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ETHNIC RELATIONS OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH BLACK AMERICANS, 1870–1900

Walter L. Williams*

By the late nineteenth century few black people alive in the United States were African-born, and most of them had American backgrounds for more generations than the average white American. With no large African intelligentsia to establish substantial intercontinental communications, as occurred in the twentieth century, this period was characterized by relatively few contacts between black Africans and black Americans. Except for those individuals who had resided in Africa as missionaries, emigrants, or visitors, few black Americans had ever even seen a real African. With no immigration from Africa, there were few opportunities for black people in the United States to have first-hand contacts with Africans.

Within this context, the coming of African students to black schools and colleges in the United States provided the largest number of American contacts between these two groups of people. Because these contacts took place within the most important Afro-American institutions, the schools and the churches, they had a tremendous influence on the black community. Their relations are therefore a valuable case study of the attitudes and interactions of culturally different peoples who feel a bond of racial identity. After presenting biographical data on these Africans, this essay will suggest reasons for their varied relations with Afro-Americans, and then assess their impact on Pan-African thought in both America and Africa.

This study is based upon information gathered concerning sixty-eight Africans who attended seventeen American schools between 1870 and 1900.[1] There may have been other students about whom no record was found, but in any case this group is large enough to be the basis for a collective biography of African students in the United States. Their geographical origins in Africa were diverse: thirty-two were from Liberia, seventeen from South Africa, eleven from Sierra Leone, four from the Gold Coast, and one each from Ethiopia, Gabon, and Nyasaland. Most of these Africans had been sent by American missionaries to be trained in the United States for the purpose of becoming missionaries themselves. Some churches were beginning to feel that converted and educated Africans would be more effective doing mission work among their own people than would outsiders. Indigenous Africans, it was believed, would remain healthy in a tropical climate and would have no language or cultural barriers with their congregations.

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Because of segregation, most of these African students were enrolled in all-black schools where the interaction with Afro-Americans was intense. While the students, faculty, and church leaders who populated the black campuses were an atypical part of the black American community, the Africans were exposed to a wider segment of the black masses through the influences of the Afro-American churches. Their relations, therefore, offer a valuable perspective of the attitudes about Africa which black Americans absorbed through the missions movement.

The earliest American missions to Africa were sponsored by white churches which were interested in the Afro-American settlement of Liberia. For example, the Northern Presbyterians founded Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in 1854. To train black missionaries for Africa. In its early years its black mission students were from the United States or were the sons of Afro-American emigrants in Liberia. But in 1873 nine indigenous Africans were sent to the campus by alumni who were missionaries in Liberia. These young Africans arrived at an advantageous time for the struggling school, since the depression of 1873 had destroyed the fund-raising drive. But the college took the newly arrived students on a publicity tour, and they proved to be such attractive attention-getters that Lincoln was able to survive the depression. After this first group of Africans proved so advantageous, Lincoln continued to attract another twenty Africans before 1900, sixteen of whom were from Liberia. Because of its pioneering effort, Lincoln would have more African students than any other American college in the nineteenth century, and it would continue to attract Africans like Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe in the twentieth century.[2]

Another white-sponsored school which attracted Africans in the 1870s and 1880s was Fisk University in Tennessee. The American Missionary Association, a Northern-based organization which had aided freed slaves in the South after the Cvil War, sponsored five African students at Fisk. Those alumni were sent to Sierra Leone as missionaries, and in 1890 they sent another Mendi to Fisk for a mission education. In that year the *Fisk Bulletin* demonstrated great interest in African missions by remarking that the African students "forcibly illustrate the vital relation which the Christian education of the Colored people of the South sustain to the civilization and evangelization of the Dark Continent."[3]

Some individual Africans even managed to attend white institutions. The most famous of these individuals was Orishatukeh Faduma. Faduma had actually been born in British Guiana in 1857, with the name of William J. Davis, but at an early age he and his family emigrated to the British West African colony of Sierra Leone. In 1884 he became the first black graduate of the University of London, after which he returned to Sierra Leone. Even though Faduma was Westernized and well educated, under the influence of his friends Edward Blyden and James Johnson, he identified with his Yoruba ancestry and changed his name to a more traditional one. In 1891, Faduma left for the United States and was accepted into the Divinity School of Yale University. Within three years he had earned his degree and became ordained as minister to a black Congregational Church in Troy, North Carolina. He also served as principal of the Peabody Academy there, where he remained until he returned to Africa in 1914.[4]

Another African who attended a white school and who also went on to become influential in black nationalism was John Langalibalele Dube. His family converted to Christianity after his grandfather was killed by the Zulu king Chaka, and Dube's father eventually became a Congregational minister in Natal, South Africa. John Dube was educated by American missionaries at the American Board Zulu mission, and in 1887 he was sent to the United States for further education. He enrolled in Ohio's Oberlin College prepatory department, and remained in school for two years. Little is known of his school years, but afterwards he lived in America working at various jobs before returning to Natal in 1892. After preaching among his native Zulu people, he returned to the United States in 1896 to raise money for his missionary work and to continue his theological education at the Union Missionary Training Institute. He lived nearby in Brooklyn, New York, until 1899, when he was ordained as a Congregational minister, but he traveled widely over the nation. On one of these trips Dube visited Alabama's Tuskegee Institute and met its president, Booker T. Washington. Their meeting resulted in an immediate friendship, and Washington's ideas on industrial education became the most important aspect of Dube's subsequent career in South Africa. The Zulu student spoke at the 1897 Tuskegee commencement and at Virginia's Hampton Institute shortly after. With Washington's assistance he raised enough money from black and white Americans to return to Natal in 1899.[5]

Faduma and Dube were clearly not typical of African students in the United States, but a few others turned up in white schools. In 1871 a white Evangelical United Brethren missionary in Sierra Leone sent a young Sherbo student to be educated in the public high school of Dayton, Ohio. Eight years later this student graduated and, with his Afro-American bride, returned to his people as a missionary.[6] In 1892 a Liberian Bassa student was even reported at the unlikely location of Lewiston, Maine, in the Nichols Latin School.[7]

Despite these instances and the influences of universities like Lincoln and Fisk, the major contact between Africans and Afro-Americans by the 1890s was in black-sponsored schools. As with Africans in white-sponsored institutions, most of these students were sent from missionaries. Black denominations wanted educated Africans for the same reason that their white brethren did, to train them as missionaries who would help to spread their church in Africa. Thus, the Afro-American mission movement's interest in African students provided a major contact between black Americans and Africans.

By the 1890s each of the major independent black Baptist and Methodist denominations had sent Afro-American missionaries to Africa, and there were high rates of illness and death among those missionaries. Such health factors negated the claim that black Americans would adjust without difficulty to the tropical climate. This experience in the difficulties of mission work, plus the availability of African converts, caused more of the black mission supporters to turn to Africans. In 1894 one such supporter predicted that the mission movement of the Afro-American churches would fail unless African students were trained in the United States and sent back to their own people as missionaries. Each such student, he wrote,

"would at once become a powerful example to his people of the civilizing power and influence of the gospel."[8]

The earliest Africans sponsored by a black church were five students from the Liberian mission of the Colored Baptist Foreign Missionary Convention. These students were attending Central Tennessee College in Nashville in 1892.[9] Five years later the newly organized National Baptist Convention was sponsoring missionaries in South Africa, and these missionaries sent four South African students to the United States. The Baptists arranged for each of them to attend a different black college in the South.[10]

The most famous African sponsored by the black Baptists was not sent by one of their own missionaries, but by a non-conformist Englishman, Joseph Booth, who had established a Nyasaland mission in 1892. Three years later Booth visited the United States to raise money for his mission, and while in America he made contacts with militant black leaders.[11] Dr. John F. Wagner, the black president of Morgan College in Baltimore, arranged for the college press to publish Booth's book, *Africa for the African.*[12] Booth advocated full independence for African colonies as soon as possible, with all European land holdings being returned to African ownership. He saw black Americans as the leadership for this decolonization:

> Let the African, sympathetically led by his more experienced Afro-American brother, develop his own country, establish his own manufactures, work his own plantations, run his own ships, work his own mines, educate his own people, possess his own mission station . . . for the commonwealth and enlightenment of the people and the glory of God.[13]

One of Booth's most promising students in Nyasaland was John Chilembwe, and in 1897 Booth brought this Ajawa student to the United States. Although Chilembwe had gotten in touch with the African Methodist Episcopal Church Foreign Missions Department,[14] the National Baptist Convention wad destined to be his major sponsor. Baptist Foreign Missions Secretary Louis Garnett Jordan arranged for the support of Chilembwe's education at Lynchburg's Virginia Theological Seminary.[15]

The second black church to sponsor African students was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which began its involvement in a more fortuitous manner than the Baptists. Its earliest sponsorship of such students was largely the result of its missionary bishop, Henry McNeal Turner. On his trip to Liberia in 1893, Bishop Turner so inspired a fourteen-year-old African that this youth came to America and was enrolled by Turner in the Alabama Normal Institute in 1894. Within two years Turner had sent another African, a Sierra Leonian, to the black Alabama school; and by 1899 he reported three more students from Sierra Leone who had entered the theology department of Morris brown College in Atlanta.[16]

The most significant role that African students would play in the A.M.E. Church came about as a result of an accident. In 1894 and 1895 a "Zula choir" of South African mission students was on tour in the United States. Its British

sponsors so mismanaged the tour that the group ran completely out of money and the students were stranded. While there is no way of knowing what happened to most of these young Africans, two Xhosas were enrolled in Lincoln University.[17] Another member of the group was a twenty-one year old Methodist Basuto named Charlotte Manye. She got in touch with an A.M.E. preacher, who took her to Bishop Benjamin Arnett, a church leader who strongly supported African missions and would later be a delegate to the 1900 Pan-African conference. Arnett enrolled her in the denomination's Wilberforce University in Ohio and brought her to live with his family. While at Wilberforce, Manye wrote such encouraging letters back to her kinsmen in Africa that ten other South African students were sent to Wilberforce before 1900.

An even greater effect of her letters was that in 1896 a large group of South African Methodists decided to join the A.M.E. Church. This action was taken by the Ethiopian church, an independent black sect which had seceded from white Methodist mission in South Africa, in reaction against racial discrimination. Such a large annexation was the basis for a dramatic growth of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa, and it was begun by the young woman at Wilberforce.[18]

The South African students at Wilberforce so captured the imagination of the church leaders that, on an 1898 visit to Africa, Bishop Turner bought land in Queenstown for an A.M.E. college in South Africa. The denomination's Mission Secretary, H. B. Parks, became convinced that the best policy would be to train Africans themselves to missionize to their own people. Such a college, Parks claimed, would "do for the South African Negro, starting at the beginning, what Wilberforce and other Negro training-schools are doing, after long delay, for the American Negro."[19]

The third largest independent Afro-American denomination was the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and it followed its sister churches in developing an interest in African students. Again, this interest grew out of its missionary commitment, and the most influential supporter of African students was Bishop John Bryan Small. Bishop Small had spent some time in West Africa, and he convinced the church leaders to place primary mission emphasis on training Africans. An African missionary would, he felt, be less expensive for the church to support, would already know the indigenous language and customs, and would have an emotional attachment to his people. The only danger that Small feared was that a student would become too Americanized and consequently would not want to return to "primative" living conditions in Africa.[20]

Under Bishop Small's leadership, at least four African students came to America between 1897 and 1900. All of these students attended the main A.M.E.Z. educational institution, Livingstone College in North Carolina, which stressed an academic and theological education rather than the industrial training approach. On an 1897 trip to the Gold Coast in West Africa, Bishop Small returned with the first African student sponsored by the A.M.E.Z. Church. This student was from a wealthy Westernized family of Cape Coast merchants, so he hardly fitted the stereotype that most whites held of Africans as "uncivilized savages."[21]

The next student brought by Bishop Small, James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, was destined to become one of Livingstone's most famous graduates. His family, prominent among the Fanti people of the Gold Coast, had been baptized in 1875 by at Westernized black British missionary. Aggrey had been such a good student in the British mission school that he was made a teacher by age fifteen. In 1897 he was working for the British army as an interpreter during the Ashanti war, and he was becoming a prominent young man among the educated Westernized elite at Cape Coast. Yet, Aggrey exhibited an incipient African nationalism as an officer of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society in 1898.[22]

Possibly because he had become embroiled in political problems, Aggrey suddenly agreed to accompany Bishop Small to America in 1898. He adjusted so superbly to Livingstone College that after his graduation he remained there as a teacher for another two decades.[23] The last two Africans brought by Bishop Small, in 1899, were less notable than Aggrey, but they returned to the Gold Coast as missionaries soon after their graduation.[24]

Thus, by 1900 the three major Afro-American denominations were each sponsoring African students in the United States. As black Americans became exposed to Africans in the late nineteenth century, their reactions can tell us much about the ethnic relations between the two groups. To understand these reactions, it will be necessary to examine the previous images which black Americans held about Africans.

During this era Afro-American opinions were not monolithic, and there was much disagreement over any topic relating to Africa. Nevertheless, the proponents of an African interest were continually complaining about the prevalence of negative stereotypes about "the Dark Continent." Racist views of Africa often portrayed it as nothing but a jungle inhabited by "savage cannibals," and this view was accepted by many educated black Americans who had been indoctrinated by whites.[25]

Unfortunately, such stereotypes were reinforced by a number of Afro-Americans who were able to pass themselves off as African, for monetary gain. For example, in 1891 a "Zulu Prince" gave a speech at the St. Louis A.M.E. Church, in which he described in great detail how Zulus ate human infants and worshipped crocodiles. Fortunately, these untrue claims were corrected, and the person was exposed as a South Carolinian who knew nothing about Africa.[26] A black Cincinnati writer reported that: "Our people have been humbugged so often" by such fakes, that interest in Africa was becoming frustrated.[27] True promoters of Africa, like Bishop Turner, complained that "no such brutal degradations are found anywhere in Africa as some of these African imposters are palming off for the purpose of extorting money."[28]

Some of the African students were shocked by the extent to which some black Americans believed these stereotypes. A Liberian student at Lincoln University wrote a number of letters to the Washington *Bee,* complaining of the "mass of misrepresentation about Africa" which prejudiced "the American Negro public against their brethren" in Africa. Both white and black Americans, he claimed,

shared a conception of Africa as "a barren waste, a hot bed of fevers" with its people living "in the most abject barbarism."[29] Another Lincoln student wrote that his Afro-American classmates expected Africans to be "hideous-looking creatures" who had no intelligence.[30] And a Sierra Leonian student at Alabama Normal Institute was stunned that some Afro-Americans "even dared to demand of me whether Africans possess tails like the monkey." He stated that many black people stereotyped all Africans as heathen, and "that to be a heathen is, necessarily, to be idiotic."[31] It is not surprising that such inaccuracies were promoted by white racists; after all, a major justification for slavery was that Africa was "savage." That many of these views were accepted by some blacks is an indication of the lack of first-hand information about the ancestral continent, from sources other than white-written documents.

Considering such attitudes, it is not surprising that there were instances of bad relations between the culturally different black groups. George Peabody, the son of a Bassa prince in Liberia, provided the most explicit evidence of such conflict. In 1891, after he had been at Lincoln University for over four years, Peabody reported that all of the African students there were dissatisfied and would have liked to change to another school:

> I have been taunted, discouraged, and dogged out and almost tormented out of my life. I have suffered at Lincoln what I never suffered in heathendom. . . . Why should there be prejudice [against Africans] at Lincoln?

The teachings at Lincoln, he wrote, might be good enough for those "aspiring to second class citizenship in America," but was not good enough for the Africans. Peabody revealed an air of superiority when he noted, "We are free men and not freedmen."[32] This comment about Afro-Americans being descendants of slaves was no doubt a contributing factor to strained relations between some Africans and black Americans.

Lincoln University had the most conflict between the two black ethnic groups, but discord sometimes arose in other schools. At Livingstone College, one student insisted on following his tribal culture and was not tolerated by the Afro-Americans or even by the more Westernized Africans there. Another Livingstone alumni left the A.M.E.Z. Church and set up his own independent mission after returning to the Gold Coast.[33] This secession implies a less-than-complete adaptation to the black American church.

In general, however, those students who were sponsored by the independent black churches had a better relationship than did those at Lincoln. This was probably due to the example set by the black leadership at the independent colleges, which reflected their more positive black identity. Of the five Liberian students at Central Tennessee College, for example, most were highly complimented by their black Baptist sponsors. A former black Baptist missionary admired Monolu Massaquoi, a Vai medical student, as "gentlemanly in deportment and an excellent student." The others were also praised, except for one "undisciplined" Kru boy who had "attended a feast of the cannibals of his tribe, and tasted the flesh, which he says was good." Another of the students had

trouble communicating because his knowledge of English was limited, but even he exhibited "much more a decorum than some boys who have had their birth in a Christian land." All in all, this missionary evaluated the African students individually, much as he might have described American students, and held little prejudice towards them. The most hopeful sign, he said, was that "They all seem to understand that they are here to be educated for teachers of their people in Africa."[34]

The black American students at Central Tennessee College also seem to have reacted favorably to the individual African students. One student wrote to the *Freeman* a letter of commendation about his Via classmate: "As a student and Christian gentleman he is an honor to his race and a high tribute to the mental and moral capacity of the inhabitants of the dark continent." This letter appealed for contributions to aid his people, who were in the midst of a famine.[35]

Probably the most notable example of good relations with an African Baptist was John Chilembwe. He characterized Afro-Americans as his "good friends" while he attended the Virginia Theological Seminary, and the Baptist Mission Secretary remarked that "few men have come to this country and made more friends than Brother Chilembwe."[36] Yet even Chilembwe may have felt somewhat nervous and aloof around black Americans. One of his classmates vividly remembered "his general unlikeness to the other students. In all, his air." This student remembered asking him what the "Che" prefix to his name meant. Instead of answering accurately that it was the Yao word for *mister,* "He stiffly replied, 'It means *Prince.* My father is a King.' "[37] This exaggeration might imply a protective pose resulting from feelings of threatened status.

While some of the African students were aloof, or even hostile to black Americans, the evidence suggests that the majority of the Africans had very good personal relationships with their black American brethren. Even at Lincoln University, the two South African Xhosas became active and popular students. They were from Presbyterian families in South Africa, and after completing their undergraduate requirements they entered seminary school at Lincoln. By 1900 they had attracted eight other South African Presbyterians to the college.[38]

The South African Methodists at Wilberforce University had even better relations. Charlotte Manye, the first African student at the A.M.E. school, resided in the home of Bishop Arnett and was "regarded as a member of the family." She must have liked the university and the church, because she was responsible for attracting ten other students and uniting her home church into the A.M.E. denomination.[39]

The South African students were received enthusiastically at Wilberforce. Some of these students were Cape Coloured, and all were highly acculturated to Western values. Writing in the A.M.E. mission newspaper, Bishop Turner complimented their refinement and noted that all of the students spoke English well, were quite literate, were committed Christians, and had excellent intellectual qualities.[40] The good relations with the African students, plus the missionary concern of the A.M.E. church, were reflected in the 1899 prize essay at the school. This essay, written by an Afro-American student at Wilberforce, com-

plimented the Africans as superior to the "savagery" in the United States, which tolerated lynching and other despised forms of racism.[41]

The Africans attending Livingstone College also represented successful relations with Afro-Americans. The first student at the A.M.E.Z. college, William Hockman, was remembered as an excellent student and "a high quality fellow."[42] But it was J.E.K. Aggrey, more than any other African in the United States, who had a superb relationship with his black American sponsors. His educational background made him better prepared than most of the American students, so he was placed directly into the college classical department. According to his biography, Aggrey was "extremely popular" with his fellow students, while the president of Livingstone looked upon him as a model student. To support himself Aggrey was employed at the A.M.E. Church Publishing House, and he contributed articles to a white newspaper, the *Charlotte Daily Observer.* When he graduated with hnor in 1902, Aggrey won a gold medal for English composition and another for "general scholarship and deportment."[43] The fact that he was asked to remain at the college as a teacher is further evidence of his good relations with the denomination leadership.

With such a variety of reception of the African students it is necessary to analyze the factors which insured good relations between the two groups. Geographical origin of the students does not seem to have been the determining factor, because no single area was characterized by close relations.[44] There is also not a consistent determination of good relations at certain schools. Even Lincoln University, which in general demonstrated bad relations with its African students, had very good relations with South Africans. And Livingstone College, perhaps the epitome of successful association of the two peoples, had its instances of discord with a few of its African students.

What does seem to distinguish the ethnic relations of the two groups, more than any other factor, is the degree of Westernization of an African. The greatest evidence of favorable reactions by Afro-Americans come from those students who had already been exposed to Anglo-Saxon education and culture. Their intellect and refinement, in Western norms, surprised and impressed black Americans who had only heard negative comments about African "savagery." By demonstrating a "civilized" manner, as defined by Victorian standards, those acculturated Africans negated the "savage" stereotype and allowed Afro-Americans to look upon the Fatherland as something to be proud of. Black Americans may or may not have thought these Westernized Africans were typical, but at least they proved that Africa had the potential for Westernization.

In contrast, those Africans who came from a non-Western background had less success in adapting to the Afro-American community. Without a strong cultural bond, black Americans had no real incentive to identify with traditional African cultures. They essentially accepted the stereotypical evaluations of those different ways of life.

Black Americans were certainly not prejudiced against all Africans, because they did accept the Westernized Africans, but they were enthnocentric. There was

no strong acceptance of African cultures in their own right, and there was no pride for Afro-Americans in anything which smacked of "barbarism." Thus, educated black Americans usually narrowly defined their ideal, for themselves as well as for Americans, in terms of the Westernized concept of "Civilization."

Besides the personal relations between the African students and black Americans, another important factor in the ethnic relations between the two groups is the image of their homeland which the Africans presented. Most of these students had been trained in Christian missions, and as successfully indoctrinated converts they had accepted the standard missionary view that Western culture held the key to Christianization. For example, a Lincoln University alumnus, who was working as a Presbyterian missionary in Liberia, sent an essay by one of his students which expressed this notion: "Africa must be saved and . . . we look to you all who live in the West who have civilization and Christianity for the gospel light."[45]

Such idealization of the West was often accompanied by a condemnation of traditional African culture. Ironically, one of the most negative pictures of Africa was presented by George Peabody, the Liberian Bassa student who so disliked his black American classmates at Lincoln University. Although he remembered his pre-Christian life as one of pleasure, he displayed a masochistic quality by choosing "to suffer afflictions with the people of God, than to enjoy the flesh-pots of heathenism. . . . One day with the Lord was better than ten thousand days of pleasurable sin."[46] Peabody called for missionaries to "break down the systems of polygamy, devil worship, superstition and ignorance."[47] He showed disrespect for his tribal religion by revealing its secret religious ceremonies, and he categorized it as false degradation and superstition: "The only good that it does is that it punishes murder, theft, and procures peace in time of need among the tribes. Yet little are these means of justice unless . . . the soul was hopeful of a rest beyond this life."[48] Writing in the *A.M.E. Church Review,* Peabody was critical of African "gross ignorance," and said that the only hope was to "be purged by the Redeemer's blood. Then may she welcome civilization."[49]

Another African who stressed negative aspects of his homeland was Edward Mayfield Boyle, a Sierra Leonian student at Alabama Normal Institute. Soon after arriving in the United States in 1897, Boyle appealed for black Americans to go to Africa as missionaries. The cause of what he had been taught to see as "backwardness", he wrote, was due to the Africans' idolatry, superstition, and nakedness: "To reclaim these people, the sons and daughters of Africa [in America] must feel it their duty to heed the call . . . . Come over and help for we are groping in darkness still."[50] Significantly, within two years Boyle was disillusioned with Afro-Americans, and he became more defensive about Africa. Even though he had himself contributed to a negative image of Africa, he reacted against the stereotypes about Africa which many black Americans held.[51]

The Zulu theology student John Dube gave a fairly favorable image of his people. He described them (in the most influential American mission journal) as "being a superior and conquering people," "intelligent and quick-witted," and "generous." The Zulus were, he wrote, "in no respect inferior to the whites.

They are as capable of as high a degree of culture as any people." Despite his standard call for Christianization, he presented a fairly neutral ethnography of their religion and social patterns. He even suggested that Zulus were better off before being corrupted by white "evil traders" who set a bad example for those who believed "that all the wise white man says and does, must be right."[52]

Dube believed firmly in the need for more missionaries, but he stressed conversion as a means for progress of African people: "When the people are converted, they have better tastes and higher ideals. . . . It tends to transform their material as well as their spiritual life . . . and better their temporal condition." His concept of progress was admittedly enthnocentric, constrasting "heathen" degradation with Western "wonderful things, such as steamships, wagons, frame houses, furniture, machinery, etc., which the civlized man can make." With conversion and skilled training, "Zulus could see their own sons and daughters making some of these great things, which they think only white men can do, and which have made them appear as superior." Dube's stand can hardly be called militant, yet his appeal for black advancement contributed to nationalist thought. He deplored the fact that great wealth was being extracted from the continent in gold and diamond mining, while Africans were kept at low-paying unskilled jobs. "Will not those who believe in fair play, and in the principles taught by the carpenter of Nazareth, help to give the Zulus an industrial education, which will enable them to have a share in the rich benefits?" Dube believed that the best means of advancement would be to create a class of educated black "Anglo-Saxons of Africa [who] . . . will become a mighty power for good in the Dark Continent."[53] His attitudes were elitist and Westernized, but they did typify the grounds for mutual identity with Afro-American leaders who were saying similar things about black advancement in the United States.

Another ambivalent picture of Africa emerged from the Yale student Orishatukeh Faduma. Speaking at the 1895 Atlanta Congress on Africa, he spoke of the need to convert Africans, and he complained of African superstition and fear.[54] Besides supporting missions, Faduma also favored the partition of Africa among colonial powers. The founding of Belgian King Leopold's Congo Free State, he predicted, would be a foremost advantage to Africa.[55]

Yet Faduma did not offer blanket condemnations of African culture, and he presented a fairly good ethnographic description of West African Yoruba society, free of excessive moralizing. He compared the Yoruba to the ancient Greeks, and he characterized them as "by no means a savage, but [they] are a semi-civilized people."[56] Although Faduma was in general sympathy with the missionary movement, he offered a number of criticisms of missionary paternalism, but his primary criticism concerned the Westernization of Africans:

> The general impression is, that in order to civilize and Christianize the African, he must be foreignized. Hence, one's native name, dress, and food must be changed . . . . What Africans need, and what all races need, is not what will denationalize or deindividualize [*sic*] them, not what will stamp them out of existence, but what will show that God has a purpose in creating race varieties.[57]

Thus, Faduma retained his belief in missions, but he was moving toward a greater appreciation of African ways of life based upon a philosophy of cultural relativism.

The most positive images of Africa came across in a series of letters which Thomas A. Johns, a Liberian at Lincoln University, wrote to the *Washington Bee*. Johns was a follower of the African nationalist Edward W. Blyden, and he tried to create a more favorable impression of indigenous Africa. He complained about Christian attempts to wipe out traditional cultures and substitute Western customs, in contrast to Islamic missionaries who respected the local values. Africans were, he asserted, honest, loyal, and benevolent, and they should be honored by black Americans rather than condemned.[58]

If all of the African students did not present as favorable an image of traditional African culture as did Thomas A. Johns, they nevertheless exerted a positive influence on black American interest in the Fatherland. John Chilembwe provides a classic example of the influence of these students on Afro-Americans. In less than three years Chilembwe spoke in numerous black churches, in at least six states, under the sponsorship of the National Baptist Convention. The Mission Secretary remarked that, during these tours the African "so touched the hearts of the American Negroes everywhere that many were moved to tears of sympathy and resolved to join in the salvation of Africa."[59] One black Virginia Baptist remarked that, "the coming of that African into my home brought me face to face, as never before, with my responsibility for the redemption of all the world and especially Africa."[60]

The face-to-face contacts with Westernized Africans in particular impressed black Americans. Concerning the entry of three Sierra Leonians into Morris Brown College, Bishop Henry Turner wrote, "Everybody appears to be amazed at their learning, refinement, and general intelligence. So many of our people in this country believe all Africans are mere heathens, that they are paralyzed with surprise to find such boys coming."[61] Their common emphasis on Christianity, plus a value orientation that stressed an Anglo-Saxon ideal of "civilization," led the Westernized Africans and the Afro-Americans to be mutually attracted to each other. Rather than question the ideal itself, they sought to deny the competing stereotype of "heathen Africa" by acting as refined as possible. Both groups ignored the cultural richness of indigenous Africa, and instead accepted the narrow concept of "civilization" as promoted by whites.

Such mutual reinforcement of similar goals not only produced good personal relations between the Westernized Africans and the black Americans, but it even contributed to more favorable attitudes of Africa in general. This was particularly true at Livingstone College, where the prominence of intelligent and well-educated Africans went far to remove old notions of a savage Dark Continent. An Afro-American student who came to Livingstone in 1899 remembered that, in contrast to public schools for blacks, "Africans were not looked down upon as inferior by this campus." Instead, the faculty emphasized "the greatness of ancient civilizations in Africa, the people from whom we are descended." The

African students were looked up to by the whole college community, and Aggrey especially was consisdered "a scholarly genius."[62]

There were other ways in which the Africans exerted a positive influence on black Americans. Although information on the subsequent careers of many of the African students has been lost, several stayed in the United States after their graduation. Some of those who remained became prominent in their professions, which could not help but have a favorable impact on black Americans. Orishatukeh Faduma became a minister and principal of a school in Troy, North Carolina, where he served as a respected leader until 1914.[63] Samuel S. Sevier, a Lincoln University graduate, had returned to Liberia in 1882 and was appointed as assistant consul for the United States diplomat in Liberia. When the diplomat (Moses Hopkins, also a Lincoln alumnus) died in 1886, Sevier became acting consul. Shortly after then, Sevier returned to the United States and became a teacher at Livingstone College. He taught about Africa at the A.M.E.Z. school and remained in America for the rest of his life.[64] His more famous successor at Livingstone was J. E. K. Aggrey, who taught there from 1902 until 1924.[65]

Perhaps the most interesting case of an African who made a successful career in America is George Waltham Bell. Although he was born in Ethiopia, Bell's family was exiled to the British island of Malta because of his father's opposition to Ethipian King Tewodros II (Theodore II). When his father John Bell was killed in another coup attempt against Menelik in 1859, the young son was left destitute. Eventually George joined the British navy, but resigned some years later while his ship was docked in the United States. Somehow, in 1879 he entered Lincoln University. After his graduation in 1883, he went on to medical school in St. Louis, and eventually became a prominent doctor in Arkansas. In a notable career, Bell was elected as a state senator in Arkansas (1890–1894), led a legal defense against segregation, founded a county medical association, authored a medical text on consumption, and established the Arkansas Colored Infirmary.[66] As unique as Bell was, he and the other Africans who rose to leadership status in the South do demonstrate that educated and refined Africans were not discriminated against by black Americans.

Besides the influence of the African students on black Americans, they also exerted an influence in Africa. Evidence has been found to indicate that over one-third of the students had served as missionaries in their homeland by the beginning of the twentieth century. Undoubtedly others also became missionaries after 1900. By providing contracts between Afro-American churches and African Christians, the students not only aided the growth of the black churches, but they also served an important function in black intercontinental association. The role of Charlotte Manye in the South African Ethiopian Church affiliation with the A.M.E. Church provides the most spectacular example of this influence.

The impact of the African students was not felt merely in religion. Two Lincoln University graduates went on to get advanced degrees in medicine and in the law, and returned to Liberia to become prominent in those fields.[67] The most notable effect of the students upon Africa, however, occurred in the area of black nationalism.

The most violent anti-colonial resistance by a former American student involved John Chilembwe. After graduating from the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1900, he moved back to Nyasaland to establish a National Baptist Convention mission. By 1915 increasing pressures from white settlers in the area caused Chilembwe to mount a bloody attack that ended in his execution. It is not surprising that he became a resistance leader, both because of his training under Joseph Booth and because of the militant atmosphere at the Virginia Seminary.[68]

Yale graduate Orishatukeh Faduma returned to Africa in 1914 with Alfred Sam's emigration movement, and he exerted an influence on nationalist thought in both Sierra Leone and Nigeria.[69] In another section of the continent, Wilberforce University graduates Charlotte Manye, her husband Marshall Maxeke, and James Tantsi organized the South African Wilberforce Institute. This college developed into one of South Africa's leading black educational institutions until 1953, when the white South African government forced its closing. They also became active in the organization that was to become the South African National Congress, the strongest black voice in early twentieth century South Africa.[70] Likewise, the Zulu theologian John Dube was so convinced of an industrial education approach for African advancement that he became known as "the Booker T. Washington of Africa". In 1901 he established the Zulu Christian Industrial School, which was modeled after Washington's Tuskegee Institute, and it became another leading black educational center in South Africa. Like Washington, Dube was a nonradical capitalist, yet he became the first president of the African National Congress in 1912 an exerted important leadership until his death in 1946.[71]

Certainly the most prominent American graduate, in terms of modern Pan-African thought, was J. E. K. Aggrey. In 1924 he left Livingstone College and returned to the Gold Coast as a teacher at the famous Achimota College. Though moderate, Aggrey implanted a strong sense of black pride among his students. Because a number of his pupils, especially Kwame Nkrumah, were inspired by him to exert leadership, Aggrey is noted as a father of African nationalism.[72]

In summary, late nineteenth century African students in the United States were having an influence in both America and Africa. They came from a variety of areas and presented various images of the fatherland, ranging from the standard missionary view of suffering heathenism, to a more nationalistic expression of black pride. In terms of ethnic relations, this case study demonstrates that cultural identity and mutual advantage is more important than race itself, in fostering close relations. The mere fact that Africans were the same skin color was not enough, by itself, to produce a feeling of identity by black Americans. It was a similar cultural world view, held by the Westernized Africans, which paved the way for unity. Both the Afro-Americans and the Westernized Africans felt that they could gain an advantage by identifying with the other group, so they encouraged close identity.

Although ethnic conflicts sometimes emerged, the overall effect of these students on Afro-Americans was productive of closer relations between the two peoples. Especially with well-educated Westernized Africans, their mere exposure to Afro-Americans through the churches and in black intellectual circles did

much to undermine the stereotype of African savagery. Although black Americans might still look down upon traditional African cultures, they did establish contacts with the emerging Westernized African elite. These contacts would prove to be crucial, on both sides of the Atlantic, in the emergence of twentieth-century Pan-African thought.[73]

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[1]See Appendix for biographical data on these individuals. An earlier version of this essay was presented as a paper at the 1976 meeting of the American Historical Association. The author wishes to express appreciation to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant to complete a study of Black American involvement in Africa, 1877–1900, from which this essay is taken.

[2]Horace Mann Bond, "God Glorified by Africa: the Story of Lincoln University and the Providence of God in the Ancestral Continent" (typewritten ms. in Lincoln University Archives, 1955), pp. 2–4. See also Bond, "Forming African Youth," in J. A. Davis, ed., *Africa from the Point of View of American Negro Scholars* (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1958), pp. 251–253.

[3]*Fisk University Bulletin, 1869–1890* (Nashville: Fisk University, 1890).

[4]*Eighth General Catalogue of the Yale Divinity School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), p. 323; Hollis Lynch, *Edward W. Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832–1912* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 219; George Shepperson, "External Factors in the Rise of Pan-Africanism," *Phylon* 22 (1961): 209; E. A. Ayandele, *Holy Johnson* (London: Frank Cass, Ltd., 1970), p. 353. For Faduma's writings, see his 1895 speech in J. W. E. Bowen, ed., *Africa and the American Negro* (Miami: Mnemosyne Pub., 1969), pp. 31–36, 125–36. See also O. Faduma, "Africa, or the Dark Continent," *A. M.E. Church Review* 9 (July 1892): 1–8.

[5]W. Manning Marable, "African Nationalist: the Life of John Langalibalele Dube" Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976); W. Manning Marable, "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism," *Phylon* 35 (December 1974): 401–2; R. Hunt Davis," John L. Dube: a South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of African Studies* 2 (December 1975). For Dube's pre-1900 writings see John L. Dube, "Need of Industrial Education in Africa." *Southern Workman* 27 (July 1897): 141–2; and John L. Dube," Zululand and the Zulus," *Missionary Review of the World* 21 (June 1898): 434–44.

[6]George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883), II, 572–574; *Annual Report* (Dayton: United Brethren Church Mission Board, 1879), p. 20; J. S. Mills, *Africa and Mission Work in Sierra Leone, West Africa* (Dayton: United Brethren Publishing House, 1898), pp. 124, 237.

[7]*African Repository* (January 1892): 28.

[8]Rev. Peter Standford letter, *Indianapolis Freeman,* April 21, 1894, p. 2.

[9]Thomas L. Johnson, *Africa for Christ* (London: Alexander and Shepheard, 1892), pp. 43–45; *Freeman,* October 29, 1892, p. 2 and June 2, 24, 1893, p. 1.

[10]Lewis Garnett Jordan, *Up the Ladder in Foreign Missions* (Nashville: National Baptist Publishing Board, 1901), p. 22.

[11]George Shepperson, "The Politics of African Church Separatist Movements in British Central Africa, 1892–1916," *Africa* 24 (July 1954): 236; George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1958), pp. 109–111.

[12]Joseph Booth, *Africa for the African* (Baltimore: Morgan College Press, 1897).

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 38; quoted in Shepperson and Price, *Independent,* p. 111.

[14]*Star of Zion,* July 15, 1897, p. 1.

[15]Jordan, *Up the Ladder,* pp. 192–132; Shepperson and Price, *Independent,* pp. 100–122.

[16]*Freeman,* November 3, 1894, pp. 4, 6. *Voice of Missions* (edited by Henry M. Turner), June 1, 1897, p. 1; October 1899, p. 3; November 1, 1899, p. 1.

[17]Bond, "God Glorified," p. 8.

[18]Josephus R. Coan, "The Expansion of Missions of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa, 1897–1908" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1961), pp. 99–100;

Artishia W. Jordan, *The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa* (New York: A.M.E. Department of Foreign Missions, 1964), pp. 59–60, 66–67; Lewellyn L. Berry, *A Century of Missions of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840–1940* (New York: Gutenberg Printing Co., 1942), pp. 158, 186, 189.

[19]H. B. Parks, *Africa, the Problem of the New Century* (New York: Mission Department of the A.M.E. Church, 1899), pp. 32, 35–36.

[20]Walter L. Yates, "The History of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in West Africa, Liberia and Gold Coast (Ghana), 1880–1900" (M. A. thesis, Hartford Seminary, 1963), p. 93.

[21]*Ibid.*, pp. 90, 95.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 97; E. W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa: a Study in Black and White* (New York: R. R. Smith, Inc., 1930), pp. xi, 49–53, 57; David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: the Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850–1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 113, 148, 342n; Kenneth King, "J. E. K. Aggrey," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (1970), 527–530.

[23]Smith, *Aggrey*, pp. 61–62

[24]Yates, "History of A.M.E.Z.," pp. 106–108.

[25]Jordan, *Up the Ladder*, p. 109; Henry Turner letter, *African Repository* 64 (July 1888): 103; *A.M.E. Church Review* 4 (April 1888: 398, 401. See also Walter L. Williams, "Black American Attitudes toward Africa, 1877–1900," *Pan-African Journal* 4 (Spring 1971): 173–194; and Walter L. Williams, "Black Journalism's Opinions about Africa during the Late Nineteenth Century," *Phylon* 34 (September 1973): 224–235.

[26]*Kansas City American Citizen*, October 2, 1891, p. 1; and October 9, 1891, p. 2.

[27]*Indianapolis Freeman*, April 8, 1893, p. 4; and June 3, 1893, p. 5.

[28]H. M. Turner editorial, *Voice of Missions*, February 1897, p. 2.

[29]T. A. Johns letters, Washington *Bee*, March 17, 1888, p. 1; November 11, 1888, p. 1, through December 5, 15, 1888, p. 1.

[30]George Barh-Fofoe Peabody, *Barh-Fofoe: A Bassa Boy* (Lancaster, Penn.: New Era Printing House, 1891), p. 68.

[31]E. Mayfield Boyle letter, *Voice of Missions*, 1 (June 1897), p. 1.

[32]George Peabody to Reverend Edward Webb, 7 July 1891, Webb Papers, University Archives, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

[33]Yates, "History of A.M.E.Z.," pp. 106–108.

[34]Johnson, *Africa for Christ*, pp. 43–45.

[35]*Indianapolis Freeman*, October 29, 1892, p. 2; see also June 24, 1893, p. 1.

[36]Shepperson and Price, *Independent African*, p. 93; Jordan, *Up the Ladder*, p. 132.

[37]Anne Spencer, a black American student at Virginia Theological Seminary in the late 1890's personal communication quoted in Shepperson and Price, *Independent African*, pp. 114–115.

[39]Coan, "Expansion of Missions," pp. 99–100; Jordan, *A.M.E. in Africa*, pp. 59–67; Berry, *Century of Missions*, pp. 158, 186, 189.

[40]*Voice of Missions*, February 1, 1895, p. 4; July 1, 1898, p. 2.

[41]Carie Belle Lee, "The Future of Africa," *Voice of Missions*, July 1, 1899, p. 4.

[42]Yates, "History of A.M.E.Z.," p. 90.

[43]Smith, *Aggrey*, pp. 59–61.

[44]Refer to the Appendix for specific information on each student.

[45]J. W. N. Hilton essay, enclosed in Samuel S. Sevier to Reverend Edward Webb, November 16, 1885, in Webb Papers, University Archives, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

[46]Peabody, *Barh-Fofoe*, pp. 44, 34.

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 87.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 77.

[49]George Peabody, "The Hope of Africa," *A.M.E. Church Review* (July, 1890); 58–60.

[50]E. Mayfield Boyle letter, *Voice of Missions*, June 1897, p. 1.

[51]*Ibid.*, November 1, 1899, p. 1.

[52]Dube, "Zuland and the Zulus", pp. 435–440.

[53]*Ibid.*, pp. 438, 441–3.

[54]Bowen, ed., *Africa,* pp. 31–35. See also the speech of Etna Holderness, a Bassa woman from Liberia who was being educated in Asheville, North Carolina, in *Ibid.,* pp. 113–114.

[55]*Ibid.,* pp. 133–34; O. Faduma letter, *A.M.E. Church Review* (July 1892): 3–6.

[56]Bowen, ed., *Africa,* pp. 31–35.

[57]Ibid., pp. 127–28; see also pp. 125, 130, 132, 136. Faduma later authored *The Defects of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: The Academy, 1904)

[58]T. A. Johns letters, *Washington Bee,* March 17, 1888, p. 1; November 10, 1888, p. 1, through 15 December 15, 1888, p. 1.

[59]Jordan, *Up the Ladder,* p. 129; see also Shepperson and Price, *Independent African,* pp. 113, 118, 122.

[60] Quoted in Shepperson and Price, *Independent African,* pp. 113, 118.

[61]*Voice of Missions,* October 1, 1899, p. 3.

[62]A.M.E.Z. Senior Bishop William Jacob Walls, quoted from a personal interview by the author, Salisbury, North Carolina, May 25, 1971. See also Smith, *Aggrey,* p. 60.

[63]*Eighth General Catalogue of the Yale Divinity School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), p. 323; and George Shepperson, "External Factors in the Rise of Pan-Africanism," *Phylon* 22 (1961): 209.

[64]Bond, "God Glorified," p. 29.

[65]Smith, *Aggrey.*

[66]Bond, "God Glorified," p. 6.

[67]References to Luke Anthony and Charles Dunbar; in *Ibid.,* pp. 6, 19, 23, 29–34, 40–41.

[68]The full story of Chilembwe's 1915 Nyasaland Revolt is told in Shepperson and Price, *Independent African;* Rober Rotberg, "Psychological Stress and the Question of Identity: Chilembwe's Revolt Reconsidered," in *Protest and Power in Black Africa,* eds., Robert Rotberg and Ali Mazrui (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 355–359; and Okon Edet Uya, ed., *Black Brotherhood; Afro-Americans and Africa* (Lesington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1971), p. 126.

[69]Shepperson, "External Factors," p. 209; William Bittle and Gilbert Geis, *The Longest Way Home: Chief Alfred C. Sam's Back-to-Africa Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964), briefly mentions Faduma on pp. 164, 183, 185, 186.

[70]Berry, *Century of Missions,* pp. 158, 186, 189; Jordan, *A.M.E. in Africa,* pp. 66–67.

[71]Dube's impact is analyzed in W. Manning Marable, "Black Skin, Bourgeois Masks," in *Profiles of Self-Determination: African Responses to European Colonialism in Southern Africa,* ed., David Chanaiwa (Northside: California State University Foundation, 1976), pp. 320–345; Marable, "African Nationalist;" Marable "A Black School in South Africa", *Negro History Bulletin* 37 (June-July 1974): 258–261; and Davis, "John L. Dube".

[72]Smith, *Aggrey,* pp. 61–62; Kimble, *Political History of Ghana,* pp. 113, 115–117, 548; King, "Aggrey," pp. 527–530.

[73]More specific detail on these African students, plus their relationship to the African missions movement, is contained in Walter L. Williams, "Black American Attitudes toward Africa: The Missionary Movement, 1877–1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974).

APPENDIX

AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870–1900
(Data compiled from the sources listed in the notes)

Name	Known Dates in the USA	Country of Origin	Ethnic Group
	Lincoln University, Lincoln, Pennsylvania		
John Knox	1873–?	Liberia	Bassa[2]
Calvin Wright	1873–?	Liberia	Bassa[2]
*Samuel S. Sevier	1873–1884 & 1886–1918	Liberia	Bassa[3]
Edward Wright	1873–?	Liberia	Bassa[2]
*Robert Deputie	1873–1882	Liberia	Bassa[4]
*Alonzo Miller	1873–1882	Liberia	Bassa
*Robert King	1873–1882	Liberia	Bassa
*Thomas Roberts	1873–1883	Liberia	Vai
*James Wilson	1873–1882	Liberia	"Congo" Recaptured African[3]
John Dillon	1877–?	Liberia	?
George Waltham Bell	ca. 1878–post 1918	Ethiopia	?[2]
Thomas Amos	1879–?	Liberia	?
Thomas Campbell	1882–?	Liberia	?
Thomas Sherman	1886–?	Liberia	Vai
*J. W. N. Hilton	1886–1890	Liberia	?
Thomas A. Johns	1886–?	Liberia	?
*George Barh-Fofoe Peabody	1886–1891	Liberia	Bassa
Luke Anthony	1886–ca. 1896	Liberia	Bassa[5]
Samuel Ross	1887–?	Liberia	?
Frank Itita Boughton	1887–1892	Gabon	?
Charles Dunbar	1890–1895	Liberia	?[6]
Ulysses Campbell	1891–?	Liberia	?
Robert Beadle	1892–?	Liberia	?
*Thomas Katiya	1896–1903	S. Africa	Xhosa
*Edward Magaya	1896–1903	S. Africa	Xhosa
Thomas Lewis	1898–?	Liberia	?
Ralph Beadle	1899–?	Liberia	?

APPENDIX (Continued)

Name	Known Dates in the USA	Country of Origin	Ethnic Group
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennesee			
*A. P. Miller	post-1870–pre-1890	Sierra Leone	Mendi
*Mrs. A. P. Miller	post-1870–pre-1890	Sierra Leone	Mendi
*Nathaniel Nurse	post-1870–pre-1890	Liberia Sierra	??
*A. E. Jackson	post-1870–pre-1890	Leone Sierra	Mendi
*Mrs. A. E. Jackson	post-1870–pre-1890	Leone Sierra	Mendi
Albert B. Howett	1890–?	Leone	Mendi
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut			
Orishatukeh Faduma (William Davis)	1891–1914	Sierra Leone	Yoruba[1]
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio and Union Missionary Training Institute, Brooklyn, N.Y.			
*John Langalibalele Dube	1887–1892, 1896–1899	South Africa	Zulu
Nichols Latin School, Lewiston, Main			
Lews P. Clinton (Somayou)	pre-1892–?	Liberia	Bassa
Dayton, Ohio High School			
*Daniel Flickinger Wilberforce	1871–1878	Sierra Leone	Sherbro[4]

APPENDIX (Continued)

Name	Known Dates in the USA	Country of Origin	Ethnic Group
Unidentified school in Ashville, North Carolina			
Etna Holderness	ca. 1893–1897	Liberia	Bassa
Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tennesee			
Momolu Massaqui (Albert Thompson)	ca. 1891–?	Liberia	Vai
Benjamin Payne	ca. 1891–?	Liberia	Bassa
Frank Payne	ca. 1891–?	Liberia	Kru
Harold Wood	ca. 1891–?	Liberia	Kru
Gilbert Haven	ca. 1891–?	Liberia	Dye
Extein Norton University			
Monte Kama	1897–?	South Africa	?
Lincoln University, Lincoln, Pennsylvania			
Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina			
Alfred Impey	1897– died 1898	South Africa	?
Wayland Seminary and Benedict College, Greensboro, North Carolina			
Alfred Seem	1898–?	South Africa	?
Virginia Theological Seminary, Lynchburg, Virginia			
*John Chilembwe	1897–1900	Nyasaland	Ajawa[1]
Isiah Ignati	1898–?	S. Africa	?

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AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870–1900
(Data compiled from the sources listed in the notes)

Name	Known Dates in the USA	Country of Origin	Ethnic Group
Alabama Normal Institute, Normal, Alabama			
Wesley Pitman	1894–post-1897	Liberia	?
Edward Mayfield Boyle	pre-1896–1899–?	Sierra Leone	?
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia			
A. G. Decker	1899–?	Sierra Leone	
G. P. Richards	1899–?	Sierra Leone	?
I. A. Johnson	1899–?	Sierra Leone	?
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio			
*Charlotte Makhomo Manye	1895–1901	S. Africa	Basuto-Sepedi[1]
Charles Lentallus Dube	1896–1904	S. Africa	Zulu
Thomas Masiza Kakaza	1896–1902	S. Africa	Abambo
Henry Colbourne Mxikinya	1896–1900	S. Africa	Amahlubi
*Marshall Macdonald Maxeke	1897–1903	S. Africa	Xhosa[1]
*James Yapi Tantsi	1897–1905	S. Africa	Tembu[1]
Adelaide Tyandyatwa Tantse	1898–1905	S. Africa	Tembu
Harsent Nggbe Tantse	1898–?	S. Africa	Tembu
Mbulaleni Kuzawayo	1899–?	S. Africa	Zulu
John Manye	1899–?	S. Africa	Sepedi
Michael Seganoe	1899–?	Bechuanaland	Tswana

APPENDIX (Continued)

Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina			
William Hockman	1897–1902	Gold Coast	Fanti
James E. K. Aggrey	1898–1924	Gold Coast	Fanti[1,7]
*Osam-Pinanko (Frank Arthur)	1899–1903	Gold Coast	Fanti
*J. Drybold Taylor	ca. 1899–1902	Gold Coast	Fanti

*Known to have returned to their native country as a missionary.

[1]Returned to Africa and exerted an influence on African nationalism.

[2]Remained in America and never returned to Africa.

[3]Went to Liberia as a missionary, but returned to the United States one year later and remained in America for the remainder of his life.

[4]Married on Afro-American who accompanied him as a missionary to Africa.

[5]Received M.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania and returned to Liberia as a medical doctor.

[6]Received Law degree and returned to Liberia as a lawyer. He became a prominent Liberian political leader.

[7]Returned to the Gold Coast as a schoolteacher.