

1-1-2003

Final Frontier: The Methodist Church Involvement with the Recolonization of Blacks to Liberia

Sharletta Michelle Green

Follow this and additional works at: <http://mds.marshall.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Inequality and Stratification Commons](#), [Missions and World Christianity Commons](#), [Place and Environment Commons](#), [Service Learning Commons](#), and the [Work, Economy and Organizations Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Green, Sharletta Michelle, "Final Frontier: The Methodist Church Involvement with the Recolonization of Blacks to Liberia" (2003). *Theses, Dissertations and Capstones*. Paper 612.

Final Frontier: The Methodist Church Involvement with the Recolonization of Blacks to Liberia

Sharletta Michelle Green

Thesis submitted to The Graduate College of Marshall University

Master of Arts

Sociology

Lynda Ann Ewen

Kenneth Ambrose

Richard Garnett

Marshall University

Huntington, West Virginia

April 24, 2003

Copyright © 2003

Abstract

Missionary work over the course of one hundred years has changed the face of Liberia as a country. The work has affected the culture, economic structure, ethnic relationships within the country and surrounding areas and the political climate. The missionary movement into Africa did not start until the early eighteenth century.

In my thesis, I will focus on the ways the major stakeholders socially constructed the issues involved. I will focus on the ways in which the ideologies of racism in this period reflected American perceptions of the “dark continent.” This analysis will include the social constructions of church leaders, government officials, and spokespersons for the “Back to Africa Movement.” I will argue that the church was responding to the political ideologies of the period, rather than to an intrinsic religious perspective.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents, Charles and Mary Crump. It is their love and constant support that has helped me through the process of completing this thesis and graduate school.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Lynda Ann Ewen, my academic advisor and professor, who has become my friend for her encouragement, support, talents and gifts she has shared with me during my time at Marshall University.

Also, I would like to thank Quetta Muzzle for her help and expertise as I worked on this thesis. And, finally, I want to thank all the of my family, friends, colleagues and the Sociology department for keeping me on track helping not to give up and their support during my graduate work.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TIMELINE.....	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHRISTIANITY AND SLAVERY	3
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CREATING A MOVEMENT.....	9
AFRICAN COLONIZATION AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT.....	11
VISIONS OF A NEW COLONY	14
SOLICITING AID: GOVERNMENT ROLE IN COLONIZATION OF LIBERIA	16
MOTIVATIONS FOR INVOLVEMENT IN MISSIONS	19
FREE BLACKS	19
THE VIEWS AND IMPACT OF WHITES IN THE COLONIZATION OF LIBERIA	24
HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONARIES IN LIBERIA	28
METHODOLOGY/THEORETICAL APPROACH.....	35
RELIGION AND WORLD MAINTENANCE	39
LITERATURE REVIEW	41
ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS	43
SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH.....	55
LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH.....	56
RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	57

REFERENCES58

WEBSITES60

Timeline

Methodism

American Colonies

	1619	First African slaves brought to English colonies (Jamestown, Virginia)
	1638	New England slave trade begins in Boston
John Wesley is born	1703	
Formation of Methodist	1739	Slave revolt in South Carolina societies in/around London
John Wesley baptizes two African American slaves which breaks the color barrier for Methodist societies	1758	
Methodist colonists arrive in America	1760	
Richard Allen one of the first African Americans licensed to preach Formation of black congregations	1784	Dividing Western Territories for new states
John Wesley writes letter to Wilberforce before he dies concerning slavery	1791	Bill of Rights
	1807	England and US pass laws against slavery
	1811	Thomas Jefferson makes request about a settlement for colored people on the West Coast of Africa
African Methodist Episcopal	1816	American Colonization

Church founded		Society began organizing
Formation of Methodist Missionary Society	1819	
	1820	American Colonization Society officially formed
African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded	1822	Liberian settlement was formed by US slaves and free blacks
Organization of Methodist Protestant church	1830	Abolitionist movement in the North
Melville Cox first White Methodist missionary in Liberia dies a few months later Of "African fever"	1833	
Methodist Church recognized Conference in Liberia	1836	New York Women's Anti-Slavery Society bars African Americans from its membership roles
Methodist Church splits into The Methodist Episcopal Church And the Methodist Episcopal Church South	1844	
	1847	Liberia creates a constitution and is formally named and recognized

Introduction

In the last part of the eighteenth century, America embarked on new territory. Only five years after the Declaration of Independence was signed, Thomas Jefferson and the new government faced a new social dilemma- free blacks and their place in society. The Christian church also was struggling with its convictions about slavery and free blacks in society, as well as in the church. The current ideologies of many whites during this period held that many blacks (persons of African descent) were uneducated and lacked Christian values and teachings to calm their barbaric nature. Because of this ideology, whites thought that blacks posed a threat to society. More importantly, it was believed that free blacks would mix with the whites, destroying the well-defined racial lines, that they would compete with whites for jobs, and that they would want to worship in the same churches as free citizens.

Over the course of several years, the government, along with private citizens, devised a plan to remove free blacks and manumitted slaves from American soil back to Africa- their “native” land. The American Colonization Society (ACS) was created in 1816 by Robert Finley and a group of Presbyterian ministers. They had to deal with two separate groups-- those who wanted to free slaves and afford them the opportunity to return to their native Africa and those who were slave owners who were concerned about the free blacks and wanted to remove them from American soil (www.denison.edu). The ACS enlisted the help of churches to help finance this project. Many well-meaning Christians saw this movement as a way to deal with the rising racial tensions in society, the church, and to take the gospel to Africa.

My argument will be that the church (with particular emphasis on the Methodist church) aligned itself with a social movement to deal with the ideological contradictions within the

church on slavery, to move into uncharted ground to save the heathens of the “dark continent”, and to gain economic and political positioning in society. The underlying sociological question is how did the Methodist church legitimate racism in Liberia? How was this legitimation a reflection of the church’s construction of race in America?

Liberia was chosen for its location on the continent of Africa and its similarities to Sierra Leone. I will explore the means, mode and opportunity of the church involvement with the ACS movement. Also, I will examine how this movement helped create churches and schools, a new conference within the Methodist church, and the motivations that led free blacks and whites to go to Africa to create a new colony.

Liberia is located on the Western tip of Africa off the Atlantic Ocean. It has a coastal belt 80 miles wide, with beaches, lagoons and marshes. The central region has rolling plateaus, low mountains, and dense forest. The climate is considered warm and humid. Its current ethnic groups may have settled in Liberia between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. The main source of income during this time was trade (including slave trade) between European merchants and Native coastal inhabitants (<http://www.sim.org>).

Christianity and Slavery

In order to understand the religious construction of race, one must understand the relationship between Christianity and slavery.

The institution of slavery, as it existed in the United States, began around 1619 and lasted until 1865. Slavery existed in all the English mainland colonies and dominated agricultural production from Maryland south. Eight of the presidents of the United States owned slaves. American politics was dominated by debates over slavery, which led to the American Civil War.

American slavery had distinctive features. Ninety percent of American slaves lived in the South and slavery in America experienced a natural population growth. Therefore, even after slave trade was declared illegal, slavery persisted in the New World. The slave population of the United States more than tripled, from approximately 1.2 million into almost 4 million by 1860. This natural growth in population led to a change from African slaves to African American slaves (Kolchin: "Slavery in the United States" 1993-1997). The Americanization of slaves as well as free blacks influenced the way they viewed family, religion, society, the economy and government. This new awareness of self and surroundings led to slave revolts and many movements on the free blacks' behalf for better treatment and an equal place in the new land, which had become their home. In the midst of all the changes in the slave and free black communities, the government was working on a plan to deal with the issues that arose out of the institution of slavery and the development of a moral conscience on the issues of slavery by many whites.

While the masters had a tight reign on the slaves, they still lived their own lives. They made friends, fell in love, enjoyed what life they had, prayed, sang and told stories. The

important anchors in the slaves' lives were families and religion. In the South, the family defined the living arrangements of slaves: most slaves had a nuclear family with a mother, father and children; however, due to the slave trade, there was no security or stability in the family. Slave owners reserved and practiced the right to sell their slaves. Despite this fact, the families still served as a refuge and center of the slaves' lives.

Christianity was introduced to slaves for a variety of reasons. Whites noticed that blacks were different from them physically as well as socially and assumed their mental status was impaired because of these visual observations. Since whites assumed superior status to blacks-- free and slave-- based on color, they felt it was their duty to afford them proper religious instruction. They felt it necessary:

That to impart the Gospel to the Negroes of our country is a duty which God in his providence and in his word imposes on us. In the discharge of this duty, we separate entirely the civil and religious condition of this people; and while we devote ourselves to the improvement of the latter, we disclaim all interference with the former. That the laws of the States shall permit the plan, which we shall pursue for their religious instruction... We deem religious instruction to master and servant every way conducive to our interest of this world and for that, which is to come (Jones 1844:11).

While the religious instruction for slaves was important to the whites that felt it necessary to civilize the blacks, religion soon took new meaning for slaves as well as free blacks. Religion served a different purpose for free blacks in the North and slaves in the South. In the North religion became the empowering force that encouraged and invoked change in the lives of

the free blacks. They now held a purpose and understood that they did not have to be an oppressed people. The Gospel was thus liberating and transforming which laid the foundation for many of the movements including the abolitionists and the Underground Railroad. In the South religion became a source of comfort for the oppressed people in a weary land. The slaves had been taught that while they had trials in this life there would be no more sorrow and weeping in heaven. They focused on the rewards of the afterlife and did not experience the liberation, as did the Northern blacks. This religious experience led to creation of the Negro Spirituals and the gift of songs that enriched the black church in the North and the South.

Religion served as a second refuge. African slaves clung to their native religions, and many slave-owners were suspicious of others who sought to convert their slaves to Christianity, because they feared converted slaves would have to be set free. Christianity was increasingly central to the slaves' cultural life following the American Revolutionary war. Many slaves were converted during the religious revivals that swept through the South in the last part of the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries. It was usual for slaves to belong to the same denomination as white Southerners; the largest denominations were the Baptists and Methodists. Slaves were encouraged to attend white churches, but had to sit in slave galleries and were taught to be obedient to their masters. However, while in the same church with their masters, an "invisible" church emerged on the plantations, one where the slaves were in control and where black ministers preached (Kolchin: "Slavery in the United States" 1993-1997). Slaveholders as well as abolitionists and slaves all used the Bible to support slavery and to oppose slavery. Slaveholders used the scripture in the New Testament "Slaves, be obedient to masters", while slaves and abolitionists used the Exodus story of the liberation of the Hebrew people from slavery as a mandate to free American slaves (<http://www.gbgn-umc.org/UMW/bible/slavery.stm>). Not

all slaves accepted the messages these ministers preached or even had access to hear their preaching and teaching.

Due to their enslavement, blacks suffered all the evils associated with slavery even if they had never been enslaved. As early as 1808, churches were speaking out against slavery-- "Throughout Methodism the Negroes worshiped generally with the whites, occupying certain parts of the church buildings"(Shaw 1954: 21). In 1824 Methodist churches adopted rules the preacher should "enforce upon their members" the importance of teaching their slaves to read the Word of God and to afford them time to worship God regularly on Sabbath days (Shaw 1954:22-23).

Methodist preachers were seeking African-Americans, both slave and free to preach the gospel to and many responded to this call to faith and acceptance as God's children (Hendrix 1994: 248). During the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning years of the nineteenth, Blacks were revolting against white domination in the Methodist churches of Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York City and were moving toward the formation of their own independent churches (Hendrix 1994:248). White efforts to keep the Black expressions of religion under control in the slave-holding South were somewhat futile. Slaves continued to meet at night in their quarters and to sing and pray with their own preachers and teachers in the faith.

Slaves were caught between the reality of the present pain and the hope of future.

A common theme among Black Christians was the belief that though separated in this life from family and friends they were sure to meet in heaven. The consolations that came to the slave in his present life can probably be explained when it is understood that the Black religion was not a set of beliefs or a code of

ethics but an experience-an experience he interpreted as one of the Almighty Sovereign God (Hendrix 1994:250).

The slaves who converted to Christianity found bonds of unity in the Old and New Testament. They used the themes of the Hebrew freedom from slavery and promise of a homeland in Exodus, the calls for justice by the prophets, and the teachings of Jesus, who ministered to the poor and marginalized, suffered, and died unjustly, all spoke to their experience of bondage and oppression (<http://www.gbgm-umc.org/UMW/bible/slavery.stm>).

John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist church wrote a letter that explained his position on slavery, which he prayed his fellow Methodist would adhere to and practice. The letter to William Wilberforce, a Member of Parliament and convert of Wesley was written in 1791 to encourage him to take action for change.

Dear Sir:

Unless the divine power has raised you us to be as *Athanasius contra mundum*, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villainy which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But if God be fore you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? O be not weary of well doing! Go on, in the name of God and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.

Reading this morning wrote by a poor African, I was particularly struck by that circumstance that a man who has a black skin, being wronged or outraged by a

white man, can have no redress; it being a “law” in our colonies that the oath of a black against a white goes for nothing.

What villainy is this?

That he who has guided you from youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant,

John Wesley

American Methodists at first followed John Wesley’s strong anti-slavery stance, denouncing participation in the slave trade and slaveholding, but later they yielded to economic and political pressures (<http://www.gbgm-umc.org/UMW/bible/slavery.stm>).

The church for years had been divided over the issue of slavery, but the division was not of whether slavery was right or wrong, but over the right of ministers to hold slaves. The changes in the acceptance of slavery occurred during the period of the Revolutionary struggle, when a large number of slave owners obtained membership in the Methodist societies... (Free Methodist).

When Bishop Andrews married a slaveholding wife, the Methodist Episcopal Church added a new chapter in its Discipline declaring against all forms of slaveholding.

Methodism grew in the South. The church took a stand on slave conversion and the manumission of slaves. The difference in views surrounding the issue of slavery, conversion and manumission led the church to split in 1844 Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South (Hendrix 1994:247).

Historical Background: Creating a Movement

To understand the cultural landscape of this discussion and the reasons the church became involved with a social movement, it is necessary to look at the historical background of the events and how this movement was created.

Since 1714, the American people have asked the question, “What shall we do with the Negro population”? Advocates for the deportation of Negroes had solicited the aid of religious and humanitarian organizations. Private sectors alone could not make a way for colonization of the Negroes in a place in a distant enough place from the whites. It was not until 1815, when Paul Cuffe made the successful voyage with thirty-eight Negroes to the West coast of Africa that a revival in the colonization discussions gain momentum (Woodson: 211).

Thomas Jefferson made a request in 1811 about a settlement for colored people on the West Coast of Africa. “The most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off the black population; nothing is more to be wished than that the United States should themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa” (Woodson: 211).

Staudenraus looks at John Mills’ thoughts on colonization and finds this statement, “if an evil exists in a community, a remedy must be sought, especially if it be an evil generally and necessarily increasing in its unhappy effect” (page 19). Systematic colonization would strengthen society and benefit the emigrating blacks (page 19). “In the North, colonization was billed as a moderate anti-slavery approach: Slaves should be freed, but the difficulties posed by racial integration would best be avoided by sending freed slaves to Africa. However, in the South, colonization was billed as a “neutral” option for dealing with the “problem” of the increasing black population in America” (Yale, Slavery and Abolition). According to Eunjin Park (1995), white Americans proposed different plans for the colonization for free blacks, who

were increasing in numbers through “state-enacted emancipation,” private manumissions, and flight. Virginia was the first to come up with a plan for colonization. A number of whites in Virginia believed slavery should be abolished. However, they were worried that the free black population would cause social problems, interracial mixing and racial confrontations.

In 1776, Thomas Jefferson recommended, “Freed slaves should be ‘colonized’ to a place that would be most suitable for them”. A second proposal came from Ferdinando Fairfax in 1790. “He proposed that Congress should acquire a colony in Africa and transport free blacks in the United States” and those voluntarily manumitted by slave owners, and it should supply “support, protection and government of the colony until it was able to function independently. Fairfax believed Africa was the right place for the colony, the climate was ‘native’ to blacks and it was far enough away to keep down the ‘antagonisms of the two races’”.

Samuel Hopkins devised another plan for colonization from his African missionary plan. Hopkins planned to send “two pious black Americans in his congregation,” educated and Christianized by whites as missionaries to Africa. He sought support from the society and other organizations. Hopkins believed slavery was a result of white man’s self-love, which in his opinion was the greatest sin against God. In Hopkins’ opinion “evangelization of Africa was not only partial compensation for the injustices committed against Africans, but also a practical application of universal benevolence to the unredeemed in the Dark Continent”.

The plan for colonization grew out of fear of changes in the carefully constructed institution of slave labor for profit; but became a national campaign to remove all blacks free and slave from America.

African Colonization as a Social Movement

A social movement is described as a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of shared collective identities (Carlo Ruzza-Essex University).

Philip Staudenraus took the position that “the social ‘evil’ which most concerned the American Colonization Society (ACS) was the presence of a second race, a socially inferior and repressed nation dragged to the Western Hemisphere in chains and abused with impunity. Negro slavery was but a symbol of a grievous transgression against God’s ruler ship over the universe. The presence of an alien nation in America was evidence of man’s inhumanity to man and threatened the peace and stability of society. Removal of the alien race would atone for the African slave trade, root out slavery, restore the Africans to their divinely ordained home, civilize the Dark Continent, and hasten the coming of the American nation’s millennium when “one happy, united, homogeneous race of freedmen would tread the land.”

The removal of Negro slaves was very important, due to the fear of what the free Negro may accomplish in America. The white masters feared a reverse in roles among blacks and whites would prove detrimental to American society. Thomas Jefferson proposed the emancipation of slaves in a far off place. With the right training, the Negro could learn to be creatures acceptable to living free and on their own.

Racism played a major role in all who supported colonization, particularly the Methodist church. While the Methodist church took the position that slavery was wrong, many within the church were submerged in the economic and political gain of slavery. Also, the church never

allowed blacks full participation in the worship experience. Blacks had to worship in what were known as slave galleries, i.e. balconies or backs of the church. They were not included or considered in the decisions made concerning church business. Race had become a defining factor in equal access to the Christian life for blacks.

The Church gained an understanding of race from society and the ruling class definition that blacks were an inferior race of people. First, the literature and writings of the time such as plays by William Shakespeare (Takaki), letters from explorers depicted Africans as large, barbaric men and women who did not speak English. This depiction of blacks was all people who had never seen them had to go on. So, in their minds all people who were black had to be like the ones in the stories they had read or heard.

Henry Sherwood (1916) contends that Samuel Hopkins hoped that both Africa and America, and civilization in general, would benefit by colonizing the American Negroes beyond the Atlantic. Africa would receive the blessings of Christianity through the gospel; schools and churches would be established. The prospective emigrants would follow the direction of superior whites, which would instruct them in the Bible, arts and sciences. America would benefit, by the Negro population gradually decreasing, the free blacks sent to colonize and emancipated slaves who would soon follow. Slavery would be abolished in America and the Negro could develop mind and muscle in a land where they would be free and happy away from America.

Park takes the position that Hopkins saw that emancipated blacks became victims of white racial prejudice, and that resettlement in Africa would help protect their welfare. Hopkins had visions that with the new millennium, America would advance and this would spread to the rest of the world.

Hopkins saw this as a divine design to allow Africans to be enslaved and brought to the America in order to expose them to the gospel and civilized. Then they could return to their homeland and spread the gospel into the dark areas of the world. Also, they could promote arts and science, thus saving them from their barbaric ways.

In other words, Hopkins wanted to save the Africans from themselves and believed that slavery, emancipation and colonization were the means in which this salvation would take place for Africans. Hopkins used the tactic of appealing to the senses and feelings of sympathy for these poor barbaric people that America could help if they would support colonizing the African ex-slave in Africa. Because of these efforts, the Methodist church became the largest and most influential religious institution in Liberia.

Visions of a new Colony

The United States, stood to gain great commercial returns, “when the trade heretofore carried on with the West Indies dwindled away because of the use of slave labor, there, Africa, rich in natural resources and intelligently cultivated by free blacks, would furnish the commodities to take its place” (Sherwood: 9). However, Liberia was not founded with an explicit commercial motive. The American Colonization Society did not plan to receive financial gain from this project; it anticipated the settlers would become economically self-sufficient. Some individuals had different plans for this new colony. The ACS “endorsed agriculture because they believed that Afro-Americans were unsuited for occupations other than tilling the soil.” Colonization was appealing to antislavery religious leaders. Samuel Hopkins was one of the promoters of colonization in the last part of the eighteen-century, according to Tom Shick (1982: 43). “The ACS was convinced that the degradation of the African race would never end until those who were able demonstrated the capacity for social and political elevation. ...Emigration of, more than their escape, was the perceived duty in order to establish a strong, independent ‘Negro Republic’” (Shick 1982:47).

Many Americans were like Thomas Jefferson, who willingly admitted, “Slavery was a potential (bane) on the new nation... If the practice of human bondage (slavery) was going to end, how could whites protect society from the dangers of miscegenation, which might be possible after abolition?” Colonization offered an alluring solution. If men now take the position that slavery and slave trade are morally wrong, why not reverse the act and return free slaves to Africa? There were many benefits to colonization, building a new society in Africa, the

removal of America's societal stress, free blacks, and "Africa would receive the advantage of Christianity and civilization from its returning descendants."

Edward Wilmot Blyden, a Liberian citizen, argued that emigration of blacks to Africa had a direct mandate from God. Their sojourn in slavery was providential, in that it prepared them to return to Africa and spread 'Christianity and civilization' among their African brothers and sisters (Shick 1982:55).

Sherwood believed that, "Blacks in Africa would gradually civilize themselves with the assistance of those from America and the [w]hites would never mingle with them. Europe would open a vast market to her manufacturers and obtain, at cheap rates, and without effusion of blood, those products which cost her at the islands so much many and so many crimes." By establishing an independent nation of free Negroes on the Coast of Africa, the area would soon be immune from the slave trade and the conversion of native Africans would eventually put an end to trafficking human beings.

African Americans return to West Africa during the nineteenth century was carried out with the specific notion of achieving "African redemption" through the spread of "civilization and Christianity" across Africa. This position was used to justify the establishment of Liberia in 1822.

Although exiled from America, the Americo-Liberians created a society, which reflected their American background, and it was unique to the traditional African culture. Their experience shaped the attitudes among settler descendants (Shick1982: 45).

Soliciting Aid: Government Role in Colonization of Liberia

In order to understand the government's willingness to endorse and lend aid to the ACS, it is important to understand the politics and economic position of the country during this movement and the division in the North and South.

The southern economy had become almost exclusively slavery driven, cash crop agriculture one, totally dependant on British markets, and totally indebted to British or British allied finance. As a result, close to between 80 to 90 percent of all land in the slave states was owned by about 2 to 3 percent of the population who were slaveholders; three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in a population of 11 million. Of these, no more than one hundred thousand owned two-thirds of all the land and 90 percent of all the enslaved black population of 4 million. The southern economy was totally dependant on outside markets for the sale of its two major export commodities, raw, unfinished cotton and to a lesser degree rice; it was similarly dependant on outside markets for the bulk of its foodstuffs almost all consumer goods, and virtually all capital goods. Eighty-four percent of the labor force in the south was engaged in agriculture.

Along with the development of an industrial economy, agriculture in the northern states had become significantly more productive. The reasons can be seen in the fact that investments in both agricultural and manufacturing were vastly greater in the northern free states than in the slave labor economy of the south... As the brutally primitive style of agriculture depleted the soil, for southern capital was tied up in land and slaves, and therefore barred any investment in improvements in cultivation, diversification, or new technologies, the surge for yet new and

untapped land in the deep south, the “black-belt” states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, along with the demand for even greater numbers of slave laborers, turned older planter states like Virginia into slave breeders.

The economy of the South was engrossed in slave labor and the North was primarily industrial. This fact began to cause political division in the United States that would eventually lead to a war. According to President Abraham Lincoln, “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” He did not believe the government could endure permanently half slave and half free population on American soil. He stated he did not expect the house to fall; but he expected the house to cease to be divided (<http://www.pbs.org>). So, the government set forth to correct the problem of slavery by endorsing the ACS.

In 1807, a federal law was passed making importation of African slaves to the United States illegal. On March 3, 1819, the bill proposed by Charles F. Mercer to transfer all responsibility of disposing rescued Africans from the state to the federal government became a law as “an Act in addition to the acts prohibiting slave trade.” James Monroe discussed the idea of forming a colony in Africa with his cabinet advisers. In 1819, Monroe sent two federal agents and an ACS representative to West Africa (Shick 1982:47-48).

Congress voted to use \$100,000 to start a colony in 1819. The American Colonization society (ACS) bought a fifty-mile span of land known for the deadly “African fever” or malaria from six Bassa chieftains (<http://www.nails.gov.tt>). In 1822, freed US slaves and free blacks started the settlement now called Liberia. The colonization of this settlement of Africans in Liberia was sponsored by ACS (<http://www.nails.gov.tt>).

By 1847, the US slave settlers ratified a constitution written by a Harvard professor, and then they issued the Liberian Declaration of Independence. Liberia’s name was created from the

work “liberty”. The flag is red, white and blue with eleven stripes and one star. The capitol named Monrovia for President James Monroe. The national motto, “The Love of Liberty brought us here”.

The American Colonization Society appealed to American churches to provide support, by taking offerings at their Fourth of July celebrations, to Christianize Africa (Hendrix 1994:253). The Methodist church responded to the request by lifting offerings for the ACS and sending missionaries to aid in the colonization of Liberia. Mainly free blacks served as missionaries in Liberia until the late 1830’s.

Motivations for Involvement in Missions

Free Blacks

*Let America be America again.
Let it be the dream it used to be.
Let it be the Pioneer on the plain
Seeking a home where he himself is free.
(America never was America to me.)
Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed—
Let it be that great strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme
That any man be crushed by one above.
(It never was America to me.)
O, let my land be a land where Liberty
Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free,
Equality is in the air we breathe.
(There's never been equality for me,
Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free.")*

Let America Be America Again
Langston Hughes

There were mixed feelings in the black community about the colonization act, just as in the white community. Many Black Americans believed as Langston Hughes so eloquently states in the poem above, that the country of their birth was their country and had no desire to relocate to Liberia (Egerton). However, many free blacks who were moderately prosperous entrepreneurs were tired of being treated like second-class citizens-- having to get off the sidewalk when a white man walked toward them, not being able to go certain places and the day-to-day reminder of living in a place where they were only seen as undesirable. Some free blacks decided that America would never give them an even break and embarked on a journey to Liberia for freedom.

On January 15, 1817, there was a meeting called by black leaders to discuss the American Colonization Society. Over 3,000 black men attended in hopes to support this endeavor. However, there were none in support of the move to Africa. The leaders of this meeting did not understand the implications of this movement in the way that the common blacks in attendance had. While the intentions of some of the ACS members may have been noble and good, the organization was under the influence of its Southern delegates and its aim was to remove free blacks from the country because of their strong opposition to slavery (Forten Letter). “Whereas our ancestors (not of choice) were the first cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendents feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil... Resolved, that we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering and of wrongs...” (Forten Letter).

We look upon the American Colonization Society as one of the most arrant enemies of the colored man, ever seeking to discomfit him, and envying him of every privilege that he may enjoy. We believe it to be anti-Christian in its character, and misanthropic in its pretended sympathies. Because if this were not the case, men could not be found professing morality and Christianity as to our astonishment we have found them, who unhesitatingly say: “I know it is right,” that is in itself, “to do” so and so, “and am willing and ready to do it, but only on condition, that you go to Africa” (Richard Allen and James Forten, <http://www.libraries.wvu.edu/delany/colonize.htm>).

Despite their treatment in America, blacks considered themselves a part of this country and did not want to leave. They would never assimilate fully into the white culture, but were more American than African culturally.

There were free blacks in America who had never been enslaved. They had enjoyed a certain amount of freedom particularly those who lived in New Orleans, and certain parts of the North. Many operated their own businesses and America was their home. However, there were also free blacks that had been manumitted by their owners, escaped or purchased their freedom. These men and women helped build this country with their sweat, tears and blood. America was not only home, but it had become a part of them by virtue of their labor. For many blacks free and slave Africa was a distant memory or a place they heard about. The new generation of blacks on American soil had a unique culture impacted by slavery, the culture and ideas imposed on them by whites, which controlled every aspect of their lives. Eventually blacks growing tired of the discrimination and degradation in the white Methodist church separated and formed churches for blacks in the North. African-Americans took the European-originated evangelical Christianity and created a faith that was distinctly their own by blending it with African themes. However, in the South this new faith became an “enabling” and a “coping” religion (Hendrix 1994:251). There was a new religion, a combination of what whites taught them and the remnants of familiar traditions passed down from previous generations of their land of origin, Africa.

Free blacks took time to assess the meaning of being American. Richard Allen, an exception to the general rule that it was white Methodists who supported colonization was a Bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, addressed the issues at hand in a letter to the people of color. In the Declaration of Independence, it is stated that all men are born free, equal,

and endowed with unalienable rights, the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Allen demanded that the deplorable situation in which his people were suffering be evaluated by those who could help make changes and asked that they not support the deportation of blacks to Africa.

“However great the debt which these United States may owe to injured Africa, and however unjustly her sons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still we who have been born and nurture on this soil, we, whose habits, manners, and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that Society to that much afflicted country.”

Blacks suggested other areas, in which colonization would be acceptable, Canada, parts of Pennsylvania, Haiti. They knew the treatment they received, as people was unjust. This act was the start of another movement within the movement, which is characteristic of social movements.

There were two expressed religious factors to emigration to Liberia. First, once in Africa the religious blacks believed they could practice their faith as they pleased away from the dominating suspicious whites. They would no longer have to slip away to secret worship places; they would also have complete control over all church activities. Second, there was a desire for blacks to share their newfound faith with those who had been left behind on what they now considered the ‘dark continent’. The blacks that colonized Liberia took with them a new set of beliefs and a “pattern of emotional experiences, but also the institutional forms in which those beliefs and experiences were embodied”. Taking Christianity to Liberia and colonization occurred simultaneously (Hendrix 1994:252).

Immigrating to Africa was a way of realizing freedom in a new way for blacks. While slavery was being challenged on all fronts in America, equal treatment of blacks would never be achieved. Blacks could never fully assimilate into the dominant culture due to the color of their skin. The ability to take what they had gained by living in America and the new sense of being from their encounter and embrace of Christianity gave blacks that supported Colonization, a zeal to leave America and return to Mother Africa.

There would no longer be the need to hide in order to worship God or to speak in code so the Whites would not know what was being planned or said. There would be freedom to worship with together and not separated because of their color. Blacks believed they would have the freedom they so desperately longed for in the United States, to live and manage their own affairs without white control or interference.

The Views and Impact of Whites in the Colonization of Liberia

The views of whites in the United States played a powerful role in their involvement and aid with the ACS. Many whites held the view that Negroes were ignorant, vulgar, idle, irreligious, impoverished, dressed poorly and spoke broken English, they attributed these facts to blacks' position and circumstances. If these characteristics had been seen in whites, there would have been disgust or even grief over other whites but—they are Negroes. Their character is held in low estimation, throughout the United States (Jones 1844:103). We (whites) are trained to consider them in a state of moral degradation; to expect little that is truly excellent and praise worthy, to overlook what is revolting in them (Jones 1844:104). The numbers were growing and society as a whole faced many new questions concerning blacks on American soil.

The first problem to address was the free blacks, because their numbers were almost equally divided among the free and slave states. Free blacks were located primarily in cities, towns and villages and thinly scattered throughout the country. The view of free blacks was the same as slaves, if not worse, because of their free status and the lack of control whites had over them. “Unless diverted by some uncontrollable circumstance they invariably find their way into cities, partly because they find most society of their own color, and partly because they make out to live at less expense of labor: have the means and opportunities of vicious indulgence more at hand, with less danger of detection, and in every respect are under less supervision and restraint.

Thomas Hendrix contended that, by the end of the war for independence, the new world had over 757,000 African-American slaves and freed men. Many of the Africans coming into the country had little or no Christian orientation. “White efforts to promote religious instruction and to win conversions made very little impact on the Black population during the first century and a half of slavery in the thirteen colonies”(Hendrix 1994:243-244).

The American Christians' interest grew in the redemption of Africa and most of the church bodies had created their own missionary societies by the 1920's. The concern for African souls was an integral part of the colonization movement and grew along with the colony of Black Americans in West Africa. Christians' black and white continued to migrate sporadically as volunteers and missionaries throughout the late 1920's due to the writings and teachings of Hopkins and Thornton.

Blacks began to take notice of what was going on around the country concerning their freedom and rights as people in America. They realized that emancipation "did not remove the burdens of racial oppression". They were influenced by the colonization proposals by Samuel Hopkins and William Thornton and some decided to create their own way of immigrating to Africa (Park 1997:157).

Many masters refused to cooperate with the program of religious instruction among slaves. They were motivated by the fear of what Christianization would do to their slaves. There is a certain "egalitarianism implicit in Christianity," they feared, would make slaves too proud. Baptized Blacks would want to share the communion cup with their masters and sit beside them while listening to the sermon. The expectations of equality would eventually destroy the master-slave relationship and could not be tolerated. Christianity would make slaves "ungovernable and even rebellious" (Hendrix 1994: 244).

The ACS had another goal in mind. Once a colony was planted in Africa, the colonization supporters believed that slaveholders would be encouraged to emancipate slaves for removal there. Charles F. Mercer of Virginia said these words to the Virginia Assembly; "many thousand individuals in our Native state...are restrained from manumitting their slaves...by the

melancholy conviction that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity without manifest injury to their country” (Shick 1982:46).

In other words, the country has a problem created by our own hands. There are slaves. If the slaves are set free what shall be done with them? They are not desirable unless working in the fields in service to us. They will want the same rights, will seek jobs in the same establishments, and want to live in the same neighborhoods as the whites. What shall the country do to stop this ill-fated event from occurring?

The society’s founders hoped to remove the entire African-American population, both slave and free, with the support of the federal government. So, a commitment to resolve America’s racial dilemma by exiling African Americans was interfaced with a mixture of professed benevolence towards the stigmatized African Americans and Christian missionary zeal towards Africa.

According to Shick, Robert Finley saw colonization as an ideal way of using Christian charity to address a social issue of national importance. He believed Africa was an ideal place for a colony and stated three distinct benefits: “we should be cleared of them; we should send to Africa a population partially civilized and Christianized for its benefits; our blacks themselves would be put in better condition” (Shick 1982:46).

The mentality of whites concerning blacks, which Hendrix politely addresses, can best be described by Jones (1844:105),

“At the head of the varieties of the human race, stands the fair, or Caucasians variety; which, has given birth to the most civilized nations of ancient and modern times and had exhibited the moral and intellectual powers of human nature in their highest degree of perfection” At the foot, stands the black or Ethiopian

variety, which has remained in a rude and barbarous state; and been looked upon and treated as inferior by all the other varieties of the human race, from time immemorial.”

The statements by Finley and Jones echoed the views of many whites of this time; that blacks were not civilized until white people taught them to speak English and broke their barbaric nature through enslaving them and converting them to Christianity. Free blacks and slaves had an understanding of the white man’s ways and were saved. They should now take the inferior, prejudicial, European ideology to Africa and, in turn, civilize the natives.

History of Methodist Missionaries in Liberia

The missionary movement further propagated the idea that blacks were inferior to whites and needed them to educate, mold, Christianize and guide them to become what God intended for them to be under the auspices of sharing the gospel for salvation.

Wade Barclay takes the position that the Liberia missions' work was closely tied to the organization of the American Colonization Society (ACS). "ACS was organized in 1816 in Washington, D.C. by a group concerned for the welfare of American Negroes; the society enlisted the interest and cooperation of the churches. The Methodist church collected money; however, the African-American Methodists in Liberia did not receive any of the money during their first ten years as missionaries in Liberia (Hendrix 1994:253), due to the status of blacks in the Methodist Church and their lack of ordained clergy.

Bushrod Washington, president of the ACS, believed that the ACS could be a principal agency "for the conversion of the Africans to Christianity" by using native teachers. Also, others believed that "Christian Negroes from the United States could serve as the nucleus of a civilized Christian state whose influence might ultimately permeate the entire continent. Many supporters were mainly interested in this American colony as an asylum for free Negroes who were having difficulty securing safety and economic opportunity. Some slave owners despised the institution of slavery, yet felt that free Negroes were a menace to white society. These slave owners were willing to free their slaves if a place of refuge was provided for them outside of the United States. Some abolitionists believed that providing a colony for Negroes in Africa could be an effective way of helping the cause of abolition, others felt removing free Negroes would cause slavery to become more popular (Barclay, 1949:325-326).

The ACS continued to send new emigrants to their colony and continued to encourage religious groups to establish missionary programs in Liberia among the settlers and the native Africans. Melville B. Cox was the first ordained Methodist missionary to Liberia in March of 1833. He was followed by several white missionaries: S.J. Matthews, John B. Barton, Henry P. Barker, Jabez Burton, John Seys, and one female teacher Miss Sophronia Farrington (Shick 1982:52-53). There were African-Americans who also volunteered in the beginning to be missionaries. Francis Burns was a volunteer who would later become the first missionary bishop of the Methodist Church. The Methodists formed an Annual Conference, which consisted of three districts with presiding elders and its circuits, stations and Sunday schools. The Annual Conference had twenty-one members (Shick 1982:53).

The early colonists in Liberia served as their own missionaries. These African Americans provided their own religious leadership from 1822-1832. They created their own religious societies, built churches and served as teachers for their schools (Hendrix 1994:252).

Melville B. Cox was a Methodist missionary to Africa. He was one of the first Methodist missionaries to reach Liberia. In his memoirs as a missionary he states, "I believe there is a responsibility resting on American Christians, to project and sustain this mission that rests on no other Christians in Christendom. I believe there rests a responsibility on American Methodists, in this work, that rest on no other denomination in the world" (Cox 1833: 79).

Cox felt it was his duty, as well that of all good Methodists to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ. He speaks of his call to serve in Liberia as though he and only he was called to save the "heathens" from their barbaric ways (Cox 1833: 83). On Tuesday 12, (1833) Melville Cox wrote:

“I love Liberia more than ever. It is humble in its appearance, compared with Bathurst and Free town; its buildings are smaller, and have less neatness, less taste, and less comfort about them. But, after all, I doubt if this be a real fault. The emigrants were mostly poor on their arrival, and necessity, in the true spirit of the pilgrims of New England, as the mother of virtue, compelled them to be economical. Time and industry will remedy the evil, if evil it be. –Is there a good foundation? Are there resources in Liberia for a great and growing republic? I have no doubt of it. We need missions-missions by white men here. We need, too, schools and white teachers in them” (Cox 1833: 113).

The last two statements emphasize the Euro centric view of Melville Cox. He thought and documented in his memoirs, white man’s superiority over blacks religiously, economically, educationally and morally. Melville Cox hoped to establish four things as a missionary in Liberia:

- 1) To establish a mission at Grand Bassa, to connect with it a school and to give the care of both into the hands of a local preacher who has just arrived from Virginia.
- 2) To establish the New-York Mission at Sego, on the Niger...
- 3) I want to establish a school here, which will connect with it agriculture and art. I propose the main Wesleyan Seminary as a model, as near as may be. There should be a large farm. This in a few years would support the whole school. There must also be shoemakers, tanners, black smiths, carpenters, The native children must be taken and boarded, kept entirely clear from their parents or associates and bound to the school until they are eighteen or twenty-one.

4) I have another mission on my mind, either for the interior or at Cape Mount. I am not yet satisfied which is the better place (Cox, 1833: 114)

Melville Cox had great ambitions of establishing a church in Liberia completely under the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Cox found conditions between white missionaries and Americo-Liberians almost identical to the racial relations in American Methodist churches. The racial discrimination and prejudice had been transferred to Liberia. Although on African soil the American blacks were still under the control of white Americans, the white missionaries controlled the congregations and business of the church just as they did in the churches in America.

Cox wanted to create a New England frontier settlement in Liberia (Franklin 1994:40). He believed the success of this settlement would depend on white missionaries because they possessed the moral fiber and Christian values the Africans lacked. He perceived the native Africans in two ways; the Moslem Africans were more sophisticated and crafty than the others and could gain much control over the blacks from America if he did not assert some control in the mission. His other view of the natives focused on those who practiced pagan religions. He believed they were heathens who worshiped many gods and believed them to be demons. Cox wanted to deliver these natives from their lack of knowledge and to convert them to Christianity. He did not believe the new emigrants from America could do the work of the mission without strict supervision and instruction from whites. He feared they would adopt some of the tribal practices of the Africans.

There is no doubt that Cox as well as other white missionaries believed they were superior to the black emigrants because of their color and position in the United States.

However, Cox overlooked the fact that until white missionaries arrived in Liberia, the blacks were the primary teachers and preachers to the natives and kept the mission going.

Cox's knowledge about the African was based on his experience and observations of the British settlements in Gambia and Sierra Leone, which reinforced the views of the American blacks as well as the natives for American colonizationists. They viewed the Africans through cultural lenses and their previous experiences with American blacks under the degrading system of slavery.

Cox in a subversive way set up racial controls based on prejudices deeply rooted in the American Methodist church in Liberia. He challenged the authority of the Americo-Liberian pastors, saying they were not properly ordained, thus could not administer the sacraments until ordination took place. Cox was the sole supervisor and had control over all the Liberian Methodist churches. Because all control of the churches established by blacks had been relinquished, there was a distinct possibility that the black pastors would never be ordained because they would have to travel to the United States for ordination.

The Americo-Liberians came to the realization that Liberia was not the land of freedom, hope and prosperity as the colonizationists had promised. They were under white control again. What they had so desperately tried to escape was now what they were accepting and in most cases agreeing to-- white domination over their lives.

The educated blacks saw how little they had in common with the natives of the land. There was but one hope, that the Missionary Society would start building schools as promised, to train colonists for agriculture and commercial gain in hopes to allow for economic stability within the colony. Then they would achieve the goal of the colony becoming an independent and financially stable place for blacks to thrive.

The Americo-Liberians worked collaboratively with a subordinate status to whites to establish a Protestant civilization in Africa. The black emigrants brought into the same value system of religious piety, white superiority and Western culture and civilization they had come to Africa to leave behind. They in turn took these same ideas and made the natives inferior to them, thus setting up a class system based on color and stereotypes, which had been placed on them in America. White Methodist missionaries further propagated racial inequality, religious piety and black inferiority in the church by transferring these ideas to the church in Liberia and the treatment of the blacks within the churches of Liberia.

The General Conference of the Methodist church, in 1836, recognized the new African conference in Liberia, but severely restricted its powers and privileges. As a mission conference Liberians were not allowed either to send delegates, to debate or to vote, to the General Conference. The pension funds of the general church were not to be available to any Liberian clergy, even those who met the requirements for ordination. The reason given for this decision was that, “they derive their support, not in the ordinary way, but from the Missionary Society” (Hendrix 1994:258).

The Methodist missionaries became the focus of controversy when the church became involved with the politics of Liberia. During the administration of Thomas Buchanan in 1839, the Methodist missionaries offered economic security to settlers who became associated with their mission stations. Methodist influence grew quickly until the government challenged its right to import goods into the colony for mission work without paying custom dues. The Methodists attempted to organize opposition to the administration in settlements away from the influence of Monrovia. The New Council moved to censure the Methodist missionaries for

interfering with the affairs of government by propagating subversive doctrines and maintaining a spirit of resistance, and actual stubborn resistance to authority (Shick 1982:53-55).

Cox manipulated blacks into giving up their churches to the General Conference using the Gospel and denominational control. They became involved with the politics of Liberia and thus set up a system of racial inferiority for the native Liberians. The blacks were in a difficult position. They reverted to what they had learned and what was familiar to them, white control. Also, they needed the financial help from the Missionary Society and the western world to survive and continue in missionary work.

While the Americo-Liberians began to gain more control over their affairs in the 1840's, the damage was already done. The blacks took over white missionary positions because of illness and death. The churches now played a critical role in the lives of the Liberians. The Methodist missionaries as well as other denominations had come in and changed the way their society was set up. They had influenced the way of family life and education. Now there was a Western ethnocentric attitude that pervaded Liberia. The whites and the Americo-Liberians were in control of the churches, economics, government and society as a whole. The church had somewhat successfully colonized Liberia and Christianized and civilized the people into becoming as prejudiced and contradictory as the Christians in the United States.

Methodology/Theoretical Approach

I am doing a sociological analysis of the history of the African Colonization movement and the Methodist church's involvement in this movement. My sources include several documents and journals of missionaries to Liberia. I am offering a sociological analysis of the material based on the social construction of race, the effect it had on the views of whites as well as blacks (free and enslaved) and the role the ideology of blacks during this time period played in the missionary efforts to Christianize Africa, in particular, Liberia. Also, I am looking at the colonization act as the result of a social movement. I highlight the motivation, means, mode and resources used to remove free blacks from American soil.

The majority of my theoretical framework is taken from the social movement resource mobilization theory according to John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, as described in the American Journal of Sociology (1997). Social movements may or may not be based upon some grievances. Conscience constituents, individual and organizational, may provide major sources of support. Social movement strategies often include mobilizing supporters, neutralizing and or transforming mass and elite publics into sympathizers, achieving change in targets. Society provides the infrastructure, which social movement industries and other industries utilize. Communication media and expense, levels of affluence degree of access to institutional centers, preexisting networks, and occupational structure and growth are used to accomplish that which the organization sets forth to achieve.

To augment this, I also used Karl Marx' theories concerning class, religion and alienation. Marx discusses the historical stage and class struggle, which I will explore as American born blacks move to Africa in the questions of power and domination over the natives of Liberia. In Marx's theory concerning religion, he clearly sees religion as a source of

domination over the masses of people, who are poor, down trodden, who lack position to change their present socioeconomic status without the help of those in power. Finally, in his theory relating to alienation, Marx points to an increasing control of man over nature at the same time as it was a history of increasing alienation of man. Alienation may be described as a condition in which men are dominated by forces of their own creation, which confront them as alien powers (Coser, 1971: 50), thus applies to the creation of slavery and slave trade as a business and source of income.

While Marx' theories apply to some of the research I am doing, Max Weber's theory on religion also applies. Weber looked at religion as a source that often united people and helped them to overcome their obstacles in life. This is evident in the many different movements that arose out of the initial ACS.

Emil Durkheim argues that in all societies, a distinction is made between the sacred and the profane. Religion is a 'unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is things set apart and forbidden; beliefs and practices which unite into a single community called a Church all those who adhere to them' (Coser 1971:73). In Durkheim's theory, the collective aspects of religion are emphasized: the function of religious rituals is to affirm the moral superiority of the society over its individual members and thus to maintain the solidarity of the society (Coser, 1971: 204). However, most theorists understand that religion can be a unifying device as well as one that causes many divisions within a society as I will show in the churches and people involved in the American Colonization Society.

According to Peter L. Berger in The Sacred Canopy, society is a human product that yet continuously acts back upon its producer. The individual produces society and yet the individual become a person only within a societal context. Three processes bring about society:

externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Externalization is the outpouring of human mental and physical activity. Objectivation is the products are part of reality separate from the producer. Internalization is the product effect individual (4). The human is “unfinished” at birth due to his under specialized and undirected instinctual structure. Man must make a world for himself that is external—externalization. The “World” or “Nomos” is always characterized by a built-in instability. Man does not have a given relationship to his world and therefore must continue to establish a relationship with it (socialization and resocialization).

In creating a “World” or social order, and locating his biography in it, the human not only provides order for his society but also for himself. This socially created order is what sociologists call culture. The collective enterprise of creating culture produces and objectified entity or reality for those who recognize it. Once produced, culture or the Nomos, cannot be wished away because it stands outside of the subjectivity of the individuals who produced it. Meaning both material and non-material culture. The Normative Order (Nomos), once objectified, becomes a “shared facticity.” The cultural world is not only collectively produced, but it remains real by virtue of collective recognition. To be in culture means to share in a particular world of “objectivities” with others. The final test of the process of objectivation is the ability of the socially create “reality” to impose itself upon the reluctance of individuals. The fundamental coerciveness of society lies not in its machineries of social control, but in its power to constitute and to impose itself as a reality (internalization).

The individual’s own biography is objectively real only insofar as it may be comprehended within the significant structures of the social world. Society provides individuals with behavioral expectations. As individuals take on these roles, they alter their identities. The person is not only expected to perform the role but to be it. Society perpetuates the social order

through the socialization process. The individual not only learns the objectivated meanings but also identifies with and is shaped by them. He draws them into himself and makes them his meanings (internalization). Society cannot be maintained without a means of effective socialization.

The individual is not molded as a passive, inert thing. Rather, he actively appropriates his world and identity as a participant. The individual is a co-producer of both the social world and himself. This is a never-ending process socialization and resocialization. The socially constructed world is above all, an ordering of experience. A meaningful order, or nomos, is imposed upon the discrete experiences and meanings of individuals. Even if individuals deny the reality of their part in the co-production of the world and themselves, this fact is not any less true. Every Nomos has a tendency to expand into wider areas of meaning. Even the future attains meaning by virtue of the nomos' being projected into it. The Nomos in its most important function may be understood as society's shield against terror. This can be seen best in the marginal situations of life, death, war, natural disasters, etc. The Nomos will be successful in repelling chaos if it acquires a "taken-for-granted status" by the members of society. When this happens, the meanings of society come to be considered the fundamental meanings of the universe. The Nomos becomes the COSMOS. The Cosmos stabilizes the tenuous nomic constructions—the social world and the individuals' identity.

Religion is the human enterprise by which the sacred cosmos is established. The cosmos is posited by religion thus both transcends and includes man. Man as an immensely powerful reality other than himself confronts the sacred cosmos. Yet, this reality addresses itself to him and locates his life in an ultimately meaningful order.

In other words, religion implies the farthest reach of man's self-externalization, of his infusion of reality with his own meanings. Religion implies that human order is projected into the totality of being.

Religion and World Maintenance

Nomi are precarious. Socialization and resocialization are necessary. The continuity of social order depends upon the process of legitimation. Legitimation is the process whereby knowledge is socially objectified and is used to justify social order. This knowledge is independent of individuals and is possessed by the group. This knowledge not only refers to what ought to be but also to "what is," the inherent meaning of the phenomena.

The meanings of institutions (society, the family, religion...) are nomically integrated. They are also "self-evident" to participants in the institutions. This causes an "objective facticity" to come into existence. Social control and resocialization affirm both the disciplined or learner and the discipliner or teacher. Society cannot tolerate the challenge of that which is "taken for granted." If this happens, the nomos will become chaos.

The most powerful method of legitimation is the process of internalization. Religion legitimates so effectively because it relates the precarious reality constructions of empirical societies with ultimate reality. Religion bestows an ultimately valid ontological status upon the nomos. The relationship between the society and the cosmos is one of the microcosm and macrocosm. By participating in the institutional order, one participates in the divine cosmos. Religion serves to "locate" human phenomena within a cosmic frame of reference.

Once this happens, the nomos obtains stability even able to transcend the death of individuals and societies because the nomos is grounded in "Sacred Time" within which merely human history is but an episode. The nomos becomes immortal. As the individual's identity is

located in the nomos, he or she gains immortality. Cosmoization assures the individual that society is much more than an ephemeral human projection. To go against reality as socially defined and legitimated is to risk plunging into anomy. As defined by the members of society, these persons are either evil or mad. Religion affirms the socially defined reality at the marginal situations of everyday life in society. Religious legitimations are always present at the marginal situations of human existence death, war, natural disasters, and social upheaval. Each cosmos requires a social base for its continuing existence. This base is called a “plausibility structure.” Therefore, each religion requires a community to act as its “plausibility structure.” Without plausibility, structure the cosmos loses its ability to project a “taken for granted status.” To maintain religion, one must maintain the plausibility structure. To be separated from ones religious plausibility structure is not only ritually restrictive but also inherently anomic. To convert from a particular religious worldview, and to “stay converted” one must disassociate from one’s former plausibility structure, and intensively or exclusively associate with the new plausibility structure.

According to Berger religion is an establishment through human activity, of an all-embracing sacred order that will be capable of maintaining itself in the ever-present face of chaos. Religious legitimations arise from human activity, but once crystallized into complexes of meaning that became part of a religious tradition, they can attain a measure of autonomy as against this activity. Human activity that produces society also produces religion, with the relation between the two products always being a dialectical one.

Literature Review

E. Franklin Frazier discusses in The Negro Church in America the black church in America, how slavery influenced its beginnings and the different culture that emerged. Until slaves were introduced to Christianity, they lacked “social cohesion.” Slaves were taken from several different warring tribes along the coast of Africa and brought to the New World. Many of them spoke different languages, practiced different religions and different customs. The only things they had in common, they were Africans, enslaved and in a new land. When slaves became Christians, it was a new experience. While this newfound faith did not free them according to state laws, there was a new sense of freedom and connection not found before between slaves.

Slaves had been stripped of their cultural heritage, family and community. The efforts of the Methodists and Baptists to teach the Gospel in the South were well received by many slaves. Now there was a common bond beyond slavery that connected them, they were Children of God, guaranteed to have a better life in heaven. The Negro adopts Christianity to his life experience in the New World social and psychological needs. Frazier looks at the different role religion and the black church has played in the lives of black people. Religion in the black church has served to bond them together in unity in plantation fields, taking on the role of helping and healing mentally as well as spiritually in a land of destitution. It aided in the creation in the “invisible institution” that led to freedom for some slaves in the South and strength and wisdom in the Northern blacks to establish their own churches away from whites, which then became a “nation within a nation” that helped with economic, education as well as political instruction in the black community.

Ronald Takaki in the text, A Different Kind of Mirror deals with the social construction of race, its influence on the perceptions of others of an ethnic group and how a group internalizes those perceptions. Also, he explores means, mode and opportunity to pass on the stereotypes and prejudices that aid in socially constructing reality about race (physical attributes not biological) and ethnicity.

Richard Schaefer's analysis of race relations in America, the history of prejudice and its affect on society, in the book Race and Ethnicity in the United States, looks at the emotional phenomena of race and religion and how humans deal with the issues in every day life. Schaefer takes a look at minorities assimilation patterns in the United States. He discusses the role religion plays in "isms" of American culture. The affects prejudice and racism have on minorities.

Analysis and Conclusions

I posed two sociological questions in this thesis: How did the Methodist church legitimate racism in Liberia? How was this legitimation a reflection of the church's construction of race in America? Based on my research and findings concerning the American Colonization Society and the Methodist missionaries to Liberia I will focus on the following five points for my analysis:

- 1) The role American politics and economics played in the formation of the American Colonization Society
- 2) The role the social construction of race played in the Methodist Church becoming major stakeholders in the colonization movement to Liberia
- 3) The influence the ACS had on the views missionaries held of themselves and blacks
- 4) The transferal of racism to Liberia by Methodist missionaries
- 5) Blacks self-identity was impacted by the social movement the ACS initiated

1) Though subtle in the approach, American politics and economics played a major role in the formation of the American Colonization Society and the colonization movement. Most of the men who helped organize the American Colonization Society were political figures at the time. Some were a part of the Virginia Assembly and some were slave owners or had friends/family members who owned slaves. Slaves were not the problem. It was the increasing population of free blacks in the country who posed social threats to the homogenous society that had been carefully constructed. The economy of the south depended on slave labor. Free blacks would make it difficult to keep slaves in subservient positions, for they might begin to ask the question "why can't we be free?" Slave owners would no longer be able to justify slave labor

because the free blacks could work and the industries in the North did not use slave labor, but machines.

In the south the institution of slavery was considered a blessing to the slaves because they were being civilized, and to some extent, Christianized by the whites. Northern states had moved from a purely agricultural economy and diversified its business, factories, etc. Since slavery was concentrated in the South, many Northerners only heard of the system that was so brutal. The institution of slavery was an intricate part of the very fabric of the South. Slave labor had allowed the Southern elite to have a certain lifestyle and status they otherwise would not have enjoyed. They would have been like the majority of the whites in the area that lived in poverty and labored intensely just to survive.

Economically whites set up a system that pushed agriculture and related occupations for blacks especially in the South. By creating a system that only allowed for certain types of training whites capped the creativity and potential of blacks to do anything outside of fieldwork. The only time blacks were taught to do anything new was to the benefit of whites and their way of life.

The political conditions of the time allowed laws to be written to keep slaves in their enslaved status and to limit their rights as humans in the slave states. Laws also limited the amount of freedom free blacks enjoyed and their ability to live and have equal opportunity and access to housing, employment, and education. This system was set up, the color lines were strategically drawn, and plans laid out to keep blacks free or slaves from enjoying or attaining status equal to that of the whites in power. With the exception of a few ministers who were a part of the ACS all other members were political figures. These men used their political positions to secure federal dollars to purchase the land in Africa for the colony that would

become Liberia for the sole purpose of removing blacks from America. They sent a further message that the government was in favor of the removal of blacks from America. Thus, indicating to the general population that indeed blacks were a problem and must be bad if the government was willing to aid in their removal.

2) Social construction of race played a major role in the Methodist Church's ability to be a major stakeholder in the colonization movement to Liberia. The church reflected the understanding of race from society and the ruling class position that blacks were an inferior group of people. Race, in a social sense, implies that groups differ physically also bear distinctive emotional and mental abilities or disabilities (Schaefer 2001:12). Race has no reality outside of racism because it is a way of visually identifying people who are different and creating a way, socially, to make them stand out in a crowd. Africans were degraded into a condition of servitude for life. The actions taken against black slaves were all based on outward appearances.

For example, the play The Tempest by William Shakespeare aided in the incorrect, dehumanizing racially accepted view of Africans that was passed on for generations. This racial formation of Africans (Caliban) portrayed them as strange, different, savage and uncivilized. The Africans were set apart based on skin color, religious practices, and customs. Whites used the media (newspapers and literature) of the time as a means of social power. They used the media to generate a public outcry to influence the government to listen to certain issues of concern to the citizens. Politicians talking about the issue of slavery in the South and free blacks in the North and what was to be done about them.

The vast majority of whites believed people with dark skin were inferior to them. When they colonized America, a system was created that exploited the visible minorities of the land economically, socially and religiously, all sanctioned and enforced by the government. It was

only after African slave labor became an institution in the south that use of color, by definition race, became a way of classifying people. White society created a system that was inhumane. Blacks were treated as animals, bred and sold for profit.

They had captured Africans, placed them in chains, and bought them to a foreign land where they did not know the terrain, did not speak the language and physically could not blend in and thus would never fully assimilate into the dominant culture. The whites controlled their physical, religious, and mental surroundings. Slaves did not possess the ability to read, so they depended on their masters for everything. Whites were able to set up a set of inferior mindsets within the slave community and within surrounding communities concerning blacks. First, the slaves were stripped of their identity and African heritage. They were divided into slaves who worked in the fields and slaves who worked in the house. They were influenced by the images of blacks being evil that they were immoral creatures that needed to be beaten into submission. They were treated like animals and spoken to as though they were idiots. Slavery was built into the very fabric of Southern states and their ability to survive. The Southern states did not have the more lucrative businesses like the Northern states. Slaves worked the fields and gathered the crops that were sold for profit so the families who owned them could live. The system of slavery created by whites and the inaccurate depiction of blacks aided in the alienation of white man from himself. Whites in the North as in the South were divided over the institution of slavery. They battled verbally, politically and socially concerning whether to keep slaves or manumit them. They also battled about what to do with free blacks in the country. This situation helped to alienate whites from themselves. It caused families to split and struggle with the moral questions socially and religiously concerning God, man, and the practice of slavery. All of these concerns led to the formation of the American Colonization Society (ACS) and the government

in the United States to become strained and split for a period. It also opened the door for the church to become instrumental in the ACS efforts to do something about the free blacks in America and the issue of slavery.

The Methodist church was instrumental in the religious instruction of the slaves and free blacks from the beginning of its ministry in America. However, the views they held of blacks were influenced by the society around them. While Wesley, the founder, and some of his followers felt slavery was wrong and that blacks were humans with souls. Many held to the belief that permeated American society, blacks were still inferior beings. They believed blacks needed whites to instruct them in all things, particularly religious matters. The religious instruction would help them to calm their barbaric nature and become more like the whites in their thinking and living.

Churches throughout the country received information on the importance of religious instruction for slaves and free blacks. Blacks needed to be kept in their places and taught the proper ways of life according to the dominant culture. The Methodists prided themselves in their efforts and success of reaching the slaves and the blacks. Outside of the Baptist denomination, the Methodist church in the 1800's had converted more blacks to Christianity than any other denomination. While this was a great accomplishment, the church wanted to do more.

When the ACS began soliciting help from churches for the colony that was to be created in Africa, the Methodist church saw this as a way to reach out to more people, particularly since they had experienced such success with the blacks in the area. They would now venture into uncharted areas, go to the "Dark Continent", and take Christianity to the uncivilized natives there. The work that had begun in the states would further help them because they could invite some of the new converts to serve as missionaries to African.

The Methodist church in America evolved in two directions in 1844. In the North, the church took a more progressive role that led the blacks in the church to create their own congregations. In the South, the church took a more passive role and remained a strong tower in the community, but the work was more passive.

As the importation of slaves declined and the African-Americans settled into their lives in America, new bonds were formed. After being separated from their families in the beginning, subsequent generations were able to get married, find a sense of community and start new families. With this evolution, a new sense of belonging surfaced in the black community. Christianity took a new form in America as a new ethnicity began to emerge and now more slaves were being exposed to the Gospel. Due to the new awakening and Christian knowledge, the dimensions of slave life changed. Slaves now had a reason to rebel and fight for freedom based on what they learned about the “new God” to which they were introduced. According to Karl Marx, religion is a way of appeasing the masses. In this case, the slaves were not being appeased and settling for the life servitude under which they had been placed. They were now being empowered by religion causing whites to become concerned about what this new empowerment would do to the world they had carefully constructed with well-drawn color, class, and religious lines.

According to Richard Schaefer, “...overheard statements can influence expressions of opinions concerning race”. For years whites, slaves and free blacks had been taught that to be black was inferior and that in most cases the Bible justified this view of blacks. Whites already controlled the society as the dominant culture politically and economically. When they allowed blacks to worship with them they again set up a stratification system where blacks had to sit in certain places in the church and could not be in the same sections with whites. Blacks were not

allowed to make decisions concerning the business of the church and they were preached to repeatedly about how “slaves should obey their masters” based on the scripture in the New Testament. The church services emphasized what had been taught for years, the inferiority of blacks to whites. In many cases, particularly in the South, this message was used to keep slaves in a mental state of powerlessness. Yet there were slaves who identified with the Exodus story and who gained new strength and revolted in ways that are more passive. Many of them escaped to the North and gained freedom.

Politically and economically free blacks were beginning to speak out about slavery and the treatment of free blacks, their ability to live without prejudice, threat of injury or harm. The free blacks were the abolitionists in the North concerned about the life they led and could enjoy under the current system of inequality. They were also concerned about how to rid the country of slavery. Free blacks were able to hear other messages that enabled them and empowered them which led blacks to form their own congregations in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Out of these new congregations emerged groups of people committed to changing the status of blacks in America, to abolishing slavery in the South, and determined to make America their true home.

The harsh reality of slavery and the moral disagreement of this practice by many white Christians still does not explain why some members of Methodist churches, fully understanding slavery was wrong and disagreeing with it morally based on their religious convictions, remained silent. Schaefer takes this position, “1) Racist ideologies provide a moral justification for maintaining a society that routinely deprives a group of its rights and privileges.” Also, “racist myths encourage support for the existing order. The argument is used that if there were any major societal change, the subordinate group would suffer even greater poverty and the dominant group would suffer lower living standards.” These well meaning whites had long accepted the

popular view that whites were in some way saving blacks from themselves by providing them work on plantations, Christianizing them and keeping them in their place because they were barbaric heathens who needed the white man to save them. Also, they were afraid of how changes in the slave status would affect the world they lived in socially, economically as well as politically.

Keeping their ideals concerning blacks, Methodist missionaries, were able to create a system of racial hierarchy in Liberia that placed them in positions of power and prestige. Thus, the social construction of race aided them in becoming major stakeholders colonization of Liberia.

3) The ACS influenced the views the missionaries held of themselves as well as their views of blacks. The members of the ACS were all white males, who held very conservative ideals about free blacks and slavery. In creating the ACS, they sent two messages to the public, the first being that blacks were a problem and something had to be done about it and the second being we are the men to create a solution to this problem. The ACS also sent social and religious messages in their creation, which influenced the views of all parties concerning blacks and themselves. Socially, blacks were seen and depicted as an undesirable people, free or enslaved. It was necessary to take strategic actions to correct the problem before the dominating whites had tried to create where they were supreme rulers would be altered.

The ACS solicited aid from churches and well-known pastors of the time in the form of financial and the provision of missionaries for the religious instruction and aid in the removal of blacks. While claiming it was for the benefit of blacks, the ACS used its wide range of influence to set up images in three different areas that led to the views that whites were indeed superior to blacks and that missionaries were necessary to get the job accomplished of starting a new colony

for blacks in Liberia. Only black missionaries trained by whites were allowed to go to Liberia. Blacks hearing, seeing and experiencing the actions of the ACS would gain a view of themselves that led them to believe they were inferior and powerless to a degree because they did not have a say in the things they were experiencing. Blacks did not possess the right to vote. Blacks were not recognized as people. They had limited power in the North to affect change. So, leaving America under the ACS scheme became desirable to some to escape the pangs of racism in America and the image of being social, moral and intellectual parasites in the American fabric.

Religiously, blacks were perceived as needing the aid of whites to a spiritual life. Whites hand picked only blacks who had studied under their religious instruction and attended schools where there was a dominant white presence to serve as missionaries. The black experience was deemed inferior and insignificant outside of that which the whites approved and classified as necessary in their efforts to Christianize blacks.

The Methodist Church missionaries were filled with great spirit and zeal to spread the gospel to the lost souls of Africa and with all of their good intentions they still transferred racism to Liberia. However noble the intentions, of the white missionaries, there was piety in their views of others and non-believers and this view was conveyed to missionaries who followed Melville Cox and John Sey. Cox and Sey, who were two of the most influential white missionaries to Liberia, strategically reproduced the same racial system in Liberia as in the United States. The colonization of Liberia was a social movement that promoted racism and racist values under the auspices of a religious movement to save blacks and take Christianity to Africa. This movement allowed churches, particularly the Methodist church, to gain economic, religious and political control over the Liberians. The missionaries, without even realizing what they had done, created a new form of prejudiced society for the people of Liberia and the blacks

that emigrated using the same message “Christianize and civilize the heathens” save them from a life of darkness and teach them the white man’s way to do so.

The Methodist church socialized and then resocialized the black Americans who served as missionaries. Whites socially created a reality and false identity of blacks, which they then forced on black missionaries. The black missionaries thus learned these ideals and internalized them. By using white society as the norm they removed the black experience from the culture of the missionaries. Verbally as well as socially whites impressed upon blacks, that they could do nothing outside of white instruction. From the cotton field church meetings to the balconies and galleries in the white church blacks were bombarded by images of self -inferiority. They learned that to be white was powerful and good and to be blacks was to be powerless and evil. Blacks learned to get ahead and achieve in white society they would have to dress, speak, and worship in the white tradition. All of these things played a role in the way blacks viewed themselves as well as the native Africans they were to save by sharing the Gospel of Christ.

The Americo-Liberians had internalized the socially constructed ideology of whites concerning American blacks and native Africans. Thus, they bought into the pious, racist ideals concerning them, and in turn, made the natives inferior to them; setting up another system of inferiority and religious domination over the natives. The Americo-Liberians held top offices in the government system. They were able to control the religious community, government, educational systems, and change the society just as whites had done in America.

4) The Methodist missionaries, black and white transferred the racism of the American church to Liberia. While blacks no longer had to sit in the back of the church or in the balcony, they still were under white rule and domination. They had no more control over their lives than they did in America. The difference was, they were now a part of the majority but still taking

minority status. According to Marx views concerning religion, religion for some blacks had become the opium of the masses. Blacks had left an oppressive nation to gain true freedom, yet because of their religious instruction once again were in a state of oppression. Race was very important in American society. Naturally working out of their own experiences race was important to black and white missionaries. They took their learned racism, superior and inferior mindsets from American and weaved it into the fabric of Liberia. Therefore transferring racism to Liberia.

5) The social movement started by the ACS impacted blacks self-identity. Blacks over the course of hundreds of years had been taught by white society that there was something wrong with being black. From their every day lives of servitude to their worship experience blacks were reminded of their inferior status to whites. Blacks had been judged and labeled based on the circumstances, which the white man had placed them.

There are smaller movements that begin within a social movement. While in the North blacks were taking an active stance concerning their welfare as American citizens, they still faced the years of internalized inferior images of self. Northern blacks had a voice, were the heart of the abolition movement, yet still some could not discard what the white man said about them. Free blacks had become marginalized in American society. They were not slaves, yet they were not fully Americans, because they were not white.

These views caused blacks to become divided as a culture. Some willingly embraced the ideals of the white man. Took on the subservient role in society and in some cases felt that it was their plight in life to live enslaved to the white man. Others believed that as they had been taught in worship service, "God created all men equal", that they could achieve and be just as the white man. The social movement started by the ACS empowered some blacks and left others in

a state of bewilderment. For it was the freedom of the North that fostered the blacks who would lay the foundation of the underground railroad; who created their own churches; who sent their own missionaries to Africa and who found that while they internalized some of the white mans views of blacks, they did not have to become self-fulfilling prophesies.

The American Colonization Society in all its efforts along with the many churches, including the Methodist Church embarked on a journey to remove blacks from this country, to Christianize the blacks and native Africans, however noble their efforts the views they held of blacks played a profound role in their ability to create a colony where blacks had the freedoms and rights they deserved. Due to the socialization and racist views of the people who comprised the ACS and the Methodist missionaries, they were still able to assert control, legitimate racist views and practices, and play a major role in the place that was supposed to liberate the blacks as a people from the constraints of white control.

Significance of Research

In my research for this thesis I posed different questions from other researchers who have studied Liberia, the Methodist Church and the American Colonization Society. This research has opened the door to look at the missionary efforts of not just the Methodist Church but other denominations as well and the factors that led them to pursue missionary work in Liberia. The social construction of race plays a significant role in the projects churches undertake particularly with minority groups. Other research has dealt with racism and the questions of race, but not with a specific theme such as legitimation of racist views in order to perform tasks that were, in most respects well meaning on the part of the stakeholders in the project.

Limitations of the Research

The majority of the research about the American Colonization Society focuses on missionaries and their motivations and racism that persisted due to the “Back to Africa” movement. With my research I focused mainly on the Methodist Church and its involvement with the ACS and their efforts as missionaries to Liberia. I looked at how the politics, societal issues and the legitimation of race during the 1800’s and early 1900’s influenced the church’s decision to get involved with the ACS. There was a plethora of information to read and analyze; however, a large portion of the work is original research.

I spent many hours researching the topic and struggled to pull all the pertinent information together. Also, I had a difficult time finding my focus due to the vast amount of interesting information that is important to our history that is often buried in libraries. I could have spent more time working on my analysis and focusing more on the Methodist Church after the initial ten years in Liberia.

Recommendation for Future Research

The “Back to Africa” movement, the American Colonization Society and the Methodist Church’s involvement with this organization receives little attention. Future researchers could expand on my two questions and focus on the Native Africans’ views on the influx of American blacks and whites to their country and how the influx of new people with a new culture and religion affected their customs and way of life. One could focus on what it means to be Liberian and Methodist then and now. Taking the time to conduct interviews with natives of the country would give the history of the American emigration from the African point of view. Also, the information on the colonization of Liberia would include the Liberians views on the formation of their country and what it means to them.

Economics played a major role in the formation of Liberia. It would be interesting to look at only the economic ventures and how that has impacted the country doing a comparative analysis of the major source of income then and now.

References

- Barclay, Wade Crawford. Early American Methodism 1769-1844. Volume 1 "Missionary motivation and Expansion." The Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church: New York, 1949.
- Coser, Lewis. Masters of Sociological Thought. 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1977.
- Cox, Melville B. Remains of Melville B. Cox, late missionary to Liberia. 1832.
- Creswell, John W. Research Design Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA 1994.
- Franklin, Donald Bruce. The White Methodist image of the Negro in Liberia, 1833-1848, Dissertation. Columbia University 1999.
- Frazier, E. Franklin and C. Eric Lincoln. The Negro Church in America, The Black Church Since Frazier. Schocken Books: New York, 1963.
- Hendrix, Thomas C. "A Half Century of Americo-Liberian Christianity: With Special focus on Methodism 1822-1872." Liberian Studies Journal, XIX, 2(1994) 243-270.
- Jones, Charles Colcock. The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in The United States. 1804-1863.
- Johnstone, Ronald L. Religion In Society A Sociology of Religion. Prentice Hall 2001.
- Klandermans, Bert. Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory. American Sociological Review, Vol. 49, Issue 5 (Oct.1984), 583-600.
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 82, Issue 6 (May, 1997), 1212-1241.
- Padgett, James A. "Ministers to Liberia and their Diplomacy." Journal of Negro History, Volume 22, issue 1 (Jan., 1937) 50-92.
- Park, Eunjin. Black and white American Methodist missionaries in Liberia 1820-1843, Dissertation. Columbia University 1995.
- Ritzer, George. Modern Sociological Theory. McGraw Hill. 2000.
- Schaefer, Richard T. Race and Ethnicity in the United States second edition. Prentice Hall. Upper Saddle River. 2001.

Shaw, J. Beverly F. *The Negro in the history of Methodism*. Parthenon: Nashville.1954.

Sherwood, Henry N. *Early Negro Deportation Projects*. Volume 2 (1916)

Shick, Tom W. *Behold the Promised Land A history of Afro ~American Settler Society in Nineteenth ~Century Liberia*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Straudenraus, Philip J. *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York, 1961), 1-11.

Takaki, Ronald. *A Different Mirror A History of Multicultural America*. Little Brown and Company. New York. 1993.

Wright, Willard E., John W. Roberts, Francis Burns. "Two Letters from Liberia." *Journal of Negro History*, Volume 44, issue 4 (Oct., 1959), 379-384

Woodson, Carter G. *The Journal of Negro History*. Volume II 1917.

WEBSITES

Africans in America Resource Bank
People and Events
<http://www.pbs.org>

Africans in America Resource Bank
Egerton, Douglas A. and Albert Raboteau
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh>

Black World
http://www.africana.com/Articles/tt_279.htm

Christian History Institute GLIMPSES issue #82. “Black Americans Reach Ancestral Peoples in Africa”
<http://www.gospelcom.net/chi/GLIMPSEF/>

Langston Hughes-The Academy of American Poets
<http://www.poets.org/poems/Poemprnt.cfm?prmID+1473>

Liberia, Serving In Missions
<http://www.sim.org>

Thomas Jefferson Papers: Selected Quotations
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mtjhtml/mtjquote.html>

The American Colonization Society
http://www.bong-own.com/Bong_Town/Liberia/ACS_History.htm
<http://www.webby.cc.denison.edu>

The History of Missions in Methodism
United Methodist Church Official website
<http://www.la-umc.org/misshist.htm>