Mythological Constructions of the African American Self
An Analysis of African American Appropriations of Christian and Islamic Mythologies

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With deepest gratitude to dr. Marietta Messmer, who knows the true meaning of teaching. Insightful, understanding, always encouraging critical thinking.
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Abstract

In this dissertation I analyze how African Americans have appropriated, reinterpreted and created four religious mythological constructs to positively redefine their own identity over a period of two centuries. Focusing especially on slave spirituals and writings from black religious leaders and prominent spokesmen such as David Walker, Martin R. Delany, James Theodore Holly, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Noble Drew Ali and Elijah Muhammad, I demonstrate that each myth has had a distinctive value for African Americans, addressing various needs created by specific historical circumstances. Specifically, I argue that the African American use of religious mythology from their conversion to Christianity in the eighteenth century up to the creation of African American Islamic movements around the 1930’s, reflects a process of gradual African American alienation both from the white population and from their original idea of America as the chosen nation. In essence, I read the various stages in African American appropriations of religious mythology as a process of shifting focus from constructing an African American identity, towards constructing an African American one.
Introduction

Although the nature of America’s political and social system is secular, the national identity of the United States has largely been constructed on the basis of religious language. The Puritans who fled religious persecution in Europe elevated their journey to the Americas to a divine mission analogous to the Exodus narrative of the Old Testament. They saw themselves as the New Israelites, destined to inhabit the new Promised Land, the Americas. John Winthrop, the minister who led the Massachusetts Bay expedition, announced that

we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us .... And to shut up this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel .... in that we are commanded this day to … keep … the articles of our covenant with Him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. (Winthrop 216, 217)

These words at one and the same time provided a solid basis for an identity formation of the Puritans as “the chosen people,” and a justification for the dominion over and eradication of the indigenous population. The impact that the Exodus narrative has had and still has on white America is enormous; it has been the basis for a substantial degree of racial supremacy that to this day is at the core of the belief system of those members of the white Protestant Anglo-Saxon community who have sacralised their dominance over all the non-whites present in America. The Exodus narrative can thus be termed a clear example of the power of religious mythology, its capability to become a core element in both the construction of identity and the production of “real” effects in societies.

According to E. Glaude, religious “myths authorize and legitimize ways of being in the world” (Glaude 29). Oftentimes they are believed to represent the actual (historical) reality for the group that subscribes to them, and even when not deemed entirely factual, religious myths are often believed to express a deeper truth about the world itself, and as such they “authorize beliefs, practices and choices” (29). Craig E. Prentiss, editor of Religion and the Creation of Race and Ethnicity, has noted that
“religious myth has been critical to the construction of identity,” because “what we have done and are doing and the kinds of stories we weave about these experiences are constitutive of who we take ourselves to be” (Prentiss 30). Prentiss explains that the way that religious mythology functions within a culture is a complicated and dynamic process:

Myths are not static, perennial realities in the life of a community...just as racial and ethnic identities are continuously in the process of change, so too is the manner in which myths are used. While textual myths may remain unchanged in their written form, the way that words are understood, interpreted, and valued is in constant flux. These variations are conditioned by ever changing circumstances that demand new readings of these binding cultural narratives if communities are to be able to respond to changes while still maintaining the centrality of their mythologies. Sometimes mythic narratives give way to new narratives better suited to making sense of a new world, while at other times old narratives are given dramatically new readings. (Prentiss 9)

In other words, (religious) myths are appropriated and (re-) defined according to a community’s specific needs at a given point in time.

This link between orthodox religion and mythology that forms the basis of both Glaude’s and Prentiss’s line of argumentation (as well as my own in this dissertation) has not always been uncontested. As Jeppe Sinding Jensen writes in *Myths and Mythologies: A Reader*, “myth is not a uniform concept,” (Jensen 1) it is unclear what material belongs to the category of mythology. In the past, the kinds of narratives that were generally regarded as myths, or that were, in other words, not considered to be based on historical events and facts, were narrowed down to those belonging to classical antiquity or non-Western civilizations. From a true Christian and Euro-centric perspective, stories of orthodox religions were excluded from this category. However, Jensen insists on drawing a link between these religions and mythology:

Some of the most persistent myths, accepted by believers as true history and rejected by disbelievers as false history, but nevertheless as history, are those
of the births of the “historical religions,” Christianity and Islam. Neither religion is normally considered “mythological,” but rather discursive formations that assert to be historically founded and developed…and yet, there may be much more “mythmaking” involved in the advancement of those powerful discourses …. Further, it should be recognized that large portions of the narrative materials of these religious traditions function as myths and mythologies. (Jensen 435)

Exodus is an example of a narrative that is often not considered mythological because of its Biblical origin. Nevertheless, its facticity is as uncertain as that of many other religious stories and, in American society, it has certainly functioned as a myth. It was the dramatically new reading the Puritans gave to the Exodus text that determined their sense of identity and authorized their racist attitudes towards cultural and racial others in what later became the United States. After the Puritans had applied their own hermeneutics to the story, its interpretation remained virtually unchanged, but only until a new reading of Exodus was offered by an entirely different group of people: African Americans.

According to Hans A. Baer, black religion, “regardless of the specific form it takes….exhibits a common theme—namely, the element of protest against the racist and socially stratified structure of American society” (Baer 12). Even though it simultaneously remained one of the most widely used justifications of their oppression, the Exodus myth as redefined by African Americans can be termed a core element in this protest as it constitutes an invaluable source of African American empowerment. Much has been written about the centrality of Exodus rhetoric in the African American language of social activism. However, the fight against racism not only took place in the existential sphere of protest and social relations, or in Theopous Smith’s words, in the attempt to induce “material transformations in reality” (Smith 88). It was also a psychological battle against racism’s devastating effects on the African Americans’ sense of identity.

In this dissertation, I will analyze how African Americans have appropriated and reinterpreted the Exodus myth, as well as three other Christian myths, namely Psalm 68.31, the myth of Ham, and the Apocalypse, in addition to Islamic mythologies, to positively redefine their own identity from the second half of the eighteenth up to the second half of the twentieth century. Focusing especially on slave
spirituals and writings from black religious leaders and prominent spokesmen such as David Walker, Martin R. Delany, James Theodore Holly, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Noble Drew Ali and Elijah Muhammad, I shall demonstrate that each of these myths has had a specific value for African Americans, addressing various needs created by specific historical circumstances. African Americans appropriated some of these myths to positively redefine their identity as chosen people at a time when they suffered the degrading circumstances of slavery, but also to create an uplifting race consciousness when they were continuously confronted with claims of black racial inferiority, and at a time when desperation reigned, several of these myths were also employed to channel feelings of anger and a longing for complete separation from the white race. Specifically, I will argue that the African American use of religious mythology from their conversion to Christianity in the eighteenth century up to the creation of African American Islamic movements around the 1930’s, reflects a process of gradual African American alienation both from the white population and from their original idea of America as the chosen nation that had been so crucial to their collective self-definition as Americans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In essence, I shall read the various stages in African American appropriations of religious mythology as a process of shifting focus from constructing an African American identity, towards constructing an African American one.

As the Exodus myth was the first, and one of the most important Christian mythologies that African Americans have appropriated, it will be the focus of the first chapter. I will demonstrate how its appropriation was a crucial “first step” in the process of an African American transformation of consciousness. By reconfiguring themselves as the children of Israel, they created a collective identity, a new sense of worthiness, and in their interpretation of the Moses figure, they made a first step towards a reevaluation of what it meant to have African origins. What is particularly remarkable about the African American interpretation of this archetypal myth is the fact that it remained essentially true to its Anglo-Saxon roots and to the “idea of America” (Glaude 35) the Puritans had created through their interpretation.

In chapter two I will discuss a mythological construct which, as I will argue, was especially relevant for the creation of a positive race consciousness. In Psalm 68.31 of the King James Bible it says that “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God.” Like the Exodus narrative, this passage was first subjected to white American hermeneutics and was employed to justify their
dominance. In terms of identity formation, however, the value it has had for African American self-definition has far surpassed its importance for the white American identity. It became the basis for a mythological construct called Ethiopianism. Through this myth, African Americans asserted unprecedented claims of “African greatness” and invoked far reaching revaluations of what it meant to be black. The Ethiopianist construct also relied on the re-appropriation of another myth, the so called myth of Ham. Again, this myth had first been created and employed by white America to justify slavery. However, by combining and reinterpreting Psalm 68:31 and the myth of Ham, African Americans recast these Biblical legitimizations of their degradation into sacralised proof of their racial equality and even superiority.

The third chapter will demonstrate how valuable the Apocalypse myth from the Book of Revelation has been to the African American community, especially throughout slavery and up to the end of the nineteenth century. Arguably the most violent symbol in Christian mythology, the Apocalypse has been a vehicle to express the angry and vindictive side of a people engaged in a struggle for freedom that seemed to have no end. It has also served as a source for African American self-definition in terms of good versus evil, righteous versus wicked, in this way juxtaposing African Americans against their oppressors. As I will argue, the African American appropriation of the Apocalypse myth has also had a more “pragmatic” function in the form of the so called Black Jeremia, especially as it was incorporated into the Exodus configuration. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when blatant white racism reached new heights, the Apocalypse myth also found its way into the Ethiopianist configuration, and the rise of “Ethiopia,” i.e. the black race, came to be imagined as inevitably coinciding with the destruction of the white race. For the supporters of this configuration, the limit of the up to this point futile attempts to achieve peaceful reconciliation with white America had been reached; a conviction that came to dominate as African Americans turned to Islam.

The impact of religious mythology on the minds of African Americans has not been limited to Christianity. Especially in the twentieth century, the Islamic religion has contributed significantly to the African American mythological repertoire. These African American Islamic mythological constructs will be the focus of the final
chapter. I shall demonstrate how the first leaders of African American “Islamic”\(^1\) movements set out to mentally resurrect the “lost nation” (Muhammad, qtd. in Berg 22) of Africans in America: a definition of the African American collective that would have resonated widely with a people both brutally separated from their old nation, and after centuries of struggle still rejected by their new one. However, rather than aiming for a reconciliation with whites, they strove for an active separation by means of rejecting everything that was considered culturally white, which included turning away from that which African Americans had adhered to for centuries: the “white man’s religion,” i.e. Christianity. The importance of the mythologies that were created around the concept of an “African Muslim identity” lies especially in this aspect of alienation from whites, as well as in its claims to racial superiority.

\(^1\) There is an on-going discussion on whether or not African American Muslim movements could rightfully be called Islamic, as most of its members did not practise orthodox Islam (cf. Herbert Berg, \textit{Elijah Muhammad and Islam}). However, for my argument it is not relevant whether or not others consider black Muslims to be “real Muslims,” what is important is how they defined themselves at the time.
1. Exodus: the Creation of a Collective Consciousness and Positive Self-Definition

Tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go

(Slave spiritual)

In his Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, African American abolitionist David Walker spoke of an enslaved woman who had helped her white masters to recapture sixty escaped slaves. For Walker, this story laid bare how the institution of slavery had mentally destroyed those subjected to it. It showed, he argued, how servility had become natural to black slaves. They could no longer perceive themselves outside of their life as a servant, and “‘act as a self-determining agent’” (qtd. in Glaude 44). With this statement Walker exhibited a remarkable understanding of the psyche of oppressed people. More than a century later his insights were confirmed by numerous studies, and the phenomenon Walker had described was termed “internalized oppression.” In Conjuring Culture, Theopus Smith writes that

Studies of individuals and groups who undergo the rigors of social domination [show that] they are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized … such internalization appears to be an involuntary or reflex phenomenon of the human psyche, to which a victim inevitably succumbs by assenting, to some degree, to a subordinate identity or role as imposed by an oppressor. (Smith 193)

The degradation of the slaves’ identity was what Walker deemed the greatest crime of the white population. More than the physical power that slaveholders exerted, it was the mental humiliation the slaves suffered from that prevented them from acquiring freedom. To defeat oppression, he argued that the slaves first needed to transform their consciousness. They needed to move themselves away from an “imposed determination of their existence to one generated by themselves” (Outlaw, qtd. in Smith 112).
The Exodus myth has been an invaluable source for this self-generated sense of self. It captured an idea of connectedness among people who were otherwise without an essential sense of collectivity, it revealed to the slaves the “option” of an existence beyond servility, provided them with a sense of worth, moral uplift, and even a sense of moral superiority, and, through their own specific manner of interpreting the Moses figure, it helped them to develop the first form of racial pride.

The Exodus myth was first of all crucial for the development of a sense of corporate identity, an African American “formation of peoplehood” (Smith 7). The Africans who were brought to America as slaves did not see themselves as a collective because of the color of their skin. In Africa, what had united or differentiated them had usually been aspects such as tribal bonds, a language, or a geographical location. Being part of a “race” was not a determinant for a sense of shared identity. What they all had in common in America was the condition they were in, and it was the Exodus myth that conceptualized this “connectedness.” Large numbers of slaves first became familiar with the Exodus narrative during the religious revivals of the 1740s. Before these revivals slaves had been discouraged or forbidden to engage in religious practices, yet now all members of society, slaves included, were allowed to participate. Especially Methodist and Baptist Evangelical revivalists converted many slaves to Christianity during the 1740s, and continued to do so in the decades that followed. The Evangelical churches even began to license African Americans to preach, and during the 1770s and 1780s these black preachers established their own groups of followers. They became the first to mediate on the Exodus myth, to re-imagine African Americans as the anti-types of the oppressed children of Israel, and to convey this new analogy to the African American converts.

It is not hard to understand that American slaves easily accepted this analogy between themselves and the enslaved Jewish people. According to Albert J. Raboteau, “it would be hard to exaggerate the intensity of their identification with the children of Israel” (Raboteau 33). In various forms of expression, such as dramatrical reenactments, sermons, prayers and songs, African Americans presented themselves as the Israelites. The following is an example of such a song, or a spiritual, often sung by the slaves while they were working in the rivers or on the fields:

Well, who are these children all dressed in red?
God’s a-gonna trouble the water
Eddie S. Glaude Jr. explains that through such spirituals and other forms of expression, the slaves “collapsed the distance between the slaves of Egypt and the slaves of the United States …. As time and distance folded in on each other, these peculiar subjects of American slavery literally became the children of Israel and the chosen people of God” (Glaude 4). Thus, like the Puritans before them, the African American slaves, as Smith writes, “envisioned and revised [their] existence in terms of characters and events found in the Exodus story. By means of figural participation in biblical narrative [they] engendered or regenerated [their] corporate identity as an antitype of ancient Israel (Smith 7). The same figuration that had earlier formed the basis for a white American national consciousness, now became the basis for an African American collective consciousness.

In addition, as the new antitypes of the biblical Israelites, African Americans had not only become “a people,” it also meant that they were now the chosen people. This was crucial for the transformation of the slaves’ consciousness: firstly because it gave them a sense of worth, a sense of dignity that had previously been “beaten out of them” by the ongoing physical and psychological torture of slavery. It was a rebuttal to their masters’ conviction that they were of the same value as cattle. In A Fire in the Bones: Religious Reflections on African American History, Albert J. Raboteau writes:

The resonances of this sacred drama upon the daily conditions of the rest of their lives should not be underestimated. When the narrators spoke of their conversion as a rebirth, of being made entirely new, of being filled with love for everything and everybody, they revealed the depth of internal transformation that defined their identity and self-worth. For those facing the dehumanizing conditions of enslavement—the daily physical, psychological, and emotional attacks against one’s dignity as a person—to experience the
total acceptance and affirmation of self by God challenged the mentality of slavery at a fundamental level. In the conversion experience slaves realized—and realized it in the heart not just the head—that they were of infinite value as children of God, chosen from all eternity to be saved. (Raboteau 155-157)

Also, as the last sentence of Raboteau already points out, being the new Israelites meant that it was their destiny to be saved, to be liberated. This meant that they no longer had to accept servility as a natural and inevitable state of being. This new realization was reflected in songs such as the following:

Go down Moses  
Way down in Egypt’s land  
Tell old Pharaoh  
To let my people go

No more shall they in bondage toil  
Let my people go  
Let them come out with Egypt’s spoil  
Let my people go (qtd. in Finkenbine 49)

By reconfiguring their own capturers as the Pharaohs from the Exodus myth, the slaves sacralized their own demand for freedom, thereby opposing the determination of their identity by the slave master as eternal servants.

Furthermore, as the Exodus narrative told the slaves that God had condemned the Pharaoh of Egypt for enslaving the Israelites, it likewise suggested that he would also condemn the practices of their current Egypt i. e. America. The myth conveyed to African Americans the “deeper truth” that slavery was a sinful institution, and so were those who practised it. With this belief, the slaves developed a sense of moral superiority over their masters. This sense of moral superiority was enforced by the manner in which African Americans further substantiated the implications of them being a chosen people. They adopted the idea of a “divine mission” from the Puritan Exodus hermeneutics. Just as the Puritans had ascribed to themselves the mission of establishing the kingdom of God in America, African Americans adopted the idea of America as the destined kingdom of God and ascribed to themselves the role of
making America fulfill its divine destiny. According to Robert L. Hans Jr., “black leaders during the late eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century believed that African Americans were critical to the realization of America’s promise. They maintained that [God had] placed [them] in the United States to test the country’s commitment to its ideals of freedom, justice, and equality” (Hans Jr. 166). As such, African Americans defined themselves as a “chosen people in the midst of a chosen people” (qtd. in Harrell 151), whose task it was to lead the sinful (i.e. the slaveholders) towards the path of righteousness, so America could fulfill its destiny to become the kingdom of God on earth.

What all of the examples discussed so far have in common is that these African American interpretations of the figures and symbols of the Exodus myth are highly similar to those of the Puritans. Werner Sollors also noted that African American slaves adopted the same typological patterns as the Puritans, naming this phenomenon --the construction of a corporate identity through Puritan Exodus figurations-- “typological ethnogenesis” (Sollors 42). Simply put, what African Americans did was reinterpreting the Puritans’ figurations by establishing themselves in their place: it was not the Puritans, but them who were the new Israelites. Egypt, a role previously fulfilled by Europe, became America, and Canaan, or the Promised Land, came to signify their own freedom from oppression.

However, in addition to simply reattributing Puritan interpretations to themselves, African Americans also had their own distinctive way of appropriating the Exodus myth, and it was precisely in this more original interpretation that a sense of “racial pride” was created. In this new scheme of interpretation, Moses was a pivotal figure. African Americans turned this biblical character into a powerful and proud representative of their African heritage. In Conjuring Culture Theophs Smith explains that this transformation of Moses into a distinctively African figure was achieved through a double emphasis on him as an Egyptian, and on the semi-divine and magical nature of his actions. Whereas the white appropriations of Exodus had focused on Moses predominantly in terms of his transition from Egypt to the Promised Land, the slaves focused on his Egyptian origins —i.e. his African origins-- and his consequential status as a representative of all African Americans.

Many of Moses’ actions described in the bible, such as the transformation of Aaron’s staff into a serpent in front of the Pharaoh (Exodus 7.10; cf. 4.3), were positive proof to African Americans that Moses had semi-divine powers, and that he
possessed the art of magic. The latter was believed to be quintessentially African. Theopus Smith quotes several sources that verify the belief of many African Americans in the magical power of Moses and subsequently of all descendants of the African continent. An example of this is the account of an interview with an elderly African American man, Thomas Smith, who said: “Dat [referring to Moses turning the rod into a snake] happen in Africa duh Bible say. Aint that show dat Africa wuz a lan uh magic powuh since duh beginning uh histry? Well den, duh descendants ub Africans hab duh same gif tuh do unnatchul ting” (qtd. in Smith, 34). This illustrates that although the African American configuration of Moses as a liberator was in itself no different from the white Christian use of the Exodus myth, their interpretation of the Moses figure made him into a quintessential African savior. As such, the Exodus myth also served as one of the first sources of racial awareness and pride.

Although the positive effects of the Exodus myth on the collective consciousness of African Americans were numerous and significant, its appropriation also had consequences that could be considered detrimental to their full self-determination. One important “flaw” in the eyes of many, more radical, observers was that identification with the Israelites would only feed internal resistance, and could actually prevent slaves from actively trying to obtain freedom. Theopus Smith writes that the Exodus myth [or story] could “wield a power over the slaves insofar as it induced them to wait for the same providential deliverance that attended the children of Israel” (Smith 61). Thus, literal identification with the Israelites could lead to a kind of apathy, as it could lead many to believe that freedom would come “automatically” when God decided to interfere and deliver his chosen people from bondage. In addition, through their appropriation of the Puritan interpretation of the mission of the chosen people—achieving the kingdom of God in America— the Exodus myth arguably also remained inherently tied to the ideology of “Americanism.” In other words, African Americans, by appropriating the Exodus myth, to a large extent also appropriated America’s national identity, thereby still partially “internalizing the oppressor’s consciousness.”

This is especially significant in the context of the mythologies that African Americans began to appropriate after the Exodus myth, as shall be discussed in the chapters below. These later myths served as a conduit, and became a catalyst for a movement away from the American part of the “dual” African American identity, towards more emphasis on the African part. The following chapter will discuss a
mythology that was based on the second of the two most important biblical images in African American history: Ethiopia. Although the power of Exodus remained dominant in many African American minds, the emergence of Ethiopianism was both a sign of and a catalyst for a growing “black alienation from the dominant cultural nationalism” (Raboteau 64). This mythological construct gradually shifted the focus from the continent of America to the continent and race of Africa, creating an empowering mythology that gave an enormous impulse towards a positive African American self-definition.
2. The Return of the Hamitic Race: Empowerment and Positive Racial Consciousness through Ethiopianism

Africa our fatherland, the Home of the Hamitic race is the only country on earth whose past, present, and future so concerned the Lord

(George Wilson Brent)

Over the course of the nineteenth century it became clear that the Promised Land of emancipation and equality was still far from sight for African Americans. Even after the abolition of slavery in the north, free blacks were confronted with the persistence of white racism, both in its ideological and institutionalized forms. In order to survive the ongoing attacks on their identity, African Americans began to look for other ways besides Exodus to refute white supremacist claims of their inferiority, which many nineteenth century white Americans based on both scripture and “science.” They found a new way to do so in Psalms 68:31: “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.” In A Fire in the Bones, Albert J. Raboteau explains that as long as slavery preoccupied the attention of antebellum blacks, the archetypal myth of Exodus dominated their thinking about black destiny. When slavery ended, as it did in the North early in the century, and oppression continued, even worsened, as it did in the 1830s and 1850s, black Americans read their future in Psalms 68:31. (Raboteau 41)

As this “biblical prophecy” consisted of only two sentences, it offered far more room for interpretation than the Exodus narrative, which resulted in many different mediators on the Psalm coming to varying conclusions on their exact meaning. However, this greater interpretability also gave the mediators more space to construct a mythological framework that was beneficial to the African American self-esteem. They built upon the white American interpretation of this Biblical passage, which was called “ Providential Design,” to develop a new concept of themselves as a “chosen people.” They imagined for themselves a new divine mission that went beyond America towards the African continent, and later even disregarded the former
entirely. Connected to this re-imagining of their future as African, and just as crucial to their self-redefinition, was a reinterpretation of history. Essential to the latter was the reinterpretation of another myth, often referred to as the myth of Ham. The mythological construct that was thus created on the basis of Psalm 68:31 and the myth of Ham strongly affected the African American sense of self, as it refuted the white supremacist notions of black racial inferiority, and instead turned being of African descent into a source of pride.

Firstly, as with the Exodus myth, the appropriation of Psalm 68:31 by African Americans followed earlier interpretations offered by white America. This is significant because a crucial albeit seemingly paradoxical aspect of the mythology African Americans constructed on the basis of this Psalm was derived from these white American hermeneutics. Since the second half of the fifteenth century, Psalm 68:31 had come to serve as a justification of the slave trade. The passage, white Christians would claim, was scriptural proof of the so called “Providential Design” of God who, “in his inscrutable way, had allowed Africans to be carried off into slavery so that they could be Christianized and civilized and return to uplift their kinsmen in Africa” (qtd. in Smith 237). Although generally strongly disapproving of the slaves’ treatment, many African Americans who drew upon Psalm 68:31 adopted this same rationale. In 1808, Absalom Jones, a black pastor of the African Episcopal Church, presented the following reasoning for God permitting the suffering of the slaves: “‘It has always been a mystery why the impartial Father of the Human race should have permitted the transportation of so many millions of our fellow creatures to this country, to endure all the miseries of slavery … Perhaps his design was, that a knowledge of the gospel might be acquired by some of their descendants, in order that they might become the messengers of it, to the land of their fathers’” (qtd. in Raboteau 45). Jones thus accepted the white justification for slavery as a likely truth. At first sight this seems like “just” another instance of the internalization of a degrading white paradigm. However, instead of legitimizing the behavior of the whites, African Americans started to use the white concept of Providential Design as an uplifting explanation for their current state of being, and to imagine a new “divine mission” for them as a chosen people: as the words of Absalom Jones indicated, they now believed that Africans were brought to America not to serve the whites, but for the purpose of converting to Christianity and bringing the religion back to the African continent so that they could return to their former glory.
Especially this last notion, that there was in fact a “former” glory, constitutes the important aspect of “racial uplift” in the Ethiopianist mythology. As shown in chapter one, African Americans had already connected themselves to Egypt through the Moses figure of the Exodus myth. In the Ethiopianist myth the connection of African Americans to Egypt took on a whole new meaning and purpose. In nineteenth century America, the Egyptian civilization enjoyed a high status similar to that of the classical Roman and Greek empires. African Americans such as reverend William Miller, Minister of the African Methodist Episcopal church, were conscious of this, and began to claim this status for themselves. In his *Sermon on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, delivered on the first of January 1810, Miller said:

Ancient history, as well as holy writ, informs us of the national greatness of our progenitors. That the inhabitants of Africa are descended from the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, a people once famous for science of every description, is a truth verified by a number of writers. One has asserted, and from fundamental evidences, that the first learned nation, was a nation of blacks. “For it is incontrovertible,” says he, “that by the term Ethiopians, the ancients meant to represent a people of sable complexion and curly hair.” (Miller, 4)

This fragment clearly demonstrates Miller’s awareness of the status of the Egyptian civilization in the western world, and more importantly, argues that Egyptians are the forefathers of all African Americans.

Essential for the legitimacy of this claim, i.e. “the holy writ” Miller refers to, was an African American re-appropriation of the so-called myth of Ham. Interestingly, this myth was again simultaneously used by the white population as a justification of the African enslavement. The white version of the myth of Ham was based on an interpretation of a narrative in Genesis. In this story, Noah has three sons, Shem, Japeth and Ham. When one day they find Noah lying naked and drunk on his bed, Shem and Japeth look away, while Ham looks at his father’s nakedness. For this, God punishes Ham, deciding that he, as well as all his posterity, are cursed to serve his brothers and their posterity for all eternity. White Americans interpreted the three

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2 The use of the term “Ethiopians” to signify all African peoples was already a white tradition, and as indicated by Miller’s sermon, was generally also accepted by Ethiopianists as a metonym.
sons as representing, respectively, the Jewish, the Caucasian, and the Black race. Accordingly, they reasoned that because God meant for Ham and all his offspring to serve the Shemitic and the Japethic race, the slavery system was in fact God’s will.

African Americans, on the other hand, adopted this mythological classification of the races according to the three sons of Noah, but used it as proof that their ancestors were the inhabitants of the great empires of Ethiopia, Egypt and Canaan—i.e. the Promised Land. In the Bible the Hamites, or Cushites as they were also referred to, are described as having resided in the lands of Ethiopia, Egypt and Canaan. As for the latter, George Wilson Brent wrote: “‘Africa our fatherland, the Home of the Hamitic race is the only country on earth whose past, present, and future so concerned the Lord.’” Even the son of Ham himself, Canaan, was blessed, for he “‘invested and built up a country and settled a nation bearing his name, whose glory…remains today the typical ensign of the Christian’s hope’” (qtd. in Prentiss 25).

As such, African Americans used the “myth of Ham” typology to lay claim to the grand heritage of the Ethiopian and Egyptian civilizations and the religious symbolism of Canaan, in this way creating for themselves a mythic “monumental history” (Glaude 35).

This was of great value to a positive African American self-definition, as black Americans were faced with increasing claims of inferiority in the nineteenth century, both through pervasive mythologies like the myth of Ham and new “scientific proof.” Through their reinterpretation of the “implications” of the sons of Noah typology, and their claims to a “monumental history,” African Americans were suddenly presented with a scripturally authorized “proof” that rebutted those claims. Their ancestors had in fact established the very first civilizations the world had known. As minister Hosea Easton pointed out, with this knowledge, it suddenly seemed “‘a little singular that modern philosophers, the descendants of this race of savages, should claim for their race a superiority of intellect over those who, at that very time, were enjoying all the real benefits of civilized life’” (qtd. in Raboteau 43). That Africa was now a “heathenish continent” was not because its people were inherently inferior, but because at one point they “had fallen from the grace of God” (Glaude 35). Not all Ethiopianists agreed on the exact cause of this African fall from grace. Some blamed it on worshiping the wrong (i.e. not the Christian) God or Gods, some on vanity or internal war. In any case, they made it clear that despite its current state, Africa, not Europe, was the cradle of human achievement and greatness: “the
world was indebted to Egypt and Ethiopia for the gifts of enlightened and progressive
civilization” (Wilmore 120). The Ethiopianist interpretation of African history thus
served as a powerful counter-narrative to the degrading version taught by white
supremacists.

One of the best known Ethiopianist tracts is David Walker’s *Appeal to the
Colored Citizens of the World*, published in 1929. In this text, Walker uses the Exodus
figure as well as the Ethiopia configuration in an attempt to invoke the transformation
of consciousness he deemed so crucial for the slaves. Walker writes:

Let them remember, that though our cruel oppressors may (if possible) treat us
more cruel, as Pharaoh did the children of Israel, yet the God of the
Ethiopians, has been pleased to hear our moans in consequence of oppression;
and the day of our redemption from abject wretchedness draweth near, when
we shall be enabled, in the most extended sense of the word, to stretch forth
our hands to the LORD our GOD, but there must be a willingness on our part,
for God to do these things for us, for we may be assured that he will not take
us by the hairs of our head against our will and desire, and drag us from our
very, mean, low, and abject condition. (Walker 249)

According to Theopus Smith, what one can observe here is “a displacement of
conjuration [of a god] from the sphere of ritual and worship to the existential sphere
of human freedom” (Smith 59). Walker “conjures up” the “God of the Ethiopians,”
not to be worshipped in prayer so that he will grant them freedom, but to activate the
slaves to *take* that freedom. Walker invites the slaves to make themselves “‘over in
the image of the imagery,’” to “‘stretch forth their hands’” unto their God and show
their willingness to redeem themselves, instead of waiting for “Him” to do it (qtd. in
Smith 58). Walker thus uses the Ethiopia configuration as a call towards action and
self-determination.

In addition, he builds upon the idea of the mission of the African American
chosen people to bring the African continent and the African people back to their
former glory, and expands this into a mission that entails redeeming the entire world:

It is my solemn belief that if ever the world becomes Christianized, (which
must certainly take place before long) it will be through the means, under the
God of the *Blacks*, who are now held in wretchedness, and degradation, by the white *Christians* of the world, who before they learn to do justice before our Maker, and be reconciled to us; and reconcile us to them, and by that means have clear consciences before God and man—Send out Missionaries to convert the Heathens, many of whom after they cease to worship gods, which neither see nor hear, become ten times more the children of Hell, than ever they were, why what is the reason? Why the reason is obvious, that they must learn to do justice at home, before they go into distant lands, to display their charity, Christianity, and benevolence; when they learn to do justice, God will accept their offering. (No man may think that I am against Missionaries for I am not, my object is to see justice done at home, before we go to convert the Heathens.) (Walker 257)

In this passage we can find the belief in a mission of the African Americans which involves not only their return to Africa after being Christianized, and the spread of the gospel on that continent, but also the missionary effort to bring true Christianity to the rest of the planet. He portrays the white Christians as hypocritical Christians, and black people as the representatives of true and pure Christianity. In addition to a sense of the “historical superiority” of the black race, Walker's Ethiopianist mythological construct thus also establishes a sense of current racial and religious superiority through the representation of the black race as naturally good (Christians) as opposed to the hypocritical whites. Walker interprets the words “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out its hands to God” to mean that it is the task of the naturally and religiously superior blacks to redeem the world, and as such he uplifts them to the status of a shining example for the whole of humanity.

However, it must be noted that Walker does not completely abandon the white race. He argues that although “their actions, since they were known as a people …” (Walker 257) make it hard for him to believe that the white race could ever be as good as the black race, he wants to give the “succeeding generations” a chance to redeem themselves and in this way redeem America. The statement “my object is to see justice done at home” (257) indicates that Walker was not yet so far alienated from the white population that he completely rejected them, as well as their country, and consequently also his own “American” identity. In his book *Exodus!*, Eddie S. Glaude Jr. points out that although Walker “demonized slaveholders and their defenders in his
Appeal” (Glaude 161), in the end, he claimed “the country [America] as his birthright and offered it a means for salvation” (161). Walker’s Ethiopianist construct was thus still strongly influenced by the archetypal Exodus myth: he still believed in the “idea of America” (Glaude 35).

However, over the course of the nineteenth century, with racism and oppression showing no signs of decreasing, a large number of black Americans began to regard “the United States [as being] beyond redemption. They believed the nation, in some ways, required for its flourishing the continued subordination of African Americans, and this fact necessitated that they imagine a future elsewhere” (Glaude 35). The interpretation of the Ethiopianist mission of African Americans and subsequently the black race in its entirety, became more radical, separatist, and less dependent on and predetermined by American ideology. Psalm 68:31, after all, refers to a return to glory of Africa alone, and an ascendance of the black race, not to equal the white, but to overpower it. In this context, a version of Ethiopianism developed in which people believed in the mission of African Americans to redeem the African race and the continent, but no longer in their place in the U.S. Africa, not America, now became the Promised Land. It was there that God envisioned his kingdom on earth, inhabited by his only real chosen people. This view was often accompanied by a vision of Africa eventually “cleansed” of all white domination. Especially during the 1850s and 1870s, when circumstances for black Americans were particularly horrendous, Psalm 68:31 became “the cornerstone of missionary emigrationism” (Wilmore 120). Many black preachers and intellectuals started to propagate repatriation, and some initiated so called “back to Africa” movements.

A prominent spokesman for emigration was physician and antislavery editor Martin R. Delany. In the 1850s he promoted emigration through the Ethiopianist vision of the mission of the black race, and of African Americans specifically. He claims that:

“Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God. With the fullest reliance upon this blessed promise, I humbly go forward in—I may repeat—the grandest prospect for the regeneration of a people that ever was presented in the history of the world. The disease has long since been known; we have found and shall apply the remedy.” (qtd. in Wilmore 139)
In 1852, Delany explained this grandest prospect in his work *Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* as follows:

The time has now fully arrived when the colored race is called upon by all the ties of common humanity, and all the claims of consummate justice, to go forward and take their position, and do battle in the struggle now being made for the redemption of the world. Our cause is a just one...God himself, as assuredly as he rules the destinies of nations and entereth measures into the ‘hearts of men,’ has presented these measures to us. Our race is to be redeemed; it is a great and glorious work, and we are the instrumentalities by which it is to be done. But we must go from among our oppressors; it never can be done by staying among them. (Delany 68)

The impact of a text like this on the African American population was again more psychological than existential. The number of African Americans that actually left the US is not substantial. Yet even though “few Americans actually ventured [on] the trip, … symbolically the mission to redeem Africa,” and, as Delany illustrates, to redeem the world, “confirmed their importance as a people” (Raboteau 50). In addition, one can observe in this text the same call for self-determination as in Walker’s *Appeal*: if black Americans do not act for themselves and “move from among their oppressor,” God will withdraw his “protecting arm.” While to “move from among their oppressor” should be interpreted more literally here than in Walker's version, the psychological impact of both, Walker’s integrationist version of Ethiopianism as well as the separatist form that developed later, increased a positive racial consciousness.

Although Ethiopianism was based on positive assertions of black identity, it is important to note that appropriators of these myths in essence also incorporated many of the reigning white supremacist views. Especially in the first decades of the nineteenth century, leaders like Miller and Walker did not seem to question the euro-centric definition of civilization, nor the imperialist idea that they were allowed to impose their culture on foreign peoples and “civilize” them in accordance to the Western model. They did not question whether Christianity was the right religion for African peoples, or the assumption that Africa was a heathen, backward continent that needed to be converted and enlightened. In essence, most Ethiopianist views of the
cultures of African peoples can arguably be called as degrading as those of white supremacists. According to Theopus Smith, “it was inevitable that many black religious leaders would internalize the subordinate view of African humanity deriving from white missionary efforts to rationalize Christianity with the slave trade” (Smith 237). Most Ethiopianists’ ideas of “civilization” were in sync with Western interpretations of this term: “Restoring Africa’s glory would be accomplished by ‘civilizing’ its ‘backward tribes,’ which meant remaking them in the fashion of the Egyptian and Ethiopian empires” (Moses 132).

Nevertheless, despite the degrading attitude towards traditional African culture, the Ethiopianism that developed over the course of the nineteenth century was a powerful source of positive African American identity formation. In extension of the Exodus myth, the African American appropriation of Providential Design served as an answer to the “meaning of their suffering” (Proudfoot 42). That they were enslaved did not mean that God had forsaken them, he was merely preparing them for their mission. Ethiopianism also raised more awareness of an African “racial identity,” and, more importantly, a feeling of pride about this. According to Price what made Ethiopianism radical was its potential to raise Black racial and political consciousness about Africa and Africans. For many Blacks and Whites of the pre-Black-Power era, Africa was generally thought of as a dismal land full of savages and incapable of making history and building civilization. To know or learn differently can be a racial consciousness-raising experience. As nigrescence theorists contend, such experience can be the catalyst for making Blackness a central and salient part of a person's identity. (Price 41)

Still, although the effects of this form of Ethiopianism were what Price calls radical, a truly radical form of Ethiopianism only developed at the end of the nineteenth century, during one of the most horrifying periods in African American history, a period often referred to as the African American “Nadir.” At this point, Ethiopianism was combined with the myth of the Apocalypse. This combination, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, has exerted a strong appeal to the more radical hunger for justice in the African American psyche.
3. No Obligations Towards the Wicked: African American Apocalypse Configurations

_The win’ blows eas’ an’ the win bows wes’_

_It blows like the jug-a-ment day_

(Anonymous; qtd. in Finkenbine 50)

The central theme of the Biblical Apocalypse, divine judgment on the sinful, has throughout history always appealed to victims of oppression. In _Conjuring Culture_, Theopius Smith observes that there appears to be a recurring desire in people practising Biblical religion to “place a warrior deity alongside the God of love and forgiveness,” and that “this double construction, the God of love as a God of vengeance, is especially evident among the Bible’s inheritance communities of the poor and oppressed” (Smith 223). To this, African Americans have been no exception. Once converted and familiarized with Biblical narratives, black slaves and preachers incorporated in their mythological repertoire the image of a Christian God performing acts of violent retribution. The ways in which African Americans have given shape to the Apocalypse mythology have varied throughout history. During slavery, warnings of God’s impending punishment for the “sinful institution” were often articulated through spirituals and other familiar forms of expression. In the nineteenth century, the “black Jeremiad,” an Apocalypse configuration in which the nation’s alleged covenant with God served as a key element, became widely used by numerous black abolitionists like David Walker, serving as a rhetorical force both to pressurize white America into freeing the slaves as well as to empower African Americans. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the United States entered the era that is now often referred to as “the Nadir,” the gravest period, in African American history, Bishop James Theodore Holly developed an interpretation of the Apocalypse myth in which a racialized Armageddon was not a warning, but an inevitability. In his race eschatology the white rulers of the earth were to be destroyed to make way for the reign of the black race and the start of the Millennium. In this chapter I shall argue that these various African American appropriations of the Apocalypse mythology have had a positive effect on the African American psyche by creating the hope that violent justice will prevail, by conceptualizing the African American position in terms of a Biblical axis of “good” versus “evil,” providing
empowering language to fight slavery and encourage self-determination, as well as by further emphasizing the worth of the black race in a global perspective.

Theopus Smith explains that although Christian doctrine taught the virtues of kindness and patience, the cruel and often insufferable reality of slaves’ lives led many to envision a scenario in which their freedom would come soon, and especially come accompanied by the violent punishment of their oppressors. Donald G. Mathews writes that “the chosen community of love and forbearance is also that of hope, but not a flaccid expectation that everything will turn out right in the end. The hope is Apocalyptic; that is, it is based on the vision of a future, violent struggle in which evil is destroyed” (qtd. in Smith 223). The following slave spiritual is an example of how this hope was reflected in African American expressions:

The moon run down in a purple stream
The sun forbear to shine
An every star disappear
King Jesus shall-a be mine

Thur’s a day comin’! .... I hear the rublin’ob the chariots! I see de flashin’ ob de guns! White folks blood is a-runnin’ on de ground like a river, an’ de dead’s heaped up dat high! ... Oh, lor’! hasten de day when de blows, an’ de bruises, an’ de aches, an’ de pains, shall come to de white folks. (qtd. in Smith 225)

Judging from these words, it appears that Aggy is convinced that “a day is coming” in which God will send the Apocalyptic chariots, whose riders will bring upon the white sinners the same pain they have wrought upon her and her kin. It seems that for Aggy and many of her kinspeople, judgment day was the point in time when their suffering
would end, and that of their abusers would begin. Their interpretation of the myth thus provided hope for freedom as well as retributive justice. In addition, it helped them to conceptualize their position in relation to their masters. Smith explains that in Christian history, the Book of Apocalypse has “fostered and sustained the anticipation of a violent climax to the cosmic and historical antagonism of good versus evil, righteousness versus wickedness, justice versus injustice” (Smith 223). In this axis of good versus evil, the slaves defined themselves as the antitypes of the righteous, juxtaposed to their masters, the antitypically wicked.

A second type of African American Apocalypse configuration emerged as African Americans invoked the originally Puritan mythological tradition of the “American Jeremiad.” According to Wilson Jeremiah Moses, a Jeremiad is “a rhetoric of indignation, expressing deep dissatisfaction and urgently challenging the nation to reform. It derives from the biblical prophet, Jeremiah, who warned of Israel’s fall and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by Babylonia as punishment for the people’s failure to keep the Mosaic covenant” (Moses 5). The Puritans, believing themselves to have their own “Mosaic covenant” with God, adopted this story as “a standard rhetorical device for lamenting national transgressions and warning of the consequences: divine displeasure and forthcoming retribution” (Smith 225). An essential part of the Jeremiah narrative was that although the prophet “denounced Israel’s wickedness and foresaw tribulation in the near term, he also looked forward to the nation’s repentance and restoration in a future golden age” (Moses 5). In their own interpretation, the Puritans thus transformed the narrative of Jeremiah into an archetypal myth holding a warning as well as a promise for them as the chosen people. The African American version of the Jeremiad was a re-appropriation of this Puritan tradition, with the major difference being that the call for reform was usually, but as I will demonstrate, not always primarily, directed against another community: white America. Divine punishment, African Americans claimed, would be inflicted on white Americans should they fail to honor the covenant and not free the slaves. As such, the black jeremiad further developed the Exodus figuration of African Americans as the chosen people within the chosen people, leading the nation back to its divine promises.

The formulation of the Declaration of Independence led to a major wave of black Jeremiads, as the discrepancy between the nation’s founding principles of liberty and equality and its people’s actions was thrown into full relief. Nineteenth
century abolitionists like David Walker responded to this by issuing black Jeremiads. Walker warned America to honor its declaration: reject slavery, he warned, or call upon you the wrath of God. In the following passage from *The Hypocrisy of Whites*, Walker writes:

> See your Declaration Americans!!! Do you understand your own language? Hear your language, proclaimed to the world, July 4th, 1776: We hold these truths to be self-evident—that ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL! ! That they *are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights*; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness! !” Compare your own language above, extracted from your Declaration of Independence, with your cruelties and murders inflicted by your cruel and unmerciful fathers and yourselves on our fathers and on us—men who have never given your fathers or you the least provocation! ! ! ! ! ! .... Do the whites say, I being a black man, ought to be humble, which I readily admit? I ask them, ought they not to be as humble as I? Or do they think that they can measure arms with Jehovah? Will not the Lord yet humble them? (*Hypocrisy of Whites* 40; emphases in the original).

In essence, what Walker argues here is that if the whites continue to betray America’s “divinely sanctioned” constitutional principles, the consequences will be Apocalyptic. To “measure arms with Jehovah” implies that they will be at war with God, and Walker implies that they will certainly lose that war, in this way being “humbled” by God. This latter suggestion is confirmed by the following passage from his *Appeal*:

> Americans! Let me tell you, in the name of the Lord, it will be good for you, if you listen to the voice of the Holy Ghost, but if you do not; you are ruined!!! Some of you are good men; but the will of God must be done. Those avaricious and ungodly tyrants among you, I am awfully afraid will drag down the vengeance of God upon you. When God almighty commences his battle on the continent of America for the oppression of his people, tyrants will wish they were never born. (qtd. in Glaude 34)

Here Walker leaves no doubt that a horrific scenario of vengeance awaits those who are unwilling to abolish slavery. However, it must be noted that Wilson Jeremiah
Moses claims that this “rhetorical threat of violence was not based on any real desire for racial Armageddon” (Moses, qtd. in Smith 226). As demonstrated in chapter two, Walker still believed in the “idea of America,” so his words were warnings “of evils to be avoided, not prescriptions for revolution” (Smith 226). Walker hoped that by threatening white Americans as well as offering “them a means of salvation” (Glaude 161), they would be convinced into ending slavery. As such the Jeremiad served as a powerful rhetorical force against the oppressor.

In addition, Walker used Jeremiad rhetoric to convince the slaves themselves to reject slavery. He hoped that by exposing the wickedness of slaveholding America in the eyes of God, and by highlighting the whites’ hypocrisy in light of the Declaration of Independence, he would empower the slaves to relinquish their feelings of submissiveness and obligation towards their masters. According to Glaude, Walker not only “prophesied God’s wrath (its particular linkage with the American tradition of the jeremiad), [he] also … appealed to the moral responsibility of self-determination” (Glaude 35). According to Biblical rationale, the righteous would have no obligation towards the wicked, but only an obligation as a community to oppose the sinful actions of the latter. In other words, Walker suggested that African Americans as a community had an obligation to reject servility. It was morally objectionable to knowingly and willingly participate in the perpetuation of that institution of slavery which God condemned.

Yet even though, as Moses claims, Walker hoped to avoid bloodshed, I would argue against Moses that Walker eventually believed that whatever was necessary had to be done to rid America of slavery. In his Appeal Walker tells the slaves:

Never make an attempt to gain our freedom or natural right, from under our cruel oppressors, and murderers, until you see your way clear—when that hour arrives and you move, be not afraid or dismayed; for be you assured that Jesus Christ the King of heaven and of earth who is the God of justice and armies, will surely go before you. (Walker, Appeal 632-33)

With these words Walker provides the slaves with a justification to physically fight for freedom and self-determination, should this turn out to be absolutely necessary. He employs the Apocalypse configuration to assure the slaves that the God of justice and armies is on their side, both legitimizing violent actions as well as giving them the
courage to fight by presenting victory as a certainty. As such, Walker employs the Apocalypse configuration both in an attempt to achieve his goals peacefully, by presenting the white population with a means to redeem themselves, as well as in an attempt to achieve them more radically if all else fails, by justifying possible bloodshed.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, African Americans’ feelings of alienation from the white population grew ever stronger in the face of extreme racist violence. As demonstrated in chapter two in the context of Ethiopianism, a significant number of African Americans moved away from the Exodus interpretation of African Americans as a chosen people within a chosen people, and from a vision of America as the achievement of God’s kingdom on earth and a golden age of racial equality, towards a more separatist vision of a superior black race. This shift also took place in the Apocalypse configurations. As Wayne Taylor has observed:

the failure of the Exodus to deliver African Americans into the Promised Land in a timely fashion called for the articulation of a vision that would provide a finite point, a point where the tyranny of the oppressor would violently end and a new liberated age would be born. (Taylor 55)

Such a finite point was offered by black leaders such as Bishop James Theodore Holly of the A.M.E. church. Whereas Walker had presented a racially specific Armageddon as a possibility that was to be prevented if possible, Holly created a racial eschatology in which violent judgment on the white population was a certainty. To accomplish this, he combined the more “radical” Ethiopianist mission of the black race with the Apocalypse. In 1884, Holly published *The Divine Plan of Human Redemption, in Its Ethnological Development*, a tract suffused with religious mythology. First of all, he drew on the myth of Ham typology to build a “historical” basis for his prophecy. He writes:

“In the development of the Divine Plan of Human Redemption the Semitic race had the formulating, the committing to writing and the primal guardianship of the Holy scriptures during the Hebrew dispensation. The Japhetic race has had the task committed to them of translating, publishing and promulgating broadcast [sic] the same Holy Scriptures … but neither the one
nor the other of those two races have entered into or carried out the spirit of those scriptures.” (qtd. in Smith 237)

Here Holly attributes to the Jewish race the “creation” of the Bible, and to the white race the spread of Christianity. However, he claims, neither of those two races have yet spread the true Christianity to humanity, as “‘this crowning work of the will of God is reserved for the millennial phase of Christianity, when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands directly unto God...[Both Semitic and Japhetic races] alike await the forthcoming ministry of the Hamitic race to reduce to practical ACTION that spoken word, that written thought’” (qtd. in Smith 237). With this passage Holly perpetuates the Ethiopianist image of the mission of the black race. He then adds to this the element of Apocalyptic violence:

“[T]he apostolic phase of the Christian dispensation is to terminate in a deluge of blood, shed by those warlike nations in fratricidal combat, at Armageddon in the great battle of God Almighty, when He shall declare war and assemble the bloodthirsty nations for slaughter ... then the millennial phase of the Christian Dispensation will begin. The reign of peace and justice will be established on this earth for a thousand years, under the Lord Jesus.” (qtd. in Fulop 240)

With this mythological construction Holly achieves three things: he offers a finite point in time for the black liberation, promises retribution for all the suffering, and confirms the importance of African Americans as a people by attributing to the black race the responsibility to bring about the Millennium, and bring to humankind those divine values which are inherently theirs.

African American appropriations of the Apocalypse myth have always served as expressions of hope for freedom and violent retribution. However, as the examples of Walker and Holly have shown, the specific forms this took have varied considerably over time. In the form of the American Jeremiad, the Apocalypse configuration was used as a rhetorical strategy to achieve the same goals as many Exodus figurations: its main purpose, reminding white Americans of their covenant and threatening with Apocalyptic consequences for ignoring it, was still to fulfill America’s promise of racial equality. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, however, Holly’s example illustrates that the Apocalypse myth had also become a
conduit of a black supremacist attitude, especially in combination with the Ethiopianist version of the African American mission. The images Holly conjured up reflected a previously unparalleled alienation from the white American population. This degree of alienation has only been surpassed by African American reinterpretations of Islamic mythologies created at the beginning of the twentieth century.
4. “To reclaim our people and put them into their own” : African American Mythological Constructs Based on the Notion of a Muslim Identity

Now the Negro is beginning to study his past, to learn those things that have been lost, to recreate what the white man destroyed in him and to destroy that which the white man put instead.  

(Julius Lester 190)

According to Stokely Carmichael, creator of the term “black power,” the “first necessity of a free people” is to have “the right to create their own terms through which to define [themselves]” (Carmichael, 191). From the moment they were brought to America, Africans lost their right to define their own religious identity. Many slaves who had been practising Islam in their homeland were prohibited from doing so in America, either because Islam was considered heretic or because slave masters were unwilling to acknowledge any religiosity in their “property.” When they were finally allowed to be religiously educated, Christianity was their only option. Due to orthodox Muslims’ tradition of memorizing the Qur’an, it took some generations, but eventually Islam was phased out of the general African American consciousness. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, African Americans still desperately seeking for ways to counter the effects of blatant racism began to look outside of the oppressor’s religion for other sources of positive identity formation. As feelings of alienation from white America reached new heights, the religion that was generally associated with black Africa, and often represented as the antithesis of Christianity, Islam, became ever more appealing. Liberian missionary Edward Wilmot Blyden was the first to use Islamic mythology, thus “legitimating” an African American claim to Muslim identity. It was the “prophet” Noble Drew Ali, however, who first produced a full mythologized historical account of African American origins based on the premise of a natural (i.e. divinely determined) African American Muslim-self. Many of Drew’s ideas were in turn appropriated by the man we now know to be one of the most important African American Muslim leaders: Elijah Muhammad. Although the framework for the mythologies that Elijah Muhammad propagated originally came from Wallace D. Fard, whom Muhammad claimed to be the incarnation of Allah himself, Muhammad was the main spokesman for what was
to become the racialized theological basis of the Nation of Islam. Both Drew Ali and Elijah Muhammad were aware of the great authority that Christianity enjoyed among their (potential) followers, and their use of Christian myths to legitimize their own narratives cannot be overlooked. Nevertheless, the Islamic mythological constructs that eventually were created by Blyden, Noble Drew Ali and Elijah Muhammad formed the basis for a positive self-definition that liberated African Americans further from the oppressor’s determination of their identity than any previously appropriated religious mythology had done.

The first to extensively describe the possibilities of Islam to positively affect the African American consciousness was Edward Wilmot Blyden. Blyden adhered to Ethiopianist mythologies and believed that the “sons of Ham” were destined to reclaim their lost glory. However, unlike his contemporaries, Blyden did not limit himself to Christianity to lay claim to a proud historical account of African Americans. In his travels to Africa he had encountered Muslims, and impressed by the merits of the Islamic religion for African people, he set out to convince African Americans that the Islamic history of greatness was in fact an important part of their own heritage. In his article “The Koran in Africa” (1905), he writes that “the Negro Muslims claim a share in some of the most celebrated achievements of Islam, and their exploits are recognized in all the great Arabian works, not excepting the Koran,” and that “it is said that this recognition of the African in the Koran was natural, because the Prophet of Islam was descended in part from an African woman” (Blyden 162, 163). In addition, Blyden used this incorporation of the “Negro” into Islamic mythology to positively define the African race:

There is a chapter in that sacred book inscribed to a Negro, in which his wisdom and piety are especially dwelt upon and pointed out as the direct gifts of God. This is the 31st chapter, entitled Loqman. Rodwell supposes that Loqman is the same person whom the Greeks, not knowing his real name, have called Esop or Ethiops. He is celebrated in secular Arabic poetry as Brimful of wisdom, black as night. No Muslim, whether Arab, Turk or Indian, can read the 31st chapter of the Koran, given, according to their belief, by direct inspiration of God, and separate the Negro from participation in the privileges of God’s Elect. (“The Koran in Africa” 162, 163)

Here Blyden provides "scriptural evidence" firstly of the presence of the African
American’s ancestors in the Qur’an, secondly of African American God-given admirable character traits such as wisdom and piety, and thirdly of the fallacy of the white supremacist stance that African Americans are somehow not entitled to equal rights. Moreover, he legitimizes an African American claim to a “natural” Muslim identity. The latter is especially important as it so to speak “opened the door” for Drew Ali and Elijah Muhammad.

Drew Ali was the first prominent leader of an African American “Muslim movement” with significant numbers. What Ali preached to his followers had little resemblance to the orthodox Islam revered by Blyden. In fact he relied on the Bible far more than on the Qur’an, and regularly referred to other philosophies and religions such as Masonism and Buddhism. Nevertheless, his “gospel” was relevant in terms of African American identity formation in an Islamic context because he claimed that African Americans were in essence Muslims, and with the mythological construct he built around this notion he attempted to uplift “‘fallen man-kind…the lost-found nation of American blacks’” (qtd. in Berg 14). Central to Drew Ali’s mythological construct is his claim that “corporate identity, or the identity of nations, was divinely established and therefore unchangeable and unchanging” (Gomez 218). Thus, God had determined the unchanging essence of the African American peoples when he created them, and therefore “‘what [their] ancient forefathers were, [they] are today without doubt or contradiction’” (qtd. in Gomez 218). To argue that the African Americans’ ancient forefathers were Islamic, Drew Ali used familiar biblical mythology and ethnic typology. In the Circle Seven Koran, the Moorish Science Temple’s holy scripture, one finds the following fragment:

“This is a fact discernible in the industrious acts of the Moslems of the Northwest and Southwest Africa. These are the Moabites, Hamathites, Canaanites, who were driven out of the land of Canaan, by Joshua, and received permission from the pharaohs of Egypt to settle in that portion of Egypt. In later years they formed themselves kingdoms. These kingdoms are called this day, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, etc.” (qtd in Gomez 219)

Through this “reversal” of the Exodus myth (people being driven out of the Promised Land into Egypt by Jewish people) Drew Ali accomplishes three things. Firstly, he traces the lineage of the current Muslims back to the Hamathites, and the Cananaatites, who were in turn widely interpreted as referring to African Americans
because of Ethiopianist ethnic typology. Secondly, he places these forefathers in history as the first people to inhabit the Promised Land Canaan, i.e. confirming their position as the chosen people, only now these chosen people are Muslims. Thirdly, again in an Ethiopianist tradition, he adds to the heritage of Egypt other impressive kingdoms, which also confirms the idea that African Americans today are what their forefathers were, i.e. capable of creating great nations. Drew Ali also attests that the inhabitants of Morocco, the Moors, ruled large parts of Asia and Europe, and founded the holy city for Muslims, Mecca. “Moors” became one of the terms Drew Ali used to refer to African Americans and all their brethren worldwide.

Another crucial part of Ali’s mythology constructions was the belief that a recovery of the African Americans’ “true identity” would lead to their “mental resurrection.” Drew Ali explained that the current state of the “Negro” was a consequence of him worshipping the “wrong” God. At one point in history, Ali explained, their ancestors had started to worship the Gods of the white nations instead of the Muslim God Allah. By doing so, they severed the bond with their forefathers and lost their identity. Accordingly, they were now referred to by degrading terms with "no meaningful longevity or historicity" such as "colored" or "negro." According to Ali, this reflected the fact that “‘the person of African descent was adrift and without direction’” (qtd. in Gomez 218) in the present times because he was without connection to any significant past. To remedy this, African Americans had to re-appropriate their “free national names,” Bey or El (Gomez 218), as this would make them recover their true identity determined by Allah. According to Michael A. Gomez,

the Moorish alteration of the personal name is consistent with conversion custom in orthodox Islam, wherein the convert adopts a new Muslim designation to indicate a spiritual transformation. However, the practice in Moorish Science, while reflecting religious change, simultaneously draws attention to an ongoing existential fallout traceable to the transatlantic slave trade itself. Partial resolution of the loss of original identity is the attempt to approximate that identity, to recover the loss, by as rational a process as possible. With total recovery possibly beyond reach, the reconfiguration of the personal name is nevertheless of tremendous significance, signalling an attempt to reverse the flow of the slave ship’s implications while demonstrably
rejecting slaveholder characterization. (Gomez 219)

Embracing a Muslim identity, changing the term used to refer to African Americans from “Negroes” to “Moors” as well as adopting new individual names were all an attempt to erase the degrading identity bestowed upon African Americans by white America and to recover a liberated and dignified one from the past.

Drew Ali’s objective to “mentally resurrect” African Americans through knowledge of their “true self” was shared by Elijah Muhammad. However, whereas Drew Ali, though claiming Christianity to be the religion for white people, still mainly drew upon the Bible, Elijah Muhammad demonized this scripture as a “poison book.” In fact, Muhammad believed that Christianity as a whole was like poison to African Americans. They were made evil by the whites when they converted them to Christianity and made them believe in the “‘poison addition[s] to the Bible” of the “slavery teaching” such as “love your enemies” and “turn the other cheek”’ (qtd. in Berg 60). Muhammad aimed at completely destroying this evil that the white man forced upon African Americans by convincing the latter to relinquish their Christian identity and adopt an Islamic one. However, Muhammad clearly understood the intensity of the authority that the Bible enjoyed with many African Americans: “It is necessary for me to consult or refer to the Bible….Because my people do not know any Scripture or ever read any Scripture other than the Bible (which they do not understand), I thought it best to make them understand the book which they read and believe in, since the Bible is their graveyard and they must be awakened from it”’ (qtd. in Berg 60). Therefore, to convince the African American people to reject Christianity and convert to Islam, Muhammad constructed an extensive race mythology, not only supported by the Qu’ran, but also infused with biblical mythology, interpreted in such a manner that it legitimized his own mythological framework. He created his own race history that built up to a prophecy in which the Apocalypse myth played an important role. As such, he constructed both an argument for the African American rejection of Christianity as well as positive definitions of African American identity.

Firstly, Elijah Muhammad advanced an entirely new version of the “creation of the races” through the so called “myth of Yakub.” According to this story, Allah first populated the world with the “original black man.” The civilization he created was of the highest nature, with brilliant scientists in abundance. At one point an evil
scientist named Yakub set out to create an evil race of men, and succeeded by creating the “white devil”, that we “now know as” the Caucasian race—Adam and Eve were also the result of this creation. The war-loving white, blue eyed devils were the complete opposite of the good natured blacks, and Allah banished them and Yakub to Europe, where they lived as savages for 2000 years, before Allah sent Moses to civilize them. Allah then decided to have the white race rule over all other races on earth for 6000 years.³ Elijah Muhammad writes:

“The black men in North America are not Negroes, but members of the lost tribe of Shabazz, stolen by traders from the Holy city of Mecca 379 years ago. The prophet came to America to find and to bring back to life his long lost brethren, from whom the Caucasians had taken away their language, their nation, and their religion. Here in America they were living other than themselves. They must learn that they are the original people, noblest of the nations of the earth. The Caucasians are the colored people, since they have lost their original color. The original people must regain their religion, which is Islam, their language, which is Arabic, and their culture, which is astronomy and higher mathematics, especially calculus.” (qtd. in Berg 26)

The purpose of this race myth is clear. Elijah Muhammad redefines African Americans firstly as Muslims, secondly as the original people, and thirdly as highly civilized (in the western sense of the word), while degrading the white race as merely the result of an evil experiment by a disturbed scientist. He explains slavery as the outcome of a plan of God, not as a result of an inherent inferiority; African Americans being in fact the noble and superior human beings. Degrading terms such as negroes and colored people are now authorized to be used to refer to the “white devils,” making them the “anomalies” instead.

Furthermore, the evilness of the Caucasians and also of their Christian religion is even more clarified by the race prophecy that follows this race history. For this, Elijah Muhammad drew on a paradigm well known in the U.S. and a Biblical myth very familiar to African Americans: the Apocalypse. The paradigm Muhammad appropriated was the representation of Islam as the antithesis of Christianity.

³ This is a summary of the narrative as it has been described in various books on F.D. Fard, Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. See, for example, Beverly McCloud’s essay “Blackness in the Nation of Islam” in Religion and the Creation of Race and Ethnicity p. 102-103, and Herbert Berg’s Elijah Muhammad and Islam, p. 85&86.
According to Herbert Berg, “American Protestant Christian millennialism ... saw the removal of Islam...as [a] necessary precursor to the return of Jesus. The Eastern Muslim (i.e. Turkish) empire was identified with various elements within the Book of Revelation” (Berg 12). Elijah Muhammad inverted this paradigm, claiming that it was in fact prophesied that Christianity as well as its creators, the whites, would be destroyed in a war of Armageddon, leaving Islam and all those who adhered to it the victors: “[Islam] is the only religion that has the divine power to unite us and save us from the destruction of the War of Armageddon, which is now. It is also the only religion in which the believer is really divinely protected. It is the only religion that will survive the Great Holy war, or the final war between Allah (God) and the devil” (qtd. in McCloud 101). In this “figural reconstruction” of the Apocalypse narrative, Elijah Muhammad made the wicked city Babylon into “a type of the United States” (Smith 239, 240). He writes that

the description it [Rev. 18:2] gives is as follows: “And he (angel) cried might[ily] with a strong voice (with authority) saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen and is become the habitation of devils (Allah has declared the people to be a race of devils), and the hole of every foul spirit and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.” The description here given to the [sic] Babylon by the Prophets compares with the present history and people of America and their fall. [The italicized words are comments that Elijah Muhammad added to the original text].” (qtd. in Berg 90)

As such, Elijah Muhammad firstly provided “scriptural evidence” to his claims of whites being the devils, bound to be destroyed. Secondly he inverted the stigma of an heretic Islam versus a virtuous Christianity; i.e. a heretic African people versus virtuous whites. And thirdly, he provided a convincing –rather threatening-- argument for African Americans to reject Christianity and “return” to Islam. Elijah Muhammad was intent on breaking down white supremacist dogmas. He turned being white into an undesirable identity, while making blackness a desirable state of being.

Another important aspect of his mythological construct that helped establish this was the idea that God was a black man. Muhammad claimed that W. D. Fard was the personification of Allah, i.e. Allah was black. In Conjuring Culture, Theopos Smith explains the implications of creating such a deity that represents the self:
In his 1961 study of “the new African Culture,”...Jahn spoke of African and African American religions as traditions of “active worship” which “create” God, and which “install the divine being as such .... In conjunction with Jahn’s notion of “making” or inducing the deity, I retrieve Kenneth Burke’s elucidation of incantation or the “incantatory”: as a “device for inviting us to ‘make ourselves over in the image of the imagery.’” Burke’s formulation suggests a reciprocal reference: *to designate a deity is also to imagine or re-imagine the self* [my emphasis]. (Smith 58)

To designate a deity thus lies at the basis of reimagining the self; in other words, to worship a black, instead of a white God/Allah, meant to re-imagine the black race itself as being of a divine and worthy nature. In addition, it also meant revering the image of the black instead of the white body. Elijah Muhammad observed that black Americans had often internalized the European beauty ideal of fair skin and blue eyes, which was devastating to their own body image. Muhammad clearly tried to counter this effect by adding to the construction of a black god scriptural “denunciations” of white “beauty” traits, as for example through the interpretation of the following Qur’anic verse: “‘On the day when the trumpet shall be blown, and we will gather the guilty, blue-eyed, on that day’” (qtd. in Berg 61), on which he commented as follows: “‘The word *zurqá* means *blue-eyed*, and thus it serves as an indication of the nations who are spoken of here as being *gathered*. According to [Baydawí], blue being the colour of the eyes of the *Rūm* (i.e. the Greeks or the Romans), who were the most hated by the Arabs as the worst colour for the eyes’” (qtd. in Berg 61). In this way, Elijah Muhammad portrayed blue eyes, the ultimate Caucasian feature, as an undesirable trait. Elijah Muhammad often used this manner of reinterpreting Qur’anic passages to lend authority to his own mythology.

Thus, a pattern can be observed in the use of Islamic mythology from Blyden to Elijah Muhammad. Blyden employed Islamic mythology primarily to “naturalize” a Muslim identity, while simultaneously adding to the proud heritage postulated by the Ethiopianists’ Islamic achievements as well as their “admirable” characteristics. Drew Ali built on Blyden’s premise, creating his own mythologies around the concept of an African American Muslim self, and initiating an uplift of the “lost African American people” through erasing from their consciousness the alien sense of self
imposed by whites and recovering their divinely determined, non-American, African self. Elijah Muhammad in turn built on Drew’s “knowledge of the true self” theory, and created a full blown racialized theology in which he inverted the white supremacist narratives of the “original man” and the perception of Africa as a heretic continent versus the shining example of white America. According to Muhammad, African Americans were superior to the “white race of devils” in every way imaginable. They needed to erase all the “evil” that white people had implanted in them, and to accomplish this, the incarnation of Allah, W. D. Fard, had come to them. He came to “cut loose every link of the slave chain that [held them] in bondage to [their] slave-masters by giving [them] a true knowledge of self, God, and the devil and wipe away the 400 years of tears, weeping, mourning and groaning under the yoke of bondage to the merciless murderers” (qtd. in Berg 29). To embrace their true Muslim identity was to erase their oppressor’s identity, to reject their Americanness and assert their Africanness. It was the finalization of a process of alienation from America; to embrace Islam was thus to completely disidentify with all things American and embrace this alienated state.
Conclusion

With their self-image to a great extent devastated by the brutalities of slavery and relentless racism, it is not surprising that African Americans have throughout their history eagerly embraced stories that could restore to them a sense of dignity, of empowerment and hope. After analyzing the appropriation and creation of the four religious mythological constructs discussed in this dissertation, I conclude that it would be hard to find a narrative that matches the impact that these myths have had on the way African Americans viewed themselves and their place in the world from the second half of the eighteenth to the first half of the twentieth century.

A comparative analysis of the various religious myths reveals that all of them share several essential themes that have contributed substantially to their relevance. One of the most crucial and obvious foci of all myths was that of which African Americans had been deprived for centuries: freedom. Exodus and the first Apocalypse configurations were most obviously centered on the battle against slavery. Nevertheless, when slavery was officially abolished, African Americans were still not free from oppression and racism, and all four mythologies have been employed to create hope for a future without any struggle against discrimination. Secondly, what three of the four myths have in common, is the goal to provide more dignified explanations for the state that African Americans were in than the ones given by the white population. Ethiopianists and black Muslims explained their people’s enslavement by “rewriting” African American history with “scriptural authorization.” Those adhering to the Exodus myth adopted the “oppressed chosen people” explanation by reconfiguring themselves as the children of the Israelites. Closely related to this is the third overlapping function present in all four myths: creating a sense of worthiness.

Because the themes of the various myths correspond in many ways, they could quite easily be used in a complementary fashion or be fully incorporated into each other. Exodus and Ethiopianism were often drawn upon simultaneously, while both of these myths were also combined with the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse in turn was easily incorporated into Islamic mythology. Especially David Walker is a good example of an African American leader whose use of all three Christian myths is reflected in his various writings.

Despite the (partial) overlap, however, it can be concluded that the
appropriation of each individual myth has been a reaction to specific historical circumstances, and that each myth has had its own distinctive uplifting effect and unique impact on the African Americans’ sense of identity. This can be roughly summarized as follows: at a time when the system of slavery was still thriving and not yet widely called into question, it was the Exodus myth that “proved” that the struggle for freedom was a just one in the eyes of God. Exodus’ unique and most valuable impact on the African American identity formation was that it was essential for a first collective (positive) self-definition. In a second stage, at a time of both “scientific” and religious racial theories advanced to prove the inherent inferiority of blacks, Ethiopianism was the authoritative rebuttal. The Ethiopianist mythology became a relevant source of a proud racial consciousness. And as the frustration about the absence of freedom increased throughout the nineteenth century, these feelings were given shape by an increasingly violent recourse to Apocalypse configurations. The Apocalypse myth was an especially powerful vehicle to express a hunger for retributive justice and defined the African American as morally superior to the white oppressor. When all of these reconstructions eventually failed to effect concrete social changes, and extreme poverty in the North was added to the ongoing racist violence still ruling the daily lives of the black population, the need for an entirely new mythological construct took shape in the turn towards Islam. The Islamic mythologies in turn were a powerful attempt to destroy completely the degrading self-image created by the whites by recovering what slavery had taken away, and erasing what it had created.

One crucial aspect of African Americans’ use of religious mythology can be summarized as a shift from an emphasis on establishing an African-American identity towards defining a proud African self, or a gradual movement towards a full “embrace of alienation” (Raboteau 66) from white America. With the first myth of Exodus, African Americans also still appropriated the idea of America as the shining nation in which the golden age of equality and liberty would and could be achieved, and their sense of their mission as the chosen people was inseparable from this ideal. While David Walker’s Ethiopianism already demonstrated a stronger orientation towards an African identity, he nonetheless still drew upon the Exodus myth as well, illustrating a dual consciousness in which the power of the nation’s archetypal myth (Exodus) could not be underestimated. Separatist sentiments became increasingly more visible
in Ethiopianist and Apocalypse configurations towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the African American mission was more and more seen as separate from the “idea of America,” and more emphasis was laid on the need to separate the “superior” black race from the “wicked” whites, eventually even culminating in the desire to “dispose of” the latter. Finally these separatist sentiments reached their climax in the creation of Islamic race mythologies which demonized everything that was white, including Christianity, and uplifted everything that was African, including the Islamic religion.

In discussing the four religious mythologies identified above, I have focused primarily on the conceptual effects of their appropriations by African Americans. These effects, however, have often also helped to prepare the ground for concrete social and political action. The political movement of American Black nationalism during the nineteen sixties, for example, would never have come into existence had the slaves not first developed a group consciousness, which was later expanded to a sense of global identity shared by all African peoples through Ethiopianism. In addition, Black Jeremiads became one of the most powerful rhetorical strategies of abolitionists, and were still employed by leaders such as Martin Luther King during the nineteen sixties, for example. The Islamic race mythologies created by W. D. Fard and Elijah Muhammad, finally, became the theological-ideological basis for the Nation of Islam, which induced a great number of African Americans to assert their self-determination and economic self-improvement. The relevance of these four religious mythologies for the African American sense of self and their assertions in American society can thus not be seen as separate from African American sociopolitical achievements and their racial emancipation throughout the centuries.
Bibliography


