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ETHIOPIANISM, GENDER, AND
TRANSNATIONALISM IN
PAULINE HOPKINS’S OF ONE
BLOOD

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Introduction

The foundation of black Atlantic African consciousness is all too often attributed to movements such as Garveyism, Negritude, the Harlem Renaissance, and Pan-Africanism. Without question contemporary studies in black transnationalism must account for the contributions of these twentieth-century movements. The shortfall of beginning with these twentieth-century influences, however, is the incomplete narrative they tell. The legacy of black transnationalism as a state of consciousness begins with early black writers and activists who, though fewer in numbers and perhaps less celebrated than their twentieth-century successors, imagined blackness as a product of trans-Atlantic and trans-African networks. Among the earliest tropes that signaled transnational blackness was the often-employed invocation to Ethiopia. In her 1902–1903 serialized novel, Of One Blood, or the Hidden Self and her later nonfiction study, A Primer of Facts Pertaining to the Early Greatness of the African Race and the Possibility of Restoration by its Descendants (Hopkins 2007), turn-of-the-century author, Pauline Hopkins, poignantly represents the bridge between early and twentieth-century African American writers invoking Ethiopia as trope in their origins narratives. In large part Ethiopianism was an answer to western-originating assaults on black humanity and questionings on Africa’s relevance in the history of civilization. Identifying blacks as direct descendants of the ancient Ethiopians—and thus also connected to ancient Egypt and Judaism—this myth of black origins was regularly appropriated in black writings.

The transnational thread in Of One Blood is woven from kings and queens of ancient Ethiopia to their black descendants thousands of years and miles away in the United States. While Hopkins constructs a reverential picture of Ethiopia’s royal line, her Ethiopian queens and their American descendants are limited in terms of mobility and influence. Contrastingly, the kings and the novel’s male protagonist, Reuel, are physically and intellectually superior to the novel’s fragile heroine. Like the stock hero of sentimental fiction, Reuel is the protector and provider of home, called out into the larger world. Hopkins dares to seat African women as the mothers of civilization; however, the novel’s sentimental framework trumps its
transnational plot, leaving Africa’s mother of mothers eerily reminiscent of the stock white heroine of sentimental fiction.

Does Hopkins’s vision of Ethiopianism open up possibilities for radical expressions of black womanhood or possibilities for black female authority or autonomy? Her concomitant appropriation of Sentimental and Ethiopianist tropes is apparent, but whether her transnational narrative moves readers to clear affirmations of black womanhood is less clear. Hopkins designs her fictional work to illustrate the historical connection between ancient Ethiopians and blacks that she draws in her nonfiction work. Constructing an origins legend that seats humankind and civilization not in the western world, but in Africa—specifically Ethiopia, she seizes an opportunity to imagine and represent Africans in defiance to the prevailing racist discourse of her era. She anchors her narrative in a mythical royal line of Ethiopian kings and queens to illustrate ancient Africa’s splendor and power.

On the surface, Hopkins’s *Of One Blood* might easily be deemed illustrative of turn-of-the-century black women’s writings that have been too often dismissed as emulations of a fading Victorian or sentimental worldview. The writings by these black women were deemed mere acquiescence to fading white paradigms of gender and society. There is no shortage of glaring tropes of sentimentalism: foremost, there is the fragile, chaste, innocent heroine (Dianthe) and her noble, self-sacrificing male protector (Reuel). Not insignificant is the physical appearance of the two main characters, who though black by virtue of ancestry, are white by all that is visible to the eye. Hopkins’s ploy here is not simply an overture to notions of white universality or supremacy, but more strategically a challenge to western paradigms of racial identity and certainty. Despite its overture to sentimentalism, *Of One Blood* is notable among Hopkins’s fiction for its added challenge to the emerging discourse of Eugenics at the turn of the century—a challenge that Hopkins anchors in centuries-old New World black discourses of Ethiopianism.

Hopkins’s artistic and historical musings on Ethiopia and black identity echo a number of her black contemporaries and predecessors, who shaped their mythological look to Ethiopia in large part from their readings of ancient writings and ironically, western discourses of race and antiquity that were articulated at the onset of new world slaving. While literary traditions existed among pre Middle Passage continental African empires, in general blacks in the new world entered into literacy through texts that anchored western literacy and learning as well. Thus, like their white counterparts, new world blacks encountered the Bible early on, and as works in Latin and ancient writings of Greece and Rome served as the foundation of learning, black literacy was shaped by this tradition. Blacks did not have to go deeply into the Bible to see themselves and then, like their white counterparts, to connect themselves to blacks in antiquity. In the Bible, in writings of ancient Greeks, Romans and Arabs, blacks are present—and not in the denigrated state of New World blacks. The biblical Cush is translated into Greek as Ethiopian (burnt faces). Whether they are named Cush, Ham, Nubia, or Ethiopia, they are a population clearly integral to the ancient world that is today recognized as the foundation of western civilization. Biblical references to the Ethiopian’s black skin, their biblical appearances from Genesis through the New Testament, and references to Ethiopia in works by ancients such as Homer and Herodotus (describes Ethiopians as “the tallest and handsomest of men” (quoted in Rushmore 2001, 2)) illustrate the Ethiopian’s equal and oftentimes superior status among his contemporaries in the ancient world. While New World blacks certainly heard the dominant racial discourse that deemed them inferior, through their forays into literacy they encountered texts that suggested otherwise.
Blueprint for transcontinental black identity: Ethiopianism in early black America

Ethiopianism in the African American literary and cultural imagination dates back to some of the earliest extant writings by blacks in Colonial America.\(^3\) Hopkins’s race theory informs this novel, as its conclusion affirms Ethiopia as the seat of humankind’s spiritual and civilized history. The added implication of Ethiopia’s centrality to the plot is that as the center of human development in antiquity, Ethiopia represents both the great past and the future promise of Africa and its descendants. Just as the ancient great minds of Ethiopia had catapulted the ancient world to great achievements, the restoration of modern Ethiopia would again propel mankind to new greatness.

In the eighteenth-century poetry of Phillis Wheatley and the published addresses of Prince Hall we find examples of early black proclamations of Ethiopianism. Into the nineteenth century we find a continuation of this identity construct rooted in the presumption that Ethiopia is the ancestral home of blacks. From early nineteenth-century black activist David Walker to mid-century and later figures such as Martin Delany, Edward Blyden, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner to early twentieth century giant, Marcus Garvey, black leaders passed on the legacy of Ethiopianism inscribed in some of the earliest publications by blacks in Colonial America. Even Frederick Douglass, an assimilationist who unlike his black nationalist peers, did not advocate for ties between New World and continental Africans, concluded his 1854 narrative, My Bondage My Freedom, with the oft acclaimed prophesy from Psalm 68:31, that “Ethiopia shall yet reach forth her hand unto God.”\(^4\)

African American Ethiopianism became shaped as blacks appropriated biblical and secular history to construct a New World black identity seated in Ethiopia, the ancient origins of the descendants of Ham and the cradle of humankind. Of One Blood proves the medium through which Hopkins, who sees Ethiopia as a divine and historical black homeland, transforms her historical read of ancient Ethiopia into a fictional mythology of race and racial origins, seating not only black lineage, but the origins of all human kind to black antiquity. While Of One Blood emphasizes a connection between modern blacks or Africans and an ancient black civilization in Ethiopia, Hopkins also underscores in this fictional work her understanding of humankind as having originated out of a single source. This she more expressly explained in her nonfiction tract, “A Primer of Facts,” where she explores the question of identity and human origins. Here Hopkins argues that “until the entry of Noah’s family into the ark, all people were of the one race and complexion” (Hopkins 2007, 335).

Again, Hopkins is not the first among African American thinkers and writers who maintain Ethiopia as the divine and historical root of black identity. In the works of Phillis Wheatley, one of America’s first black poets, we find an early example of black literary musings that draw a historical thread between blacks in the new world and the most ancient of blacks—that is, Ethiopians and Egyptians. Though Wheatley is born in West Africa, she repeatedly identifies herself and blacks in general, as Egyptians, Ethiopians, descendants of Ham, thereby marking black identity as monolithic, transcultural, and transnational. In similar fashion, Wheatley’s contemporary, Prince Hall, early voice of black solidarity and founder of the Prince Hall Masons, underscored ancient Ethiopia’s influence in biblical history and its significance as the ancestral home of black Africa. Though this is not the focus of his 1797 “Charge, Delivered to the African Lodge,” Hall reminds his audience that Moses sought the counsel of his Ethiopian father-in-law, Jethro; that the great Solomon welcomed the Queen of Sheba to his royal court; and that among the earliest conversions to Christianity was the eunuch of Ethiopian Queen Candace who was baptized by the Apostle Philip.
This link between new world blacks and ancient Ethiopia resonated in David Walker’s 1829 *Appeal*, a fiery condemnation of American slavery and slaveholders. While the *Appeal* focuses on the rights denied but to be claimed by blacks in the United States, he also reminded his audience that no less than whites, blacks are the descendants of an ancient legacy of human achievement. Walker asserts that “the Egyptians were Africans or coloured people, such as we are—some of them yellow and others dark—a mixture of Ethiopians and the natives of Egypt” (Turner 1993, 28). He further asserts that, “by the sons of Africa or of Ham … learning originated, and was carried thence into Greece” (Walker 1993, 39). This vision of the identity of ancient Egyptians was even addressed in James McCune Smith’s introduction to Frederick Douglass’s 1855 autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Explaining the likeness that Douglass drew between his mother and the image of an ancient Egyptian figure that he had seen in *Prichard’s Natural History of Man*, Smith asserts (to dispel any speculation that Douglass understood the Egyptians to be white) that the Egyptians were black: “The Egyptians, like the Americans, were a mixed race, with some negro blood circling around the throne, as well as in the mud hovels.”

Far more explicit and detailed in his transcontinental vision of black identity, Martin Delany seats the origin of freemasonry in ancient Africa. According to Delany “in the earliest period of the Egyptian and Ethiopian dynasties, the institution of Masonry was first established” (Delany 2003, 53). In his later 1879 tract, *The Origin of Races and Color*, Delany explains the black origin of Egypt and Ethiopia:

> That the rule of Cush extended from the Nilotic borders of Egypt quite in toward the interior of the country, the whole of which was called Ethiopia, is indisputable; and it is a fact which learned men will not dispute, that in the early settlement of those countries, Egypt and Ethiopia were united Kingdoms …

*(Delany 1991, 41–42)*

Delany then concludes that this ancient black kingdom informed the vision of the great biblical patriarch Moses:

> the literature of the Israelites, both in the science of letters and government, also religion, was derived from the Africans, as they must have carried with them the civilization of those peoples and that country, in their memorable exodus, as the highest encomium upon Moses in the Scripture is, that he “was learned in all the wisdom of the Ethiopians.”

*(Delany 1991, 55)*

As one of the key patriarchal figures of ancient Judaism and ultimately Christianity, Moses establishes social and legal codes that provide the blueprint for Christianity and thus modern civilization. Delany then intimates that western/white civilization is intellectually and spiritually indebted to ancient Africa.

It is this link between new world blacks and ancient Ethiopia and to the foundation of western civilization that Hopkins invokes in *Of One Blood*. In her essay, “Pauline Hopkins and the Occult: African-American Revisions of Nineteenth-Century Sciences,” Susan Gillman recalls Hopkins’s deep interest in the theory of race and her rejection of the leading white racist theories of her time. She argues that *Of One Blood* advances Hopkins’s Ethiopianism and that “the Meroe section of the novel brings us to the heart of Hopkins’s Africa and the center of her strategy of using archaeological data to refute the claims of ethnological
science” (Gillman 1966, 66). While Claudia Tate points out that the mythical Candace in Hopkins’s *Of One Blood* “marks a very early appearance of the ‘brown’ heroine in Afro-American fiction” (Gillman 1966, 64) the novel moves beyond American borders and beyond the African American community. The mythical Candace of Hopkins’s novel echoes and is likely born out of the story of Solomon and Sheba often recalled in the writings of early African Americans. Explaining women’s active role in spiritual ritual in ancient Africa, Martin Delany summarized this legend: “Among other nations of the ancients, priestesses were common, as is known to the erudite in history; and Candace, queen of Sheba, was a high priestess in her realm—hence her ability to meet King Solomon in the temple” (Delany 2003, 55). Hopkins’s heroine, Dianthe, is the mythical reincarnation of this line of queens.

**Ethiopianism and transnational blackness in *Of One Blood***

In general, *Of One Blood* underscores the prevailing tension between the self-proclaimed authority of Anglo rationalism and science and the mystical or supernatural cosmology of the east, that is, Ethiopianism. This conflict is symbolized in the embodiment of the main character, Reuel Briggs. Reuel is American born, of black and white ancestry, and as revealed late in the novel, is tied to the royal line that dates back to the great ancient empire of Ethiopia/Meroe. Reuel’s connection to royal antiquity is hinted in his very name: among appearances of this name in the Bible are Reuel the son of Esau in Genesis (36:4, 10); Reuel the father-in-law of Moses in Exodus (2:18) and Numbers (10:29). Even before Reuel’s Ethiopian ancestry is revealed, he demonstrates extraordinary mythical insights and powers and an ontological vision that transcends the western linear understanding of being. When he restores Dianthe from the dead, he illustrates a power beyond the ordinary. To his doubting white medical peers, Reuel explains a cosmological view that they cannot grasp: “The supernatural presides over man’s formation always … Perhaps the superstitious masses came nearer to solving the mysteries of creation than the favored elect will ever come” (Hopkins 1988, 469).

When Reuel journeys to Ethiopia the secret of his great powers is revealed: “He had carefully hidden his Ethiopian extraction from the knowledge of the world. It was a tradition among those who had known him in childhood that he was descended from a race of African kings” (Hopkins 1988, 557–558). Through Professor Stone, the novel’s English scientist who heads the excursion into the interior of Ethiopia, Hopkins echoes black voices that have proclaimed Ethiopia’s great legacy and its connection to a line of great kings and people. Professor Stone summarizes Ethiopia’s history and import, explaining that before the celebrated civilizations of the Romans and Greeks and even earlier than the ancient Hebrews and Egyptians,

> —Nimrod and Mizraim—both descendants of Ham—led the way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the untrodden fields of knowledge. The Ethiopians, therefore, manifested great superiority over all the nations among whom they dwelt, and their name became illustrious throughout Europe, Asia and Africa.

*(Hopkins 1988, 531)*

He traces the ancient Ethiopians to a divine legacy and then declares African Americans their descendants: “The father of this distinguished race [ancient Ethiopians] was Cush, the grandson of Noah, an Ethiopian,” and “… Afro-Americans are a branch of the wonderful and mysterious Ethiopians who had a prehistoric existence of magnificence” (Hopkins 1988, 531–532).
Gender, transnational spaces, and the black woman in *Of One Blood*

As the reincarnation of Ergamenes, the first king of ancient Ethiopia, Reuel is the novel’s hero. His mythical return to his African origins and his destined place as their king and leader signals his central place in the narrative. Although the three siblings—Reuel, Aubrey, and Dianthe—are born to the royal line of ancient Ethiopian rulers, only Reuel survives to return and rule. Although she is described in the likeness of the line of ancient queens, Dianthe’s likeness, Candace is found in the flesh in Ethiopia, awaiting Reuel’s return. Dianthe is ultimately not needed. Her death does not threaten the survival of the royal line. Aubrey dies, but since he is the evil sibling, his death helps to clean or purify the ancestral line. Ethiopia then awaits its royal male heir to bring it out of centuries old isolation and stasis. A line of Candaces have awaited the coming of the reborn Ergamenes; thus, though she has the royal mark, Dianthe is not central to the restoration of the people and kingdom. Her death does not hinder the destined restoration of the ancient monarchy.

From the novel’s onset, Dianthe seems the helpless creature destined for an untimely end. Although Scott Trafton reads Dianthe as an empowering figure in the novel, her ultimate lack of agency and self-realization render Trafton’s assertion a hard sell. Trafton identifies Dianthe’s grandmother, Aunt Hannah, as the “holder of buried secrets,” and deems Dianthe the female power figure:

> It is … Dianthe, not the explicitly marked ‘Voodoo witch’ Aunt Hannah, who is the conjure woman in *Of One Blood*. Dianthe’s tripartite singing of ‘Go Down, Moses’ structures the text as a whole … and conjures all of the discoveries of the text into existence.

*(Hopkins 2007, 523)*

While Dianthe may function as a kind of trigger—and clearly, a passive one—she is simply a vessel in this regard. She has no conscious powers of sight or action. Perhaps it is not inconsequential that Dianthe’s Greek, rather than biblical or Ethiopian name, hints at her deficiency (perhaps too much of western influence/blood) in the royal African line.

While Reuel and Aubrey are introduced as rational and autonomous, Dianthe, the female sibling, is the stark contrast. The three siblings are able to “pass” as white, and Dianthe as female, can be cast in the sentimental tradition of ideal womanhood:

> She was not in any way the preconceived idea of a Negro. Fair as the fairest woman in the hall, with wavy bands of chestnut hair, and great, melting eyes of brown, soft as those of childhood; a willowy figure of exquisite mould.

*(Hopkins 1988, 453)*

She is, throughout the narrative, a figure always teetering on the brink of death. Shortly after her performance at the novel’s start, Dianthe is “killed” in an accident and brought back to life by Reuel through his mystical powers. When she is awakened from death, she emerges in a helpless state that becomes her sustained image: “She was like a child—so trusting” (Hopkins 1988, 470). With no memory of her identity, she then becomes the ward of Reuel, and later through deceit, Aubrey.

Dianthe speaks little in the novel, and her future rests in the hands of others rather than herself. Reuel and Aubrey discuss her care and her fate as she lingers in the shadows, helpless. When Reuel announces his plan to depart for the journey to Ethiopia, she voices her
helplessness and anxiety over being left alone. She pleads with Reuel to stay for her benefit: “No, I am not strong!” she interrupted with a wild burst of tears. ‘Reuel, if you knew how weak I am you would not leave me’” (Hopkins 1988, 499). In Reuel’s absence, Dianthe falls into an unconscious state after the boating accident staged by Aubrey. She awakens again to an absence of memory and a highly weakened emotional state (Hopkins 1988, 597). Even when Dianthe takes decided action—that is, to kill Aubrey, after she discovers his murderous and deceptive actions—it is action out of hysteria, and a plot that she is unable to successfully execute. She is made to drink the deadly potion that she had concocted for Aubrey.

That Dianthe marries her brother—though unknowingly—also signals her closer alliance to her western ancestry. The incest here echoes the more blatant historical incest of white masters whose sexual violation of black women resulted in a legacy of physical and sexual trauma. Perhaps Dianthe’s death in the new world suggests the end of this history of terror. This is arguably signaled by Aunt Hannah’s ultimate return to Ethiopia with Reuel, where she will then end her days among the royal ancestral line of Candaces. Aunt Hannah is female, and she is past the age of reproduction, but she is also—unlike Dianthe—consciously and autonomously linked to her African ancestry; thus, a more fitting figure in the female dynasty. As Scott Trafton noted in his read of Aunt Hannah, she is the seer: in this respect, her name ties her to antiquity, to the biblical Hannah, who was a prophetess.

Dianthe dies at the novel’s end and physically remains in the new world, but the line of Candaces and the living Candacé who becomes Reuel’s bride in Ethiopia are the physical likeness of Dianthe. Throughout the novel, the narrator reiterates Dianthe’s physical appearance as “pale” and “white-faced,” and more readily identified as white than black. When Reuel first encounters the Candacé of Ethiopia that he will wed, he is immediately struck by her likeness to Dianthe:

She reminded him strongly of his beautiful Dianthe; in face, the resemblance was so striking that it was painful … She was the same height as Dianthe, had the same well-developed shoulders and the same admirable bust … Yes; she was a Venus, a superb statue of bronze … Long, jet-black hair and totally free, covered her shoulders like a silken mantle; a broad, square forehead, a warm bronze complexion; thick black eyebrows, great black eyes … a delicate nose with quivering nostrils, teeth of dazzling whiteness behind lips as red as a rose.

(Hopkins 1988, 568–569)

While the Ethiopian Candacé is free of the whiteness that physically marks Dianthe, her bronze complexion, her unsterotypically “African” nose, her non-racially described lips, and her likeness to Dianthe suggests an appearance that is racially ambiguous by western identity conventions. Readers may see this as Hopkins’s subversion of the white-black racial binary, but what is the ultimate import of obscuring the racial identity of ancient Ethiopia in Hopkins’s narrative?

Ultimately the novel asserts the common origins of humankind, locating those origins in ancient Ethiopia, and underscoring the racial black identity of those ancient Ethiopians. Its transnational import is glaring through the interconnectedness drawn between blacks across time and place. The novel is bold in its depiction of blackness as a global identity that originates from a central and ancient national origin; however the narrative falls short in its development of the female line. The racially ambiguous appearance of the sacred line of Ethiopian queens is an oddity in the narrative. Their remarkably white washed skin seems inconsistent with the story that awaiting the return of the royal heir, Ergamenes, they have
generationally preserved the royal line through their isolation from the outside world. Such isolation would hardly have rendered them in the likeness of their racially mixed American counterpart, Dianthe. In her nonfictional writings, Hopkins reveals that she was well read in the history of ancient Ethiopia and saw its legacy dating back to black origins from which humanity and civilization sprang. That this is articulated in the novel by the narrator and the characters, but compromised by the female progenitors undermines the general force of the novel and underscores again the inability of black writers to affirm the combination of beauty and strength in the black female body, free of western/white markers. The failure of the novel in this regard does not speak to an authorial lapse singular to Hopkins, however. For Africans in the Americas and those throughout the Atlantic world, trans-Atlantic slaving fueled a racialized gender discourse that rendered a combination of black and female outside the margins of ideal womanhood. Extending into the early twentieth century and with few exceptions, fictional narratives of slavery revealed the authors’ conflation of ideal (and presumably universal) womanhood into the white female body.

Hopkins follows suit with her near white black heroines, but she deviates by layering this narrative form and its female trope into a mythological yet transnational tale of Ethiopia. In Hopkins’s novel Ethiopia is the geographical, ancestral, and cultural center of trans-Atlantic black identity: the scattered new world dispersion of blacks points to shared origins to this ancient black world. This exaltation is anchored in the story’s focus on the Ethiopian queens and mothers who represent the origins of humanity. That Hopkins describes her African/Ethiopian heroines as more European than African in physical appearance illustrates to modern readers the legacy that informs representations of black women to the present. It is a legacy of which Kenyan film star and Academy Award winner (“Best Supporting Actress” for her role as the slave girl Patsy in 12 Years a Slave), Lupita Nyong’o, reminds us. In her acceptance speech for the Black Women in Hollywood’s “Best Breakthrough Performance Award,” Nyong’o shared an excerpt from the letter of a young admirer who confessed that Nyong’o’s success on stage had changed her self-perception: “I think you’re really lucky to be this Black but yet this successful in Hollywood overnight. I was just about to buy Dencia’s Whitenicious cream to lighten my skin when you appeared on the world map and saved me.”

More than a century in time lies between the publication of Hopkins’s Of One Blood and Lupita Nyong’o’s portrayal of an unambiguously black slave girl—beautiful, dark, and heroic. Perhaps there is a twist of irony in the young Kenyan actress reaching across the Atlantic to play the part of an African American slave girl: in a kind of reversal of Hopkins’s gaze across the Atlantic to Africa, Nyong’o gazes blackness from Africa to America. In her role as Patsy and in her public speeches where she explains how she came to love her black self in a world that provided little validation of black and female, Nyong’o helps us understand why Of One Blood and its muddied portrait of black womanhood remains relevant to present day debates on racism and transnational representations of black women.

Notes

1 Hopkins’s intellectual predecessors and peers in this regard, were, for the most part, men: in Pauline Hopkins: A Literary Biography Hanna Wallinger credits William Wells Brown’s The Rising Son (1874), and Martin R. Delany’s Prinicipia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color (1879), and Rufus L. Perry’s The Cushite; or, The Descendants of Ham (1893) as clear sources for Hopkins, and she speculates that Hopkins also knew George Washington Williams’s 1883 History of the Negro Race in America, 1619 to 1880. Similarly, Mandy A. Reid aptly posits (“Utopia Is in the Blood: The Bodily Utopias of Martin R. Delany and Pauline Hopkins”) a comparison between Delany and Hopkins’s discourses of racial science.
In their eighteenth-century writings, Prince Hall and Phillis Wheatley refer to blacks as Ethiops and sons of Ham, exemplifying pre-nineteenth century appropriations of Ethiopia as black homeland.

Women activists of this period are often associated with what some historians have called “The Black Women’s Club Movement”. Emerging in the late decades of the nineteenth century and flourishing into the first decades of the twentieth century, this movement consisted of black women’s organizations across the nation, founded and led primarily by middle class black women, especially those educated and/or the wives of prominent black leaders. These organizations held to a common theme of racial uplift and improvement, and this was propagated through calls for black education, social and political rights, and women’s rights and improvements as well.

For a more detailed discussion of Ethiopianism and early black activism and nationalism, see Moses (1993).

See Douglas (2003, 244). Douglas paraphrases the biblical verse that reads in the King James Version, “Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.”

Douglass (2003, liv).


**Bibliography**


