Negro as a Political Problem*. Boston, MA: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1884.
- [---]. "On the Congo. First Impressions of the Great African State." *New York Tribune* 8 June 1890: 19.
- . *An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo*. *George Washington Williams: A Biography*. By John Hope Franklin. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985. 243-254.
- [---]. "The Opening of Africa." *New York Tribune* 24 Nov. 1889: 15.
- . *A Report on the Proposed Congo Railway*. *George Washington Williams: A Biography*. By John Hope Franklin. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985. 255-263.
- . *A Report upon the Congo-State and Country to the President of the Republic of the United States of America*. *George Washington Williams: A Biography*. By John Hope Franklin. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985. 264-279.
- Work, Monroe N. "The Passing Tradition and the African Civilization." *Journal of Negro History* 1.1 (Jan. 1916): 34-41.
- Xuma, Alfred. *Charlotte Manye: "What an Educated African Girl Can Do."* N.p.: Women's Parent Mite Missionary Society of the AME Church, 1930.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Achebe, Chinua. "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*." *The Massachusetts Review* 18 (1977): 782-794. Rev. 1987. Kimbrough 251-262.

Alvis, Joel L., Jr. *Religion and Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946-1983*. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1994.

Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988.

Baker, Houston A., Jr. *Blues, Ideology and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984.

---. *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987.

---. *Turning South Again: Re-Thinking Modernism/Re-Reading Booker T.* Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2001.

Barber, Jesse Belmont. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: Story of the Work of the Presbyterian Church USA Among the Negroes*. New York: Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church (USA), 1952.

Baylen, Joseph O. "Senator John Tyler Morgan, E.D. Morel, and the Congo Reform Association." *Alabama Review* 15.2 (Apr. 1962): 117-132.

Bedinger, Robert Dabney. "Althea Brown Edmiston: A Congo Crusader." Timmons 261-286.

Benson, Brian Joseph. "Colored American." Daniel 123-130.

---. "The Southern Workman." Daniel 350-358.

Benston, Kimberly W. *Performing Blackness: Enactments of African-American Modernism*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

- . "Performing Blackness: Re/Placing Afro-American Poetry." *Afro-American Literary Study in the 1990s*. Ed. Houston A. Baker Jr. and Patricia Redmond. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1989. 164-185.
- Berghahn, Marion. *The Image of Africa in Black American Literature*. London: Macmillan P, 1977.
- Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena Writes Back: Martin Bernal Responds to his Critics*. Ed. David Chioni Moore. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2001.
- Bernstein, Jeremy. "The Dark Continent of Henry Stanley." *New Yorker* 66 (31 Dec. 1990): 93-107.
- Bierman, John. *Dark Safari: The Life Behind the Legend of Henry Morton Stanley*. New York: Knopf, 1990.
- Bixler, Raymond W. *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Liberia*. New York: Pageant P, 1957.
- Bradford, Phillips Verner. "Re: Ota Benga Query." E-mail to the author. 4 May 2003.
- Bradford, Phillips Verner and Henry Blume. *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo*. New York: St. Martin's P, 1992.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1988.
- Bruce, Dickson D., Jr. "Ancient Africa and the Early Black American Historians, 1883-1915." *American Quarterly* 36.5 (Winter 1984): 684-699.
- . "Booker T. Washington's *The Man Farthest Down* and the Transformation of Race." *The Mississippi Quarterly* 48.2 (Spring 1995): 239-253.

- Campbell, James T. *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa*. 1995. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998.
- Carby, Hazel V. Introduction. *The Magazine Novels of Pauline Hopkins*. By Pauline E. Hopkins. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. xxix-l.
- . *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist*. New York: Oxford UP, 1987.
- Christian, Barbara. *Black Feminist Criticism: Perspectives on Black Women Writers*. New York: Pergamon P, 1985.
- Cookey, S. J. S. *Britain and the Congo Question, 1885-1913*. New York: Humanities P, 1968.
- Coupland, Reginald. *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890: The Slave Trade and the Scramble*. London: Faber and Faber, 1939. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1967.
- Crawford, John R. "Pioneer African Missionary: Samuel Phillips Verner." *Journal of Presbyterian History* 60.1 (Spring 1982): 42-57.
- Cureau, Harold G. "William H. Sheppard: Missionary to the Congo, and Collector of African Art." *Journal of Negro History* 67.4 (Winter 1982): 340-352.
- Daniel, Walter C. *Black Journals of the United States*. New York: Greenwood P, 1982.
- Davis, R. Hunt, Jr. "John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington." *Journal of African Studies* 2.4 (Winter 1975-76): 497-528.
- De Witte, Ludo. *The Assassination of Lumumba*. 1999. Trans. Ann Wright and Renee Fenby. Paperback ed. New York: Verso, 2002.

- Diedrich, Maria, Henry Louis Gates Jr., and Carl Pedersen, eds. *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage*. New York: Oxford UP, 1999.
- Doreski, C. K. "Inherited Rhetoric and Authentic History: Pauline Hopkins at the *Colored American Magazine*." Gruesser, *Unruly Voice* 71-97.
- Drake, St. Clair. Introduction. *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe*. By Booker T. Washington. 1912. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984. v-lxiv.
- . *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion*. Chicago: Third World P, 1970.
- Driver, Felix. *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.
- . "Henry Morton Stanley and his Critics." *Past and Present* 133 (Nov. 1991): 134-166.
- Dubey, Madhu. "Postmodern Geographies of the US South." *Nepantla: Views from South* 3.2 (2002): 351-371.
- duCille, Ann. "Discourse and Dat Course: Postcoloniality and Afrocentricity." *Skin Trade*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1996. 120-135.
- Duplessis, Rachel Blau. *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908-1934*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Edmiston, Althea Brown. *Maria Fearing: A Mother to African Girls*. [Atlanta, GA]: [Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church (US)], [1937].
- Edwards, Brent Hayes. "The Uses of Diaspora." *Social Text* 19.1 (Spring 2001): 45-73.
- Engs, Robert Francis. *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893*. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1999.

- Erlmann, Veit. "'A Feeling of Prejudice': Orpheus M. McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers in South Africa 1890-1898." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14.3 (Apr. 1988): 331-350.
- . "'Spectatorial Lust': The African Choir in England, 1891-1893." *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*. Ed. Bernth Lindfors. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999. 107-134.
- "Excerpt from first part of *Nightline* series on the Congo." Narr. Derek McGinty. *World News Now*. ABC. 22 Jan. 2002. Transcript.
- Fields, Barbara J. "Ideology and Race in American History." *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*. Eds. J. Moreau Kousser and James M. McPherson. New York: Oxford UP, 1982. 143-177.
- Fierce, Milfred C. *The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1919: African-American Interest in Africa and Interaction with West Africa*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1993.
- Firchow, Peter Edgerly. *Envisioning Africa: Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1999.
- Fox, Stephen. *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter*. New York: Atheneum, 1970.
- Franklin, John Hope. *George Washington Williams: A Biography*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985.
- Füllberg-Stolberg, Katja. "African Americans in Africa: Black Missionaries and the 'Congo Atrocities,' 1890-1910." Diedrich, Gates, and Pedersen 215-227.

Gaines, Kevin K. "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology as 'Civilizing Mission':

Pauline E. Hopkins on Race and Imperialism." Kaplan and Pease 433-55.

---. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*.

Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1996.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the "Racial" Self*. New

York: Oxford UP, 1987.

Gatewood, Willard. *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903*. Urbana:

U of Illinois P, 1975.

---. *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-*

1902. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1987.

Geiss, Imanuel. *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America,*

Europe and Africa. 1968. Trans. Ann Keep. New York: Africana Publishing,

1974.

Gillman, Susan. "Pauline Hopkins and the Occult: African-American Revisions of

Nineteenth-Century Sciences." *American Literary History* 8.1 (Spring 1996): 57-

82.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge,

MA: Harvard UP, 1993.

---. "Black Cultural Politics: An Interview with Paul Gilroy." Interview with Tommy

Lott. *Found Object* 4 (Fall 1994): 46-81.

Gish, Steven. *Alfred B. Xuma: African, American, South African*. New York: New York

UP, 2000.

Gomez, Michael A. *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998.

Goodson, Martia. "The Significance of 'Race of Interviewer' in the Collection and Analysis of Twentieth Century Ex-Slave Narratives: Considering the Scene." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 9.3 (Fall 1985): 126-134.

Gould, Lance. "Shining a Light on the Heart of Darkness." *Daily News* (New York) 2 Sept. 2001, sports final ed.: *New York Vue* 2+.

Gruesser, John Cullen. *Black on Black: Twentieth-Century African American Writing About Africa*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 2000.

---. "Fwd: Letter to Bruce from Hopkins." E-mail to the author. 5 Jan. 2003.

---. "Pauline Hopkins's *Of One Blood*: Creating an Afrocentric Fantasy for a Black Middle Class Audience." *Modes of the Fantastic: Selected Essays from the Twelfth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts*. Ed. Robert A. Collins and Robert A. Latham. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1995. 74-83.

---. "Taking Liberties: Pauline Hopkins's Recasting of the *Creole* Rebellion." Gruesser, *Unruly Voice* 98-118.

---, ed. *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996.

Gubar, Susan. *Racechanges: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture*. New York: Oxford UP, 1997.

Hanchard, Michael. "Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics and the African Diaspora." *Public Culture* 11.1 (1999): 245-268.

Harlan, Louis R. "Booker T. Washington and the *Voice of the Negro*, 1904-1907."

Journal of Southern History 45.1 (Feb. 1979): 45-62.

---. "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden." *American Historical Review*

71.2 (Jan. 1966): 441-467.

---. *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*. New York:

Oxford UP, 1972.

---. *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915*. New York: Oxford

UP, 1983.

Harms, Robert. "The End of Red Rubber: A Reassessment." *Journal of African History*

16.1 (1975): 73-88.

Harris, Marla. "Not Black and/or White: Reading Racial Difference in Heliodorus's

Ethiopica and Pauline Hopkins's *Of One Blood*." *African American Review* 35.3

(Fall 2001): 375-390.

Harris, Wilson. "The Frontier on Which *Heart of Darkness* Stands." *Research on African*

Literatures 12 (1981): 86-92. Kimbrough 262-268.

Hawkins, Hunt. "Mark Twain's Involvement with the Congo Reform Movement: 'A

Fury of Generous Indignation.'" *New England Quarterly* 51.2 (June 1978): 147-

175.

"Heart of Darkness: Part One—War in the Congo." Narr. Ted Koppel. *Nightline*. ABC.

21 Jan. 2002. Transcript. 4 Jan. 2003

<[http://more.abcnews.go.com/sections/nightline/dailynews/congo1-](http://more.abcnews.go.com/sections/nightline/dailynews/congo1-transcript.html)

[transcript.html](http://more.abcnews.go.com/sections/nightline/dailynews/congo1-transcript.html)>.

“Heart of Darkness: Part Three—Kisangani.” Narr. Ted Koppel. *Nightline*. ABC. 23 Jan. 2002. Transcript. 4 Jan. 2003
<<http://more.abcnews.go.com/sections/nightline/dailynews/congo3-transcript.html>>.

“Heart of Darkness: Transcript for September 7.” Narr. Ted Koppel. *Nightline*. ABC. 7 Sept. 2001. Transcript. 12 Sept. 2001
<<http://abcnews.go.com/sections/nightline/dailynews/congo1-transcript.html>>.

Heywood, Linda, ed. *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. New York: Pantheon, 1987.

Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.

Holloway, Karla F. C. *Passed On: Africa American Mourning Stories*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2002.

Holt, Rackham. *Mary McLeod Bethune: A Biography*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964.

Horne, Gerald. *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963*. Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 1986.

Horner, Mrs. Norman A. “Last Chat with a Congo Pioneer.” *Presbyterian Survey* (Sept. 1955): 28+.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. *Harlem Renaissance*. New York: Oxford UP, 1971.

Hunter, Wilma King. *Coming of Age: Hollis B. Frissell and the Emergence of Hampton Institute, 1893-1917*. Diss. Indiana University, 1982.

Jacobs, Sylvia M. *The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1981.

---, ed. *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1982.

---. "Their 'Special Mission': Afro-American Women as Missionaries to the Congo, 1894-1937." Jacobs, *Black Americans* 155-176.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

James, Joy. *Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

James, Winston. *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Verso, 1998.

Johnson, Abby Arthur, and Ronald Maberry Johnson. *Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1979.

Joyce, Donald Franklin. *Black Book Publishers in the United States: A Historical Dictionary of the Presses, 1817-1990*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1991.

---. *Gatekeepers of Black Culture: Black-Owned Book Publishing in the United States, 1817-1981*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1983.

Judy, Ronald A. T. *(Dis) Forming the American Canon: African-Arabic Slave Narratives and the Vernacular*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1993.

Kaplan, Amy E. "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture." Kaplan and Pease 3-21.

Kaplan, Amy E., and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*.

Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1997.

Kassanoff, Jennie A. "'Fate Has Linked Us Together': Blood, Gender, and the Politics of Representation in Pauline Hopkins's *Of One Blood*." Gruesser, *Unruly Voice* 158-181.

Keita, Maghan. *Race and the Writing of History: Riddling the Sphinx*. New York: Oxford UP, 2000.

Kellersberger, Julia Lake. *A Life for the Congo, the Story of Alihea Brown Edmiston*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1947.

---. *Lucy Gantt Sheppard: Shepherdess of His Sheep on Two Continents*. [Atlanta, GA]: Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church (US), n.d.

Kennedy, Pagan. *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-Century Congo*. New York: Viking, 2002.

Kimbrough, Robert, ed. *Heart of Darkness*. by Joseph Conrad. 3rd ed. New York: Norton, 1988.

Lefkowitz, Mary R., and Guy MacLean Rogers, eds. *Black Athena Revisited*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1996.

Lemelle, Sidney J., and Robin D. G. Kelley, eds. *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*. New York: Verso, 1994.

Lewis, David Levering. *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919*. New York: Henry Holt, 1993.

---. *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963*. New York: Henry Holt, 2000.

- Logan, Rayford W. *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*. Rev. and enlarged ed. of *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901*. 1954. New York: Collier, 1965.
- Lyman, Stanford M. *Militarism, Imperialism and Racial Accommodation: An Analysis of the Early Writing of Robert E. Park*. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1992.
- Marable, Manning. *African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube*. Diss. U of Maryland, 1976.
- . "Ambitious Legacy: Tuskegee's 'Missionary' Impulse and Africa During the Moton Administration, 1915-1935." Jacobs, *Black Americans* 77-93.
- . "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism." *Phylon* 35.4 (Dec. 1974): 398-406.
- . "The Pan-Africanism of Booker T. Washington: A Reappraisal." *Claflin College Review* 2 (May 1978): 1-14.
- Marks, George P. *The Black Press Views American Imperialism*. New York: Arno P, 1971.
- Mathews, Basil Joseph. *Booker T. Washington: Educator and Interracial Interpreter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1948.
- Matthews, Fred H. *Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1977.
- McHenry, Elizabeth. *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2002.
- McLynn, Frank J. *Stanley: The Making of an African Explorer*. Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House, 1990.

---. *Stanley: Sorcerer's Apprentice*. London: Constable, 1991.

Meier, August. "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press, with Special Reference to the *Colored American Magazine*." *Journal of Negro History* 38.1 (Jan. 1953): 67-90.

---. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1966.

Miller, Christopher L. *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986.

Miller, Perry. *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1956.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1998.

---. *Alexander Crummell: A Study of Civilization and Discontent*. New York: Oxford UP, 1989.

---. *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925*. 1978. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.

---. *The Wings of Ethiopia: Studies in African American Life and Letters*. Ames: Iowa State UP, 1990.

Mudimbe, V. Y. *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994.

---. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1988.

Murray, Andrew E. *Presbyterians and the Negro—A History*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1966.

- O'Brien, Colleen. "Slave Insurrections, White Anxiety, and the 'Mystic Spell of Africa' in the Fiction of Pauline Hopkins." *MLA Convention*. Hilton, New York. 29 Dec. 2002.
- Ofari, Earl. *"Let Your Motto Be Resistance": The Life and Thought of Henry Highland Garnet*. Boston, MA: Beacon P, 1972.
- Osborne, John B. "'A Disaster of the First Magnitude,' The British Congo Reform Campaign and the Dilemma of Development: 1909-1913." Unpublished essay, 2002.
- . "Wilfred G. Thesiger, Sir Edward Grey, and the British Campaign to Reform the Congo, 1905-1909." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27.1 (Jan. 1999): 59-80.
- Otten, Thomas J. "Pauline Hopkins and the Hidden Self of Race." *ELH* 59:1 (Spring 1992): 227-56.
- Painter, Nell I. *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.
- Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa, 1876-1912*. New York: Random House, 1991.
- Patterson, Martha H. "'kin o' rough jestice fer a parson': Pauline Hopkins's *Winona* and the Politics of Reconstructing History." *African American Review* 32.3 (Fall 1998): 445-460.
- Phipps, William E. *The Sheppards and Lapsley: Pioneer Presbyterians in the Congo*. Louisville, KY: Presbyterian Church (USA), 1991.
- . *William Sheppard: Congo's African-American Livingstone*. Louisville, KY: Geneva P, 2002.

- Pleck, Elizabeth Hafkin. *Black Migration and Poverty in Boston, 1865-1900*. New York: Academic P (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich), 1979.
- Posnock, Ross. *Color and Culture: Black Writers and the Making of the Modern Intellectual*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998.
- Rampersad, Arnold. *The Art and Imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1976.
- Raushenbush, Winifred. *Robert E. Park: Biography of a Sociologist*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1979.
- Redkey, Edwin S. *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1969.
- “Report Reproves Belgium in Lumumba’s Death.” *New York Times* 17 Nov. 2001, late ed. final: A5.
- Rosenberg, Emily. *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999.
- Roth, Donald F. “The ‘Black Man’s Burden’: The Racial Background of Afro-American Missionaries and Africa.” Jacobs, *Black Americans* 31-38.
- Rucker, Walter. “‘A Negro Nation Within the Nation’: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Creation of a Revolutionary Pan-Africanist Tradition, 1903-1947.” *Black Scholar* 32.3-4 (Fall/Winter 2002): 37-46.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1993. New York: Vintage, 1994.
- Samarin, William J. *The Black Man’s Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo and Ubnagi Rivers, 1880-1900*. Boulder, CO: Westview P, 1989.

- Sanneh, Lamin. *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999.
- Savage, Kirk. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1997.
- Schall, Larryetta. "William H. Sheppard: Fighter for African Rights." *Stony the Road: Chapters in the History of Hampton Institute*. Ed. Keith L. Schall. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1977.
- Schildkrout, Enid, and Curtis A. Keim, eds. *The Scramble for Art in Central Africa*. London: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Schrager, Cynthia D. "Pauline Hopkins and William James: The New Psychology and the Politics of Race." Gruesser, *Unruly Voice* 182-209.
- Seraile, William. "Black American Missionaries in Africa, 1821-1925." *Social Studies* 63 (Oct. 1972): 198-202.
- Shaloff, Stanley. *Reform in Leopold's Congo*. Richmond, VA: John Knox P, 1970.
- Sheasby, Ronald E. "Dual Reality: Echoes of Blake's Tiger in Cullen's Heritage." *CLA Journal* 39.2 (Dec. 1995): 219-227.
- Shepperson, George. "The Centennial of the West African Conference of Berlin, 1884-1885." *Phylon* 46.1 (Mar. 1985): 37-48.
- . *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyassaland Native Uprising of 1915*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1956.
- Skinner, Elliot P. *African Americans and US Policy Toward Africa, 1850-1924*. Washington, DC: Howard UP, 1992.

Stengers, Jean, and Jan Vansina. "King Leopold's Congo, 1886-1908." *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Ed. Roland Oliver and G. N. Sanderson. Vol. 6. New York: Cambridge UP, 1985. 315-358.

Stepito, Robert B. *From Behind the Veil*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983.

Sundquist, Eric J. *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1993.

Timmons, Sarah Lee, ed. *Glorious Living: Informal Sketches of Seven Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, US*. Atlanta, GA: Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church (US), 1937.

Tompkins, Jane. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860*. New York: Oxford UP, 1985.

Vansina, Jan. *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978.

---. *Living With Africa*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1994.

Vinson, T. C. *William McCutchan Morrison: Twenty Years in Central Africa*. Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1921.

Wallinger, Hanna. "Re: Pauline Hopkins." E-mail to the author. 23 Jan. 2003.

---. "Voyage Into the Heart of Africa: Pauline Hopkins and *Of One Blood*." Diedrich, Gates, and Pedersen 203-214.

Ward, Andrew. *Dark Midnight When I Rise: The Story of the Jubilee Singers who Introduced the World to the Music of Black America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000.

- Washington, Mary Helen. "Disturbing the Peace: What Happens to American Studies If You Put African American Studies at the Center?" *American Quarterly* 50.1 (1998): 1-23.
- Wharton, Ethel Taylor. *Led in Triumph*. Nashville, TN: Board of World Missions, Presbyterian Church (US), 1952.
- Willard, Carla. "Timing Impossible Subjects: The Marketing Style of Booker T. Washington." *American Quarterly* 53.4 (Dec. 2001): 624-669.
- Williams, Walter L. *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1982.
- Williamson, Joel. *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford UP, 1984.
- Wilson, Judith. "Hagar's Daughters: Social History, Cultural Heritage, and Afro-US Women's Art." *Bearing Witness: Contemporary Works by African American Women Artists*. Curator Jontyle Theresa Robinson. New York: Spelman College and Rizzoli International, 1996. 95-112.
- Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. 1951. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1971.
- Wright, George C. *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1985.
- Youngs, Tim. *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900*. New York: Manchester UP, 1994.

Zeidler, Jeanne, and Mary Lou Hultgren. “‘Things African Prove to be the Favorite Theme’: The African Collection at Hampton University.” *Art/artifact: African Art in Anthropology Collections*. 2nd ed. Ed. Arthur Danto, et al. New York: Center for African Art, 1989. 97-111.