https://doi.org/10.14195/1645-2259_24-2_1

"A Vast and Beautiful Country": Ideas of Exile, Racial Hierarchies, and Industrial Education in the Formation of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and the Congo Free State (CFS), 1832-1890[1]

Reuben A. Loffman
Queen Mary University of London, School of History
r.loffman@qmul.ac.uk
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7060-5852

Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 29/12/2023
Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 01/10/2024

Abstract. Recent literature has highlighted the close relationship between the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and the government of the Belgian Congo. Despite a libel trial in 1909, which saw the APCM face a key Belgian ally in court, historians, such as Ira Dworkin and Simon Mbau, have emphasised their co-operation following the dispute. This article adds to literature on the APCM and Belgian imperialism by exploring the beliefs they shared during their formative years and so well before the trial. While there were differences in their approaches to African societies, both saw what they considered "civilization" emanating from a core of white, male elites. Léopold II and the APCM's allies also wanted to exile those who challenged their privileges at home to the Congo. Finally, the APCM became well placed to facilitate the Belgian regime's later appetite for industrial education as it was important in many of its missionaries early schooling.

Keywords. Congo Free State (CFS), American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM), Belgian Colonialism, Africa.

Introduction

This article compares the early history of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) with that of the Congo Free State (CFS). While scholars have examined the formation of the CFS at length (DUJARDIN and ROSOUX 2009; MESQUITA 2007), the creation of the APCM has not been examined in as much detail and neither has it been set alongside Belgian imperial thought during the late nineteenth century. Yet exploring the ways in which the rhetoric, racial thinking, and educational philosophies of these

[1] I would like to thank the Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS) for awarding me with a Fellowship, which greatly helped me in the writing and researching of this article. I would also like to thank the School of History, Queen Mary University of London, for funding visits to the PHS archives as well. Thanks, also, to the Religion and Empire group for inviting me to submit this article. All errors, however, are mine alone.

institutions coincided helps explain why they collaborated with each other before and after a libel trial that saw the APCM and a key CFS ally oppose each other in court in 1909 (BENEDETTO 1996: 16).

Both the APCM and Léopold II, the Belgian monarch (r.1865-1909), saw what they considered to be "civilization" as something that radiated from a core of white men with those they identified as black or African serving in auxiliary roles (SAMARIN 2019: 41-60). The racial hierarchies that structured the APCM can be explained in a large part by referring to its origins. The APCM was part of the Presbyterian Church in the United States' (PCUS') mission network. The PCUS was founded in the New South following the Civil War (DWORKIN 2013: 203). Although it had African American members, they enjoyed scant representation in the Church's governing hierarchy (SWANN and REESE 2007: 50-51). And so, as important as William Henry Sheppard (1865-1927) was to the APCM, American Presbyterian work in the Congo would not have begun were it not for Samuel Norwell Lapsley's (1866-1892) involvement given the racialised mission hierarchies characteristic of PCUS outreach in Africa during the early nineteenth century. Sheppard had repeatedly petitioned the PCUS to establish a Congolese mission, for example, but to no avail prior to Lapsley's arrival. When Lapsley died, and an African American headed the APCM, the PCUS sent William McCutchen Morrison (1867-1918), a white man, to lead the APCM in 1896, as soon as it could (MORRISON 2021: 13). The frequency of missionary deaths was such that such upending of racial hierarchies did occasionally happen in central African missions, especially between the 1860s and early 1890s[2]. But, by 1914, the earlier willingness of white-dominated mission boards to send African American missionaries had declined and so the APCM's experience in the 1890s would not be repeated until much later on[3].

Like the APCM, Léopold II also believed in white, androcentric hierarchies even if he did have African American acquaintances for a time, notably in the form of George Washington Williams (1849-1891), a soldier, minister, and politician (ELNAIEM 2021). Williams initially supported the king's imperial project yet he turned against it soon after he visited the CFS in 1890, which meant that the Belgian monarch ended up with few if any African American allies by 1891, when the APCM arrived in the Congo (FRANKLIN 1998: 189, 210). Léopold II relied heavily on white men to lead his state. As such, his CFS quickly came to exemplify the white, male governed hierarchy that was so prevalent among colonial regimes in Africa at the time, in

[2] I am very grateful to one of my referees for this point.

[3] I am very grateful to one of my referees for this point.

which Africans were not promoted to metropolitan executive roles despite playing a vital role in the state's realization[4]. Unsurprisingly, the king had a strong preference for Belgian administrators and so nationality also played an important role in determining who he promoted to executive positions. And it goes almost without repeating that there were no black Belgians represented in the upper echelons of the CFS' government[5]. Very few colonial schools or mission boards helped Africans to pursue metropolitan leadership positions within imperial governments. The Baptist Mission Society (BMS) was relatively exceptional in training Africans for leadership within its own ranks during the period in question (BURROUGHS 2022)[6]. Even then, though, such training rarely if ever led them to securing jobs in the British colonial government.

Belgian imperialists relied on missionaries to educate a low-paid and/or unpaid labour force to further their exploitation of Congolese resources. During its foundation phase in the nineteenth century, the APCM set itself up for a much closer collaboration with Belgian colonialists after the CFS ended in 1908 given that its missionaries were already familiar with industrial education by that time (MARKOWITZ 1973: 53). Industrial education, in Angela Zimmerman's words, "did not mean vocational schooling but rather imparting an aptitude and enthusiasm for physical labor" that dovetailed neatly with colonial exploitation (ZIMMERMAN 2010: 22). In this regard, the collaboration between Léopold II and the APCM mirrored the situation that Zimmerman found in Togoland under German rule in which missionaries embraced industrial education even if they did not do so as wholeheartedly as the APCM did in the Congo (ZIMMERMAN 2010: 1). The APCM had been heavily influenced by the industrial education curriculums that were taught in the US by Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) after Sheppard, who had attended such institutions, co-founded the Mission in 1891 (DWORKIN 2017: 34). Sheppard continued to recruit African Americans from HBCUs, such as Alonzo (1879-1954) and Althea Brown Edmiston (1874-1937), into the APCM (HILL 2020: 18). Consequently, the collaboration between the CFS and the APCM accelerated as the twentieth century progressed and especially with regard to industrial education.

---

[4] For more on African agency during Léopold's conquest of the Congo, see: GORDON 2017: 133-168.

[5] Neither the CFS nor its successor, the Belgian Congo, had a figure such as Félix Éboué (1884-1944), e.g., a black person who rose through the ranks to become governor of an entire colony, as there was in French Africa: see: WEINSTEIN 1972. The Presbyterians also had nationality in mind when espousing "civilization", as they believed in "righteous American Protestant civilization", see: COLEMAN 1980: 43.

[6] I would like to thank one of my anonymous referees for this insight. Examples of Congolese people who were sent back to leadership positions can be found in BURROUGHS 2022.

Ideas of exile also played an important if more ambiguous role in the founding of both the APCM and the CFS. Léopold II, ever keen to conflate his personal interests with those of the Belgian state, believed that the idea of a territory that could be used as an outlet for those whose ambitions were frustrated in the metropole had rhetorical appeal. For example, one of his closest allies, Henry Wellington Wack, reported that he had "found a colony for the surplus population of the small state of which he is King" (WACK 1905: 3). To be sure, the King's own utterances pertaining to colonization as a means of decreasing social pressures amid a rapidly industrialising economy was not the most common way in which he publicly justified his imperial project. The rhetoric of "civilization" was often front and centre of his justifications for plundering Central Africa. As Wack noted at the 1876 Conference, for example, Léopold opined that he wished to "open to civilization the only part of the globe to which it not yet penetrated" (WACK 1905: 9). The idea of exile was arguably more important to some of the APCM's allies, though.

Rather than an outlet for frustrated ambition, the APCM's contacts in the US political realm, especially John Tyler Morgan (1824-1927), wanted to use the Congo as a place to which African Americans could be exiled (FRY 1985: 329-346). Morgan believed that the colonization of the Congo was a means of dealing with the problematic race relations that had resulted from the US' failed reconstruction era. This is not to argue that Lapsley and Sheppard were colonists, rather that the APCM's progress was speeded by allies who were. The Congo appears to be rather exceptional with regard to American Presbyterian mission work during this time since its northern equivalent, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA), and its missions in Cameroon and Gabon, never collaborated with those who brought up the dream of reviving "colonization"[7].

None of the arguments presented in this article are meant to deny the very real differences between the APCM's formation and that of the CFS. For instance, Léopold II embarked on his conquest of the Congo in a large part in search of wealth. Guy Vanthemsche (2012: 17) described the acquisition of a sustainable source of independent revenue as the king's "basic motive" - even if other factors played into what Vincent Viaene (2008: 750, 752) termed his colonial "doctrine." Just as he imagined that extracting resources from a Central African Java would act as a new budget the growing Belgian bourgeoisie could "devour", he was also acutely aware of what he himself could exploit (VIAENE 2008: 750). Conversely, Protestant evangelism, or,

[7] I am grateful to one of my anonymous referees for this insight.

in a leading APCM member's own words, the bearing of "the Gospel of the grace of God", stood at the core of the APCM's mission in Africa (BEDINGER 1920: 17). And, while the APCM enjoyed consequential connections to prominent statesmen, it was *facilitated* by them and not *driven* by them. As in Zimmerman's (2010: 163) Togo case, missionaries occasionally took umbrage against the colonial state. The North German Mission in particular "rejected the idea that they should help impart labor discipline, as the state demanded", just as the APCM eventually campaigned against CFS atrocities (ZIMMERMAN 2010: 163).

Their differences notwithstanding, this article explores the similarities between the APCM's origins and those of Léopoldian imperialism by examining as wider variety of sources as is possible. Given Léopold II's sparse "imperial preaching", the material for this article is limited as far as the king's own utterances are concerned (VIAENE 2008: 742). Yet he nonetheless made a range of revealing statements concerning his CFS project that help us to reconstruct his thinking on the matter. Some of these utterances were recorded by his allies, who published them in English and French publications. One of the foremost examples of these was Wack's (1905) book entitled *The Story of the Congo*. Similarly, Presbyterian motives for undertaking a mission specifically to the Congo are sparsely adumbrated in the relevant archives. Instead, missionaries involved in the APCM tend to take idea of a Presbyterian mission to Central Africa for granted (SCHALOFF 1970). At the same time, there is not nearly as much material pertaining to the *early* lives of some of the key Presbyterian missionaries, such as Sheppard, as there is about their later mission careers. Yet, much as with Léopold II, elements of early APCM missiological thought can be adduced in part from published works, not least autobiographies, by senior church members notably Sheppard and John Leighton Wilson (1809-1885). Minutes of key committee meetings are also employed to help reconstruct American Presbyterian thinking about the emergence of their Congo mission[8].

1. "Restoring the Condition of the Working Classes": Léopold II's "Colonial Doctrine", White Politicians in the New South, and Ideas of Exile

At first glance, the arrival of the APCM in the CFS in 1891 represented the meeting of two distinctly unrelated projects (PHIPPS 2002: 17). Rather

[8] Minutes can overlook areas of disagreement as those who record meetings seek to avoid any ambiguities but can nonetheless provide important resources for reconstructing the past, see: GIBSON 2022: 643-669.

than being motivated by evangelization, as the APCM was, Léopold II and his CFS project were ostensibly animated by a very different set of concerns. In part, the Belgian monarch had statecraft in mind when conceiving of his "colonial doctrine" (VIAENE 2008: 751). The amputation of Limberg and Luxembourg from Belgium in 1839 in particular had meant that he believed that his nascent state had been rendered incomplete (VIAENE 2008: 753). Initially, therefore, he wanted to "complete" Belgium in Europe by invading several majority-Catholic provinces of the Netherlands in 1854 (VIAENE 2008: 753). Yet, this proved unworkable after Napoleon III (r.1852-1870) failed to reassure him that he would not face a French military challenge to his plans (HOCHSCHILD 2019: 23). As European "compensation" for "lost" Belgian lands proved impossible, Léopold II came to believe that Belgium would have to be "completed" overseas (VIAENE 2008: 754). Consequently, he planned on leasing the Philippines from Spain, but this also proved unworkable (GREINDI 1962). It was only later, after having read about Henry Morton Stanley's (1841-1904) and Verney Lovett Cameron's (1844-1894) journeys there, that Léopold II settled on central Africa as a site for what became the CFS (EMERSON 1979: 74).

Yet, alongside his desire for territorial "compensation", Léopold II's colonial "doctrine" also emerged from what he argued a colony could do to forestall a socialist revolution in Belgium. After a relatively popular workers' revolt in 1886, which shocked many Belgian elites, the king wrote that "economic and colonial expansion . . . would improve the condition of [Belgian] working classes [and] restore peace" (VIAENE 2008: 751). According to this line of argument, the king's rationale was that new Congolese markets, and the budgets with which to engage them, could be "devoured" by those Belgians who were struggling to satisfy their ambitions at home - even if those markets ultimately ended up being marginal to the Belgian political economy during that time (VANTHEMSCHE 2012: 152). Viaene (2008: 751) therefore argues that "imperial policy and social policy were interdependent in Léopold's view."

The idea of using a colony as an outlet for those people who metropolitan elites believed might revolt "at home" was echoed in part during the formation of the APCM. Lapsley, and his family's connections, especially to reactionary southern American politicians such as Morgan, were crucial to the APCM's creation given these contacts helped the missionaries to gain an audience with Léopold II in the first place (PHIPPS 2002: 17). Morgan was one of the most important APCM contacts during its formative phase. He had quickly become disenchanted with the politics of the New South. He

believed that African Americans were frequently using the ballot box to punish white southerners and depreciate white peoples' socio-economic status there (FRY 1985: 339). As such, he thought that US colonization was a viable means of facilitating the exile of African Americans and in so doing resolve what he saw as competition from them for white property and social standing in the New South (FRY 1985: 339). To further this policy, he joined the American Colonization Society (ACS), which had played a pivotal role in the US colonization of Liberia earlier in the nineteenth century[9]. The minutes of the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the ACS, for example, show that Morgan was well aware of the Liberia case and so he likely had this very much in mind when approached by the Lapsley family with regard to the Congo.

Morgan had given speeches and published papers in which he extemporised at length about the opportunities that he believed the CFS afforded – the Congo being a place he understood to have been "a vast an beautiful country abounding in natural resources" (MORGAN 1890: 385-398). In 1890, for instance, Morgan (1890: 385-398) wrote that: "The organization of the Congo Free State has secured to the negro race the free and unobstructed opportunity … to prove, if they can do so, that they are capable of breaking the chains of slavery riveted on their limbs, by their own kindred, under a slave code ordained by their own free will." He saw in the APCM an opportunity to advance his own interest in US colonization of the Congo and by extension the resolution of his understanding of a race-relations problem in the New South.

Morgan was joined in his belief in the virtues of American colonization by Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891), who had been the US Minister to Belgium under President Abraham Lincoln's administration in 1860 (MEYER 1971: 21). Like Morgan, Sanford believed that a Congolese colony could act as an outlet "for the enterprise and ambition of our coloured people in more congenial fields than politics" (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44). As Adam Hochschild (1998: 44) has observed, Sanford and Morgan worked seamlessly together to ensure that Léopold II's claims to the Congo River Basin were recognised by the US. This cooperation was most clearly evinced by Sanford's drafting of a resolution Morgan eventually submitted to the senate in support of Léopold II's Congo claims in 1884 (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44). Given that many senators did not want to associate themselves with colonialism, Morgan and Sanford sought to euphemise the Léopold II's project by using the idea of the king organizing Belgian "protection" over sovereign African

[9] AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY 1885: 15.

kingdoms (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44). They even tried to equate Léopold II's proposed CFS with states' rights under the US system of government, with individual African kingdoms envisioned enjoying similar levels of sovereignty to American states (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44).

Morgan introduced Lapsley to Stanford who in turn had invited Lapsley to Brussels to meet, among others, the Belgian king (PHIPPS 2002: 17). Yet, Stanford and Morgan's idea of using the CFS as a US settler colony in the Liberian mould would never come to fruition. Lapsley's death meant that any hope on Morgan and Sanford's part that African Americans would be exiled to the Congo would be impossible to organise given their reluctance to work with an African American, namely Sheppard. The 'red rubber' atrocities (c.1895-1913) proved to be the final nail in the coffin of a second Liberia in central Africa (HILL 2020: 18). But the fact that no African American colony in central Africa emerged does not undermine the important role the idea of exile played in the APCM's formation. While it played a smaller part in the formation of the CFS, the idea of exiling frustrated Belgians to the Congo or at least giving them new colonial budgets to "devour" materialised. Even if Belgian agricultural settlers in the Congo, as one example of settler group in the colony, never competed effectively with big business or African labour ideas of exile and re-settlement were nonetheless important organizing concepts for the Belgian monarch (JEWSIEWICKI 1979: 559-171).

2. "Here I am, Send Me": Racial Hierarchies, African Auxiliaries, and the Formation of the Free State and the APCM

While the idea of exile arguably played an ambiguous role in the CFS' formation, racial hierarchies were absolutely central to its eventual manifestation. When the Belgian king and those who advocated for the annexation of the Congo with him, known colloquially as the *congolâtres*, evoked the idea of "enlightening others", they had the idea of "the natural superiority of the white race" very much in mind (VIAENE 2008: 756-757). However many Congolese were recruited in the CFS' army, the *Force Publique*, for example, there were no African people at the helm of the Léopoldean project; at least not in the metropole (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 66; REYBROUCK 2014: 76). For instance, by the turn of the century, there were four Belgian *secrétaires généraux* (general secretaries) who "headed the administrative establishment" of the CFS and none of them had African heritage (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 88). To evince this point, the abovementioned gen-

eral secretaries included: Colonel Maximilien-Charles Strauch (1829-1911), who maintained an "international questions" brief, Edmond van Eetvelde (1852-1925), who dealt with foreign affairs, and Hubert-Jean van Neuss (1839-1904), the CFS's financial director (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 86-87). While not one of the four best known CFS secretaries, Colonel Charles Liebrechts (1858-1938) was another important administrator given his role in dealing with internal Congolese matters, such as public works and agriculture (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 87).

Although the CFS administration changed over time, it never employed black people in executive, metropolitan positions. Arguably the most senior African the CFS employed was Hamed bin Mohammed al-Murjabi, better known as Tippu Tip (1837-1905) (ROES 2010: 655). Tippu Tip was made governor of a province called "Stanley Falls", which was situated in eastern Congo, in 1887 (LAING 2017: 231-232). His tenure as governor was cut short, though, by allegations that he was involved Edmund Barttelot's (1859-1888) death as he had failed to deliver the requisite number of porters to the Brevet Major on his way to "relieve" Emin Pasha (1840-1892) during the infamous Relief Expedition from 1886 to 1890 (LAING 2017: 242). Tippu Tip ended up leaving Stanley Falls "definitively between March and May" 1890 (LAING 2017: 242). As for the *Force Publique*, it was typically directed by white commanders such as Francis Dhanis (1861-1909), with Africans, such as Ngongo Lutete (1863-1893), playing fundamental but subordinate roles (MOHUN 2023: 69; GORDON 2014: 5-33). While white officers learned much from their African counterparts, such as the erection of stockades to protect their forces, they never promoted them to positions in the upper echelons of the army - even during the late colonial period (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 74; GORDON 2017: 153).

At first, Sheppard's presence marks the APCM out as quite distinct from the CFS' emphasis on white, male "enlightenment" given that his co-founding of the Mission meant that the Presbyterians did not have a completely white executive hierarchy. But, much as Ira Dworkin has observed, the church had repeatedly refused Sheppard's application to work in the CFS until Lapsley had volunteered (DWORKIN 2013: 183). As a consequence, the black leadership of the APCM was an historical accident caused by Lapsley's untimely death in 1892 (DWORKIN 2017: 49). While Léopold II and the APCM might have had slightly different ideas about what "civilization" was, they both envisaged it radiating from a white, governing elite. Africans, such as Tippu Tip, and African Americans, such as Sheppard, were vital parts of both the CFS and the APCM organisations respectively, yet their decision-making

powers were either resented, undermined, or even straightforwardly challenged by their respective white-dominated hierarchies (DWORKIN 2017: 53).

While the hierarchies the constituted the CFS were in many respects a product of the hardening of race-relations in Europe in the late in the nineteenth century (PAVLAKIS 2016: 13), those involved in American Presbyterian mission work had a longer history. Although the PCUS later discouraged the recruitment of African Americans from 1910 to 1958, the idea of a white governing elite incorporating African American missionaries in subservient roles featured strongly in Presbyterian mission work when it began in the nineteenth century (HILL 2020: x). The most crucial early influence on the ways in which the Presbyterians organized their work abroad was the Liberian mission, also known as the "West Africa Mission." This Mission was pioneered by Reverends John B. Pinney (1833-1878), Oren K. Canfield (d.1842), and Jonathan P. Alward (d.1841) (BFM 1840: 10). However, Wilson, from a Scots-Irish and Welsh colony of Presbyterians in South Carolina, went to Liberia shortly after the abovementioned pioneers did (BUCHER 1976: 293). The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had hired Wilson in part because they believed that his southern upbringing had inured him against what they understood as the "African" climate (BUCHER 1976: 294).

By 1838, Wilson believed that the evils of the American colonization project in Liberia outweighed any of its benefits but he never regretted the Liberia mission that he understood to be quite separate from the ACS' work (BUCHER 1976: 295). Moreover, the "West Africa Mission" had convinced Wilson that African missions were best organized in racial hierarchies with white people directing African Americans in the field. Once it had been formed in 1837, the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM), which by that time had replaced the old ABCFM, stated that it believed that it was dangerous to have too many stations for those it racialised as white on the West African coast (BFM 1842: 11; SHENK 2004: 1). Instead, white accommodation was sought on higher lands (BFM 1842: 11). Such living arrangements were established in response to the staggeringly high attrition rates during the Liberia mission, which saw three of the first five Presbyterian missionaries die on it after less than five months (McARVER 1997: 139). At the same time, the task of establishing contact with inland peoples, such as the Grand Sesters, was given to "coloured men" (BFM 1842: 11). The BFM believed that: "The constitution of coloured men of the Southern States has nothing to apprehend from the climate of Africa" (BFM, cited in: McARVER 1997: 139).

This division of labour and accommodation between those the church hierarchy racialised as white and it categorized as "coloured" remained important after the founding of the Liberia mission. In his autobiography, for example, Sheppard (1917: 18) remembered that he was asked throughout his training if he wanted to be a missionary in Africa. The fact that an African American was asked repeatedly if they wanted to serve in Africa, despite Sheppard's own acknowledgement that he had only a "vague" knowledge of the continent, illustrated this increasingly racialised Presbyterian iteration of missiological thought in the nineteenth century - albeit that it combined with Sheppard's own "regnant desire to go to Africa" (SHEPPARD 1917: 19; DWORKIN 2013: 184). The involvement of African Americans in the Congo and Liberia projects was accelerated by the reluctance on the part of white church members to answer the church's repeated calls to mission (DWORKIN 2013: 185).

What marks out many of the concluding remarks of the BFM's early Annual Reports is the Board's repeated scolding of members for not volunteering in enough numbers to sustain its cause. The reasons for this reluctance to take part in missionary activities were likely numerous. American synods wanted to expand their own congregations and must have felt that they had little surplus labour to spare in foreign mission fields. Likewise, the idea of missionary work was unwelcome in the eyes of many Presbyterians during the mid-nineteenth century. Many church members led comfortable lives in the US, for example, and were also aware of the rates of missionary mortality in Africa, which may not have endeared them to mission work in the continent. The relatively low recruitment of missionaries meant that the BFM continually had to ask for donations and staff (BFM 1841: 22). A similar challenge presented itself to Presbyterian missionaries in Gabon around the same time in that Corisco Island, where they based themselves, "proved no more healthy than the mainland" (CAMPBELL 1978: 121).

What PCUS racial thinking in the late nineteenth century meant was that, while Sheppard's application for mission was welcomed, an African American leading a mission on their own was anathemas to it. Rather than the availability of new funds, it was the emergence of Lapsley, a white man interested in central African mission work, which proved decisive in breaking the deadlock in establishing a PCUS mission to the Congo. Lapsley was fortuitous because that year, 1889, the General Assembly wanted to invest in causes it believed to have been important and missions were an integral part of that investment (BFM 1841: 13). As such, the General Assembly minutes also spoke of a "white licentiate" who was "willing to enter upon this [mis-

sionary] work" (PHS 1889: 611). The language of the General Assembly in this matter supports Stanley Shaloff's (1970: 17) argument that "the project would remain stillborn until a qualified *white* volunteer agreed to accompany him as supervisor of the mission [my emphasis]."

Once Lapsley came forward, saying: "Here I am, send me", the APCM was speedily organised (PHS 1889: 611). Like Sheppard, Lapsley had also been a licentiate of the Tuscaloosa Presbytery (MBAU 2020: 31). And this explains the fact that the minutes of the General Assembly in 1889 cited "the overture from professors of our Tuscaloosa Institute, asking [for] the early establishment of a mission to the Congo Free State of Africa" as important in the APCM's formation (PHS 1889: 611). Unlike Sheppard, Lapsley was the son of former slaveholders in Anniston, Alabama (MBAU 2020: 33). His father was a judge and so highly respected within the church at the time that he became the first Presbyterian layman to be elected as a moderator of the General Assembly, the most senior position available in the church hierarchy (PHIPPS 2002: 12).

Lapsley Sr. was a repentant slaveholder and constantly urged his fellow PCUS members to show more understanding and empathy with their co-religionists in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) on this issue (PHIPPS 2002: 12). It was for this reason that his son, 'Sam' Lapsley, taught African Americans near Selma from the age of twelve (PHIPPS 2002: 12). Lapsley was reputedly a brilliant student. He was considered by the President of the University of Alabama, Burwell B. Lewis, to be "the most outstanding of any student since the Civil War" (PHIPPS 2002: 11-12). Phipps (2002: 13) suggested that Lapsley and Sheppard were equals in terms of the governance of the APCM. They would both get a salary of $500, which was admittedly remarkable given the fact that the Civil War was hardly a distant memory at that time (PHIPPS 2002: 13). This was indeed a step forward for the PCUS. Yet, it is worth repeating that without Lapsley's involvement, the APCM would never have been formed.

Seeing the APCM as promoting a largely white hierarchy revises an older historiography that emphasised the PCUS' commitment to a more reformed, egalitarian set of racial attitudes after the Civil War (SHALOFF 1970: 13). According to Phipps (2002: 11), Sheppard's main obstacle in establishing a Congo mission was not racial prejudice but funding, much as it was for Presbyterian missions in Cameroon and Gabon[10]. The Presbyterians, so Phipps' (2002: 11) argument goes, had tried to get money by establishing a joint

[10] I am grateful to one of my anonymous referees for the information about Cameroon and Gabon.

mission to Africa between the PCUS and the PCUSA but attempts to broker a deal repeatedly failed. Although there is some truth in this observation, this section has argued that Phipps' and Shaloff's views were more optimistic than the weight of evidence suggests. While there was some parity of power relations between African Americans and their white counterparts, white American Presbyterians, such Wilson, believed that they alone were best placed to *govern* missionary work in Africa with African Americans tasked with doing the day-to-day preaching.

3. White Paternalism, Industrial Education, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and Education in the Congo Under Léopoldian Rule

Given Wilson's qualified inclusion of an African American in his conception of mission work, black education became a significant part of Presbyterian overseas projects. Since the 1830s, HBCUs had dominated African American higher education (BETSEY 2017: 1). And one of the most important of these relative to the founding of the APCM was the Hampton Institute given it schooled Sheppard for a time (CLENDENEN, COLINS, and DUIGNAN 1966: 63). Like many HBCUs, Hampton was founded by retired Union General, Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839-1893). It was founded in 1868. Armstrong was a child of missionaries who had worked in Hawaii and someone who Sheppard later described as being his "model of manhood" (ZAKI 2007: 1; SHEPPARD 1917: 17). While he was lionised by many Hampton alumni, Armstrong was very much "a man of his times who shared the perspective of his class and generation … This was a class of men and women who believed in … the superiority of their beliefs and practices" (ZAKI 2007: 1). Hoda Zaki (2007: 1) observed that the class from which Armstrong came "believed that a natural hierarchy existed in the social order, and that they as a class were fittest to lead." In short, in Benedict Carton's (2009: 61) words, Armstrong was an "exponent of white paternalism." Armstrong even went as far as debating the supposed merits of racial diffusion theory that "posited … that only the West and its Christian soldiers … could rescue the benighted savages" (CARTON 2009: 61-62).

As Armstrong fervently believed that industrial education would lift African Americans out of poverty, labour became the cornerstone of the Hampton model (ENGS 1999: 80). Although Armstrong's ideas about industrial education in the 1860s did not entirely correspond with Hampton's curricu-

lum at the *end* of the nineteenth century, there were many similarities (ENGS 1999: 80). While Armstrong had envisaged a considerable amount of classical education, which is largely to say the study of mathematics and Greek, alongside manual labour, it was the latter that came to predominate at Hampton (ENGS 1999: 80). The idea of an institution advocating a curriculum based largely on manual labour served as a model for black education in the US in part because it had its own press that promoted its achievements (WELCH 2018: 7). Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) took Armstrong's principle of promoting manual labour and established Tuskegee University in Alabama in 1881, with it thereafter becoming central to his thinking on black pedagogy (CHANDLER and POWELL 2018: 7).

Alongside Tuskegee and Hampton, the Tuskaloosa Institute, later Stillman College, was another very important HBCU relative to the founding of the APCM. The minutes of the General Assembly of 1889 show that the Executive Committee was approach by the Professors of our Tuskaloosa Institute and others "asking [for] the early establishment of a mission in the Congo Free State of Africa" (PHS 1889: 611). The "Tuskaloosa" (Tuscaloosa) Institute was established in 1889. It was founded largely by Rev. Dr. Charles Stillman (1810-1875), the clerk of the Tuscaloosa presbytery, who believed that, in spite of having supported the Confederacy, that the PCUS should teach the "unfettered Gospel to blacks" (ABERNETHY 2012: 72). Stillman had managed to make his vision of training black ministers a reality by 1876, when the Institute first opened (ABERNETHY 2012: 74). As Barrett Abernethy (2012: 79) suggested, the Institute got off to a rough start as there were initially only six students and it was terrifically under-resourced. Yet, this situation was resolved by the work of those who shared Stillman's vision, such Dr. B. T. Lacy. Lacy had travelled widely to raise funds for the Institute that would later bear the name of its founder; Stillman, once he died in 1895 (ABERNETHY 2012: 79; PHIPPS 2002: 9).

While not as initially important as Stillman, Fisk University was another Reconstruction-era HBCU that was relevant to the emergence of the APCM. Althea Brown Edmiston graduated from Fisk in 1901, for example, and went on to do wide-ranging and important service for the APCM (HILL 2020: ix). Fisk was founded in 1866 and until 1875 was housed in old Federal barracks (COHEN 2001: 9). It was named after General Clinton Fisk (1828-1890) of the Freedmen's Bureau who played a vital role in the acquiring of the barracks (COHEN 2001: 7-8). Although Fisk had been key in founding the eponymous institution, the American Missionary Association (AMA) was also important. AMA missionaries John Ogden (1824-1910), Erastus Milo Cravath

(1833-1900), and Edward Parmelee Smith (1827-1876) had wanted to build a place for "the education and training of young men and women irrespective of colour" (COHEN 2001: 7). Ogden became the first President of Fisk, overseeing its transition to university status in 1867 (COHEN 2001: 8).

By the time the APCM was formed in 1890, a number of HBCUs were established that either had trained or would end up training African Americans involved in the APCM. Hampton, Stillman, Tuskegee, and Fisk were some of many such institutions. The idea of manual labour was central to most of these establishments. Even if they had initially taught a range of other subjects, such as maths and English, the emphasis on manual labour, which steadily became synonymous with industrial education, grew rapidly by the end of the nineteenth century. For all its importance to the APCM's work later on, medicine would hardly feature in the HBCUs or at least few if any pioneering Presbyterians took such courses. The first two Presbyterian medical missionaries, DeWitt Clinton Synder (1859-1919) and Rev. Lucius A. DeYampert (1877-1952), were not trained doctors at all and it was only in 1906 that a trained practitioner was send to the Congo (BENEDETTO 1996: 38). Rather, it was industrial education, seen by many missionaries as a crucial means of social uplift, which would become so important in the network of mission stations the APCM constructed in the Congo (HILL 2020: 19).

Sheppard's own biography testifies to the centrality of the HBCUs in APCM pedagogy. The young Sheppard began his education in 1874 at Waynesboro's "public coloured school", which gave him a relatively rounded education and included subjects such as arithmetic, geography, and grammar (PHIPPS 2002: 4). After he left the Waynesboro school, he continued his education informally with Dr. S. H. Henkel, an officer in the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton and local dentist, in the county seat of Augusta (PHIPPS 2002: 4; CARTON 2009: 59). Following his time with the Dr. Henkel and his family, Sheppard worked as a waiter at Covington until, by 1880, when he was fifteen, he had saved up enough money to go to what was then the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute (CARTON 2009: 59; SHEPPARD 1917: 16).

While Sheppard is sometimes considered a Hampton alumnus, he completed his degree at the Tuscaloosa Institute (Stillman College) where he studied under Pastor McCutchen (CARTON 2009: 66). Sheppard wrote in his autobiography later on that McCutchen "was deeply interested in me" (SHEPPARD 1917: 17). The pastor had founded a seminary within Stillman in 1877 with the express intention of training African Americans to become missionaries in Africa (PHIPPS 2002: 9). The Tuscaloosa curriculum

was broader than the one at Hampton given its founding purpose of training each of its African American students to be a "thoroughly furnished scholar" (ABERNETHY 2012: 79). As such, while there, Sheppard studied theology, homiletics, moral philosophy, and the philosophy of the mind, as well as literature, physiology, and mathematics (PHIPPS 2002: 9). And he eventually became the first Tuscaloosa graduate to engage in overseas mission work (HILL 2002: 48). Yet Tuscaloosa was in many respects the exception that proved the rule that HBCUs were places that increasingly taught manual labour as the nineteenth century wore on.

The HBCUs' emphasis on industrial education matched the CFS's desire to train "French-speaking artisans" (YATES 1980: 35). Most CFS education was outsourced to missionaries with Catholics having a particularly important role given Léopold's general suspicion of Protestant evangelists[11]. Marc Depaepe observed that: "The official school colony for boys in Boma was even part of the army … The number of times pupils were whipped in punishment cannot be counted" (DEPAEPE 2017: 10). More than voraciously and cruelly punishing pupils, the CFS administration placed a particular emphasis "on manual labour in agriculture" (DEPAEPE 2017: 10). The abovementioned school in Boma, for example, was a vocational facility and one whose curriculum would have mirrored those taught in Hampton in many key respects, not least in its emphasis on manual labour (DEPAEPE 2017: 11).

Many missionaries working in the CFS did not want to teach industrial education-based curriculums as exemplified in the Boma school because they believed that it would lead to graduates finding jobs other than those of being catechists and evangelists (YATES 1980: 34). However, the APCM was different given the profound influence of HBCUs on Sheppard, their co-founder and de-facto leader after Lapsley's death in 1892 (HILL 2020: 17-46). Rather than ignore the 1890 and 1892 Education Acts, which placed a high degree of emphasis on agricultural and industrial training, the APCM actively embraced them (YATES 1980: 34). The evidence for the collaboration between the APCM and the Free State in industrial education comes not just in the form of Sheppard but his encouragement to his fellow missionaries to open an industrial school at the Presbyterian station of Ibanche in 1905 (HILL 2020: 21). The industrial school at Ibanche was not a CFS imposition on the APCM but rather a project that its leader, Alonzo Edmiston, a Stillman graduate, actively "treasured" and as a means to contribute to the State's development (HILL 2020: 22, 26).

[11] Protestant missionaries were sometimes viewed as a "5th column for British imperial interests", see: MAXWELL 2008: 332.

Conclusion

Industrial tutelage eventually became a very important part of pedagogy in the Congo, especially after the CFS had been transferred to the Belgian parliament in 1908. Victor Fernández Soriano has argued that Belgian officials justified forced labour by claiming it was educative in the period from 1933 to 1960 (SORIANO 2018: 292-314). The Belgian emphasis on African industrial education – and especially physical labor – continued to be mirrored in the APCM's curricula. The Hampton model remained influential on the APCM until the Great Depression and in some cases even beyond the global financial cataclysm. Sheppard had come to the Congo with the Hampton curricula very much in mind in the 1890s and recruited missionaries from HBCUs, such Alonzo Edmiston, who earnestly propounded it. The growing Hampton emphasis industrial education was made manifest in the CFS in the Ibanche station in particular when it was completed by 1898 and again once it was rebuilt in 1905 after being ransacked by the Kuba (HILL 2020: x).

Alongside the continued emphasis on industrial education, this article has also highlighted the importance of white, male hierarchies in the formation of both the CFS and the APCM. Each organisation would not have been able to function without African and/or African Americans yet both sets of hierarchies privileged white leadership. The sharing of ideas about race and racial hierarchies culminated when the APCM began to discourage the recruitment of African American missionaries in any position in 1910 to accommodate their Belgian overlords. Much like in the case of industrial education, white hierarchies remained in place in both the Belgian Congo and the APCM nearly until the very end of the colonial period. The local Presbyterian church in the Congo became independent of the APCM in 1970 and so eschewed a white hierarchy that had lasted doggedly throughout the colonial period (WILKERSON 2023). Likewise, the Belgian Congo may have allowed a cadre of Africans into higher bureaucratic positions by the late colonial period but, even then, none would undertake roles that would see them author policies that ever clashed with those of their colonial overlords. The issue of Africanization of Belgian hierarchies rose to national prominence during the mutiny of the Force Publique in July 1960, caused in a large part by the insistence of presiding officers that white leadership of the army would continue despite decolonization (YOUNG 1965: 260).

Unlike white, male hierarchies and industrial education, ideas of exile remained somewhat particular to the nineteenth century in Congolese terms. In a large part due to the 'red rubber' atrocities, any plans involving the CFS becoming an African American colony, or a repository of potentially revolu-

tionary Belgians, never materialised. This should not diminish the importance that the conception of a settler state in central Africa had in the minds of influential southern politicians such as Morgan or Stanford. The assistance they provided was vital in facilitating the APCM's residency in the CFS during its early days. Indeed, they would not have been able to legally go to the CFS without Sanford's introduction of Sheppard and Lapsley to Léopold II. Rather than ideas of exile, both the Belgian Congo and the APCM continued to collaborate in other areas and these would most obviously be manifested in the fields of education and medicine.

Sources and Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA (PHS) (1889), *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*.

Printed Sources

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (ACS) (1885). *Sixty Eighth Report of the American Colonization Society with Minutes of the Annual Meeting and of the Board of Directors*, (18, 20, and 21 January 1885).

BEDINGER, Robert Dabney (1920). *Triumphs of the Gospel in the Belgian Congo*. Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication.

BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS (BFM) (1840). *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. New York.

BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS (BFM) (1842). *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. New York.

MORGAN, John T. (1890). "The Race Question in the United States". *The Arena*, 2, 10, 385-398.

SHEPPARD, William Henry (1917). *Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo*. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication.

WACK, Henry Wellington (1905). *The Story of the Congo Free State: Social, Economic, and Political Aspects of the Belgian System of Government in Central Africa*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Bibliography

ABERNETHY, Barrett (2012). "A New Vision: Charles Stillman's Motivations to Create the Tuscaloosa Institute for Coloured Ministers". *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 90, 2, 72-82.

BENEDETTO, Robert (1996). *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa: A Documentary Account of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the Human Rights Struggle in the Congo, 1890-1918*. Leiden: Brill.

BETSEY, Charles L. (2017). "Introduction", in Charles L. Betsey (ed.), *Historically Black Colleges and Universities*. London: Routledge, 1-3.

BUCHER, Henry H. Jr. (1976). "John Leighton Wilson and the Mpongwe: The "Spirit of 1776" in Mid-Nineteenth Century Western Africa". *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 54, 3, 291-315.

BURROUGHS, Robert (2022). *Black Students in Imperial Britain: The African Institute Colwyn Bay, 1889-1911*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

CAMPBELL, Penelope (1978). "Presbyterian West African Missions: Women as Converts and Agents of Social Change". *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 56, 2, 121-132.

CARTON, Benedict (2009). "From Hampton '[I]nto the Heart of Africa': How Faith in God and Folklore Turned Congo Missionary William Sheppard into a Pioneering Ethnologist". *History in Africa*, 36, 53-86.

CHANDLER, Dana R. and POWELL, Edith (2018). *To Raise Up the Man Furthest Down: Tuskegee University's Advancements in Human Health, 1881-1897*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

CLENDENEN, Clarence; COLLINS, Robert; and DUIGNAN, Peter (1966). *Americans in Africa, 1865-1900*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

COHEN, Rodney T. (2001). *Fisk University*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing.

COLEMAN, Michael C. (1980). "No Race but Grace: Presbyterian Missionaries and American Indians, 1837-1893". *The Journal of American History*, 67, 1, 41-60.

DEPAEPE, Marc (2017). "Colonial Education in Congo – A Question of "Uncritical" Pedagogy Until the Bitter End?". *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, 18, 2-26.

DUJARDIN, Vincent and ROSOUX, Valérie (eds.) (2009). *Léopold II – Entre Génie et Gêne: Politique Étrangère et Colonisation*. Paris: Racine.

DWORKIN, Ira (2013). "On the Borders of Race, Mission, and State: African Americans and the American Presbyterian Congo Mission", in Steven Van Wolputte (ed.), *Borders and Frontiers in Africa*. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 183-212.

DWORKIN, Ira (2017). *Congo Love Song: African American Culture and the Crisis of the Colonial State*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
ELNAIEM, Mohammed (2021). "George Washington Williams and the Origins of Anti-Imperialism", JSTOR Daily, available at: https://daily.jstor.org/george-washington-williams-and-the-origins-of-anti-imperialism/, consulted on 21 December 2023.
EMERSON, Barbara (1979). *Leopold II of the Belgians: King of Colonialism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
ENGS, Robert Francis (1999). *Educating the Disenfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and the Hampton Institute*. Nashville: University of Tennessee Press.
FRANKLIN, John Hope (1998). *George Washington Williams: A Biography*. Durham: Duke University Press.
FRY, Joseph A. (1985). "John Tyler Morgan's Southern Expansionism". *Diplomatic History*, 9, 4, 329-346.
GANN, Lewis H.; and DUIGNAN, Peter (1979). *The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884-1914*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
GIBSON, David R. (2022). "Minutes of History: Talk and its Written Incarnations". *Social Science History*, 46, 3, 643-669.
GORDON, David M. (2014). "Interpreting Documentary Sources on the Early History of the Congo Free State: The Case of Ngongo Lutete's Rise and Fall". *History in Africa*, 41, 5-33.
GORDON, David M (2017). "Precursors to Red Rubber: Violence in the Congo Free State, 1885-1895". *Past and Present*, 236, 1, 133-168.
GREINDI, Leopold (1962). *A La Recherche d'un Etat Indépendant: Léopold II et les Philippines (1869-1875)*. Bruxelles: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer.
HILL, Kimberly D. (2020). *A Higher Mission: The Careers of Alonzo and Althea Brown Edmiston in Central Africa*. Louisville: University Press of Kentucky.
HOCHSCHILD, Adam (1998). "The King's Lobbyists". *The American Scholar*, 67, 3, 39-51.
HOCHSCHILD, Adam (2019). *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. London: Picador.
JEWSIEWICKI, Bogumil (1979). "Le Colonat Agricole Européen au Congo-Belge, 1910-1960: Questions Politiques et Economiques". *The Journal of African History*, 20, 4, 559-571.
LAING, Stuart (2017). *Tippu Tip: Ivory, Slavery, and Discovery in the Scramble for Africa*. Surbiton, Surrey: Medina Publishing Limited.

MARKOWITZ, Marvin (1973). *Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

MAXWELL, David (2008). "The Soul of the Luba: W. F. P. Burton, Missionary Ethnography, and Belgian Colonial Science". *History and Anthropology*, 19, 4, 325-351.

MBAU, Simon N'Kashama B. (2020). *L'Eglise Presbytérienne au Congo face aux défis du Temps Présent. De La Mission á L'Eglise Locale*. Paris: Racine.

McARVER, Susan Wilds (1997). *The Salvation of Souls and the Salvation of the Republic of Liberia: Denominational Conflict and Racial Diversity in Antebellum Presbyterian Foreign Missions*. Philadelphia: North Atlantic Missiology Project.

MESQUITA, Bruce Bueno de (2007). "Leopold II and the Selectorate: An Account in Contrast to a Racial Explanation". *Historical Social Research*, 32, 4, 203-221.

MEYER, Lysle E. (1971). "Henry S. Sanford and the Congo: A Reassessment". *African Historical Studies*, 4, 1, 19-39.

SAMARIN, William J. (2019). *The Black Man's Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo and Ubangi Rivers, 1880-1900*. London: Routledge.

MOHUN, Arwen P. (2023). *American Imperialist: Cruelty and Consequence in the Scramble for Africa*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

MORRISON, John R. (2021). *Kuonyi Nxila: Biography of Dr. William McCutchen Morrison*. Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing Company.

PAVLAKIS, Dean (2016). *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913*. London: Routledge.

PHIPPS, William E. (2002). *William Sheppard: Congo's African American Livingstone*. Louisville, Kentucky: Geneva Press.

REYBROUCK, David Van (2014). *Congo: The Epic History of a People (Translated from the Dutch by Sam Garett)*. London: Fourth Estate.

ROES, Aldwin (2010). "Towards a History of Mass Violence in the Etat Indépendant du Congo, 1885-1908". *South African Historical Journal*, 62, 4, 634-670.

SHALOFF, Stanley (1970). *Reform in Leopold's Congo*. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press.

SHENK, Wilbert B. (2004). "Introduction", in Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*. Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1-8.

SORIANO, Victor Fernández (2018). '"Travail et Progrès': Obligatory 'Educational' Labour in the Belgian Congo, 1933-60". *Journal of Contemporary History*, 53, 2, 292-314.

SWANN, Darius L. and REESE, James F. (2007). "Perspectives on the Development of the Black Presbyterian Church in the South". *The Journal of Presbyterian History*, 85, 1, 48-56.
VANTHEMSCHE, Guy (2012). *Belgium and the Congo, 1885-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
VIAENE, Vincent (2008). "King Léopold's Imperialism and the Origins of the Belgian Colonial Party". *The Journal of Modern History*, 80, 4, 741-790.
WEINSTEIN, Brian (1972). *Éboué*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
WELCH, John S. (2018). "Reassessing the Vocational Origins of Hampton University and Celebrating a Singular History of Arts Engagement". *The Public Historian*, 40, 3, 107-141.
WILKERSON, Elizabeth "Lilibet" Vass (2023). *The "Vass" Continent of Africa: A Love Story: The Life and Times of Winefred K. Vass and Lachlan C. Vass III*. Bloomington, Indiana: WestBow Press.
YATES, Barbara A. (1980). "White Views of Black Minds: Schooling in King Leopold's Congo". *History of Education Quarterly*, 20, 1, 27-50.
YOUNG, Crawford (1965). *Politics in Congo: Decolonization and Independence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
ZAKI, Hoda M. (2007). *Civil Rights and Politics at Hampton Institute: The Legacy of Alonzo G. Moron*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
ZIMMERMAN, Andrew (2010). *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.