

# Noble Drew Ali's “Clean and Pure Nation”

## The Moorish Science Temple, Identity, and Healing

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**ABSTRACT:** In the 1920s, the theology, racial history, and healing ways of the Moorish Science Temple of America mediated racial uplift and contemporary health concerns. In 1927, Moorish Science Temple founder Noble Drew Ali created the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation to market his line of healing teas, tonics, and oils. The historiography of the Moorish Science Temple often overlooks these products, but when put in relation with Ali's concept of Moorish identity and the group's approach to physical and spiritual health, these products emerge as material expressions of foundational Moorish Science Temple beliefs. Ali's dedication to keeping the Moors racially distinct and religiously clean and pure were mutually reinforcing and interpenetrating concerns. Furthermore, his vision of the Moorish nation and its material culture reflected larger trends in health, consumerism, and theological expression within American religious history.

**KEYWORDS:** Black Islam, Moorish Science Temple, religion and health, religion and healing

**I**n 1927, Noble Drew Ali (Timothy Drew, 1886–1929), prophet and founder of the Moorish Science Temple, created the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation to market his healing teas, tonics,

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and oils. Selling products such as Moorish Mineral and Healing Oil and Moorish Body Builder and Blood Purifier, the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation offered Moorish Science Temple members a religiously grounded means for physical healing. Consumers wrote testimonials to the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation about their positive experiences with the products and advertisements featured testimonials alongside product images and descriptions. For example, Vergis Bey (gender unclear) wrote of having been “sick for a long time” and, despite buying “everything” that might help, experienced no relief. However, after regular use of a few Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products, the patron returned to work much improved.<sup>1</sup>

In this article, I examine the material culture of Moorish Science Temple healing in the 1920s. Contextualizing the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation within the Moorish Science Temple itself, I identify healing as a means to negotiate racism and mediate influences from American health concerns into the group’s theology. In early twentieth-century American religion, the Moorish Science Temple was neither commonplace nor peripheral; rather, the group’s perspective on religion and health existed in conversation with southern Conjure, New Thought, and Seventh-day Adventism. Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products were more than just religious consumerism, repackaged African American folk traditions, or possible religious charlatanism. They were material expressions of a central Moorish Science Temple belief in the importance of keeping true Moorish identity clean and pure.

Though a few scholars mention the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation in their works on the Moorish Science Temple, the overwhelming trend is to mention the Corporation and its products only briefly, with little comment on its appeal and function.<sup>2</sup> Part of this neglect stems from an assumption that Moorish Science Temple leaders took advantage of its members and used the business for money-making schemes.<sup>3</sup> Previously overlooked as minor or fraudulent, the Corporation’s material culture in fact provides an opportunity to explore early beliefs and practices of the Moorish Science Temple.

The Moorish Science Temple was a self-proclaimed “Moslem”<sup>4</sup> religion founded in mid-1920s Chicago by Noble Drew Ali, who preached a message of racial uplift to African Americans and encouraged them to realize their dual heritage in terms of race (Moor) and religion (Islam). The movement reached its height in the late 1920s, expanding beyond Chicago to build temples across the urbanized north in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Harlem, and in a few southern cities. Ali died in July 1929 in the midst of a power play for leadership in the Moorish Science Temple. The exact cause of his death remains unknown but has been attributed variously to aggressive questioning tactics by Chicago police, murder by his rival’s supporters, and natural causes.<sup>5</sup> Within the study of black Islam, the historiography of the Nation of Islam is lively and

engaging, however, only a handful of journal articles and sections of books on African American Islam address the Moorish Science Temple. The group's definitive work remains to be written. The Moorish Science Temple's limited historiography is dominated by a concern over the authenticity of their claim to Islam and the group's theological legitimacy in relation to Sunni or Shi'i Islam.<sup>6</sup> However, the question of authenticity can often lead to a historiographic dead-end and impede the development of new historical arguments. Instead of focusing on questions of legitimacy, more scholarship is needed to address how beliefs and practices influenced members' lives, their religious worlds, and their interactions with larger trends in American culture.

To elude the authenticity debate, I will explore the materiality of Moorish identity and healing in the Moors' religious lives and draw connections between Moorish healing ways and larger trends in American religion and health. Production of and interactions with material objects such as consumer goods or the human body are integral to cultural and community identity.<sup>7</sup> A material culture approach—paying attention to material objects and to issues of materiality<sup>8</sup>—could redirect the study of African American Islam away from the authenticity debate. For example, an examination of how the Moorish Science Temple's theological beliefs dictated food choices or how various food prohibitions affected adherents' engagement with the marketplace.<sup>9</sup> For this article, I use Moorish healing ways and Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products to better elucidate how racial and religious identity influenced the Moorish Science Temple's approach to sickness and healing and how Ali understood the relationship between Moorish religious and racial identity and physical health. Because Moorish Science Temple's beliefs about health were part of a larger history of American religion, including Conjure and Christian health reform, the Moorish Science Temple was not a peripheral religious group. Focusing on its status as an American rather than Islamic religion shifts the interpretation of the Moorish Science Temple towards a richer contextual background of beliefs and practices.

### **ALI'S MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE**

Ali was born Timothy Drew in North Carolina in 1886 and likely spent his childhood in the South.<sup>10</sup> His parents were ex-slaves, but beyond these certainties few facts are known about his early life.<sup>11</sup> Even his racial heritage remains in mystery, and some sources report that his mother was Cherokee.<sup>12</sup> Though he originally started a religious community in Newark, New Jersey known as "The Canaanite Temple" in 1913, it would be the 1925 organization in Chicago that most scholars place as the origin of the Moorish Science Temple.<sup>13</sup> During the Great Migration, the African American population in Chicago more than

doubled each decade of the early twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> Ali's message of racial uplift doubtless would have appealed both to established locals and southern migrants. Racism abounded in both North and South during the early twentieth century, and according to Clifton Marsh this adverse social circumstance rendered black nationalism an attractive alternative for Chicago's African Americans from the mid-1910s to 1930.<sup>15</sup> Ali's Moorish Science Temple was not the only group in Chicago proclaiming Islam. In 1920, an Islamic missionary of the Ahmadi sect, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, established his headquarters in Chicago and began printing the monthly periodical *The Moslem Sunrise* the following year.<sup>16</sup>

During the twelve years between Newark and Chicago, Drew (now the prophet Noble Drew Ali) developed the Moorish Science Temple's theology and racial history. According to Ali, "negro," "black" and "colored" were inaccurate categories for the African American population.<sup>17</sup> He claimed a new racial heritage for African Americans: "Asiatics" or Moors (Moroccan descent), a blessed racial lineage with a rich cultural heritage dating to the Christian Bible. He believed Islam was the true religion of the Moors and a key element of the Moorish nation. Descended from Canaanites and Moabites, the Moors forgot their true identity and religion when enslaved by Europeans. As part of this loss, according to Moorish Science Temple history, "the European stripped the Moor of his power, his authority, his God, and every other worthwhile possession."<sup>18</sup> By reconstructing this Islamic heritage, Ali attempted to transform African American identity from marginal to uplifted.

According to Arthur Huff Fauset's groundbreaking 1944 text on black urban religions, a key attraction of the groups he studied was a separatist tendency that emerged in response to the inequality found within white churches. Fauset noted that a member of the Moorish Science Temple "invariably" emphasized the "racial aspect of his cult."<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, he attributed the change from rural southern to urban northern life as a key reason for "the striking increase" of such groups in northern urban centers. In other words, these groups best responded to the needs of recent southern emigrants by allowing Ali and Moorish Science Temple members to contest northern racism with their recovered—and respected—racial and religious identity. Moreover, Islam further differentiated them from the slave legacy of black Christianity and from their white Christian neighbors. Whether what they practiced was "orthodox" Islam or not, the organization affirmed its legitimacy. In Moorish Science Temple teaching, recognizing the "Unity of Allah is the first and foremost pillar of Islam," and they believed they properly practiced the Islamic tradition.<sup>20</sup>

A key practice in the Moorish Science Temple was attending worship meetings at the local temple. According to Fauset, hymn singing, readings, and discussions about the *Koran* were fundamental parts of

the service. In terms of behavior, the Moorish Science Temple's *Divine Constitution and By-Laws* strictly forbade telling lies; rather, "Love, Truth, Peace, Freedom, and Justice must be proclaimed and practiced by all members."<sup>21</sup> The Moor was to "uplift fallen humanity" because acts of racial uplift cultivated the higher-self, conceived of as the "ALLAH in MAN," the "Mother of Virtues and the harmonies of life" that bred "Justice, Mercy, Love and Right."<sup>22</sup> Strengthening one's higher-self (as opposed to the lower-self, representative of the devil) could be done by spreading Ali's message and building up one's religious identity through purity and following theological statutes.

The Moorish Science Temple's scripture, *The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple of America*, more commonly referred to as *Circle 7 Koran* or simply *Koran*, was plagiarized largely from two earlier texts.<sup>23</sup> The first half was taken from *The Aquarian Gospel*, a Theosophical text from the first decade of the twentieth century that recounted Jesus' experiences in Egypt, India, and Europe and filled in the years of his life left unaccounted for in the New Testament. The latter half, offering rules for everyday life and regulations for familial relationships, came from a 1925 Rosicrucian text *Unto Thee I Grant*.<sup>24</sup> The *Koran* identified Jesus as a prophet, "son of Allah," and messiah.<sup>25</sup> Ali's focus on Jesus' wisdom and prophetic gifts resonated with his own identity, since Ali shared a similar eminence in the Moorish Science Temple. An original and un-plagiarized chapter of the *Koran* identifies Ali as "the last Prophet in these days" sent by Allah to "redeem men from their sinful ways."<sup>26</sup> He was a wise prophet, much like Jesus in earlier chapters of the *Koran*. In the final (un-plagiarized) chapters, Ali related the historical origin of the Asiatic race, explaining its relationship to Christianity and affirming the prophetic nature of the Moorish Science Temple.

Moorish Science Temple beliefs and practices were promulgated by the *Moorish Guide*, the first official newspaper of the Moorish Science Temple, which began publication in August 1928.<sup>27</sup> Called the "prophet's mouthpiece," it printed local Chicago news<sup>28</sup> as well as stories about local Chicago politics.<sup>29</sup> Regular religious features included excerpts from the *Koran* and editorials from the paper's staff.<sup>30</sup> "The Voice of The Prophet" appeared in each edition with a picture of Ali and passages from the *Koran*. Editorials typically presented positive information about the Moors, their beliefs and their practices, such as demanding due credit for their ancestors' cultural work, affirming their Moslem traditions, and explaining Ali's view of Islam.<sup>31</sup> Occasionally, the paper ran what appeared to be letters to the editor. For example, J. M. R. wrote about the importance of maintaining a respectable appearance, including "immaculately clean" clothing.<sup>32</sup> The *Moorish Voice* and the *Koran* reflected and expressed the organization's religious beliefs: cleanliness was indeed next to godliness, and Moorish Manufacturing Corporation teas, tonics, and oils were critical to keeping the Moorish nation racially and religiously pure and clean.

## SICKNESS, HEALING, AND MOORISH MANUFACTURING CORPORATION PRODUCTS

In addition to his concerns about racial identity, Ali preached the importance of keeping physically and spiritually clean. He wrote in the *Koran*, “We, as a clean and pure nation descended from the inhabitants of Africa, do not desire to amalgamate or marry into the families of the pale skin nations of Europe.”<sup>33</sup> Ali argued for racial purity as a means to maintain Moorish integrity, and linked to this was bodily purity. Among the organization’s prohibitions and rules, as recorded by Fauset, “Bodies must be kept clean by bathing. . . . Use of meat of any kind and eggs is forbidden. But fish and vegetables may be eaten. Indulgence in European games, attendance at motion picture shows, and secular dancing are forbidden. Shaving, cosmetics, straightening the hair, use of intoxicants, and smoking are forbidden.”<sup>34</sup>

Anxieties surrounding food, bodily cleanliness, and the use of particular products existed alongside decrees against European culture, thus interconnecting physical, racial, and religious purity. Physical, mental, and spiritual cleanliness would determine people’s susceptibility or resistance to bodily disease and contamination. Act 7 of the *Divine Constitution and By-Laws* stated, “All Moorish Americans must keep their hearts and mind pure with love, and their bodies clean with water.”<sup>35</sup> Bathing could keep the body clean externally, but internal clarity required dietary restrictions, healing teas, and spiritual purity. Moorish Science Temple dietary regulations reflected Islamic *halal* restrictions of pork, as well as alcohol and other intoxicants. Both the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam linked these dietary practices to religious belief and brought race into the dietary and purity conversation. According to Nation of Islam prophet Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975), black Americans learned poor health behavior from whites; like Ali, he linked purity, diet, behavior and piety with racial uplift and respectability.<sup>36</sup>

Ali’s diet restrictions served two proactive functions: they kept the body healthy, and helped construct Moorish and Moslem identity. For the Moorish Science Temple, the origin of sickness and poor health was in part a failure to maintain a pure, clean, and thus efficient body. To help restore and retain proper health, Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products offered a distinctively Asiatic medicine. The *Moorish Guide* not only advertised products but also ran short articles affirming their effectiveness. For example, “Are You ‘Hitting On All Six’?” was a health story on the importance of keeping the body “in good working order” to ensure one’s “best performance.”<sup>37</sup> The article informed readers that “stomach and bowel troubles” caused ninety percent of all sickness, and it supported “the natural stimulation of roots, barks, and herbs.” Even if the cause of sickness was not spiritual but physical, the prescribed cure came directly from the prophet. Conveniently placed

next to a half-page Corporation advertisement, the article suggested using the "Prophet's Blood Builder" to "revitalize" the digestive system. This "world famous tonic and stomach corrective" already had "started so many thousands of people back on the road to youth, health, and happiness."<sup>38</sup>

For keeping bodies in proper order, Ali founded the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation in 1927 at 3603 Indiana Avenue in Chicago, near the Moorish Science Temple's headquarters and the *Moorish Guide* Publishing Company. In addition to healing and purifying agents, the business distributed pictures, relics, charms, herbal preparations, and literature to members.<sup>39</sup> The reason for creating the Corporation was simple: it was part of Ali's dedication to "the improvement of health" of Moorish Science Temple members.<sup>40</sup> In 1928 and 1929, the *Moorish Guide* was a key place to advertise products, and during Ali's lifetime the paper often printed a half-page advertisement per edition. The Moorish Manufacturing Corporation also ran advertisements for their products in the popular black newspaper of the 1920s, the *Chicago Defender*. A popular advertisement featured descriptions of three particular products under the heading "Health and Happiness Prolongs Life."<sup>41</sup> The Moorish Body Builder and Blood Purifier, aimed "For Men, Women and Children," was advertised as "Beneficial for Rheumatism, Lung trouble, Rundown Constitution, Indigestion, and loss of Manhood." No picture of the product accompanied this description, but a large image of a star and crescent moon (a popular symbol for Islam) appeared next to the product's title. Below was an image of a bottle bearing the name "Moorish Mineral and Healing Oil" and a product description stating "Beneficial For Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Headache, Toothache, Indigestion, Sore And Tired Feet and Stiff Joint[s]." Also effective against "loss of manhood," the oil could be applied twice daily "to the spine and lower parts of the stomach." The advertisement's third featured product was the Moorish Antiseptic Bath Compound, "Beneficial for Dandruff, Rheumatism, Stiff Joints, Tired and Sore Feet," which consumers also could use as a face wash. Labeled "The Wonder Medicine of the Present Age" by another advertisement, the Mineral and Healing Oil cost one dollar, while the Body Builder and Blood Purifier and the Antiseptic Bath Compound each cost fifty cents.<sup>42</sup>

Consumer testimonials often accompanied the advertisements.<sup>43</sup> Mrs. Estella Woodson, who long had suffered from various lung troubles, felt "like a new woman" after using one bottle of Moorish Mineral and Healing Oil. After "no doctor could do any good," Mrs. Sarah Brown, El<sup>44</sup> purchased various Moorish products that successfully alleviated swelling in her knees. In Detroit, Brother Luke Bell Bey spent twelve years sick with bronchial asthma; neither nine doctors nor any traditional drug store medicine could bring relief. However, "medicines from the Divine Prophet" made him well, and he encouraged anyone "suffering with any kind of disease" to "use the Moorish Treatments and

get well.” Mrs. Channe of Chicago needed an operation until her use of “the Moorish Mineral Healing Oil.”<sup>45</sup> In March of 1929 the *Moorish Guide* told of Brother Jesse Shelby-El, who shared his story with the newspaper staff while out to purchase some “Moorish Healing Oil.” It was important to Brother Shelby-El that the public know about his healing experience. He was once blind, but after beginning regular use of Moorish Healing Oil the previous July, his sight returned.<sup>46</sup> Though more than half the testimonials included consumers’ full names and addresses, it is of course possible that Moorish Manufacturing Corporation employees or possibly Ali himself wrote some of the testimonials. Even if some were faked, however, the testimonials still could persuade members to buy the products.<sup>47</sup>

Advertisements for related products beyond the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation ran in a later Moorish Science Temple newspaper. The February 1943 issue of *Moorish Voice* printed an advertisement for “well-made pyjamas” by the Moorish National Home.<sup>48</sup> The following page featured a notice from Sister V. Watts Bey, maker of “Moorish Costumes.” An advertisement by Moorish Broom Works of Indianapolis assured readers that brooms “manufactured by the Moors” were “sturdy and durable.”<sup>49</sup> Indeed, products made by and for Moors were the best purchasing options.<sup>50</sup> They offered Moorish Science Temple members a way to engage the marketplace for products to support their racial and spiritual identity by keeping their bodies and homes pure and clean.

Not only did his teas and tonics possess healing power, Ali himself was known for his supernatural talents and extraordinary identity. A proclaimed prophet, healer, and “son of Allah,”<sup>51</sup> he brought the *Koran*, a text he introduced as ancient and sacred, to the Moorish nation, and he had a sacred duty to the Asiatic population of America. The first page of the *Koran* featured an image of Ali with the description: THE PROPHET AND FOUNDER OF THE MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE OF AMERICA, TO REDEEM THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR SINFUL WAYS.<sup>52</sup> He was “prepared divinely in due time by Allah” for his prophetic station, and in light of his task he possessed supernatural abilities.<sup>53</sup> To prove his extraordinary status, Ali had to navigate his way out of the Egyptian pyramids with no help, and only after he had “mastered the pyramids” did he prove that he was Allah’s prophet with access to the wisdom of the Moorish nation.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to his products’ ability to cure consumers of their ailments, Ali directly healed followers. In 1928, the *Moorish Guide* printed the story of Sister Davis Bey, who a year earlier had suffered from long-term side effects of a paralytic stroke. After finding one of the prophet’s cards “telling of the wonderful work he had done in the way of administering to the members of the Moorish Science Temple of America,” she sought a personal audience with Ali.<sup>55</sup> She met him in private for one hour and “walked out alone and unaided without her crutches.” She later testified

before the Grand Temple in Chicago that she was "in no way bothered with any symptoms of the disease." In the same issue of the *Moorish Guide*, the front page story, "PROPHET'S SPIRIT ROUTS ENEMIES FROM TEMPLE," attested to Ali's supernatural ability to summon his spirit to Chicago while in another city. Though Ali was visiting a temple in Detroit, the paper's flagship story, "Big Spiritual Demonstration Witnessed at Temple," described how Chicago attendees felt Ali's spirit manifest in their midst. "Some enemies" arrived at the Grand Temple in Chicago to observe temple practice, "to tell us what we moors [sic] of America should do." The temple's Grand Sheik unsuccessfully tried to convince them to leave peacefully; however, what happened next demonstrated to the Moors their prophet's determination to bring them to salvation,

Before [the enemies] left there was a tense moment when everyone in the Temple witnessed a strange sensation and all of a sudden Brother J. Small Bey, assistant Grand Sheik of the state of Illinois shouted 'the Spirit of Prophet has come'. The gentlemen took their departure immediately. Then there were talks by many of the brothers and sisters. They were all very powerful and filled with the spirit of the Prophet. There was shouting as well as crying why, no one seemed to know except that it was the spirit of the prophet that came to save his children from some grave danger.<sup>56</sup>

Summoning his spirit to protect his own or curing those in pain, Ali displayed his protective and healing powers for those who recognized their Moorish heritage.

### **THE MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE AND AMERICAN HEALTH CONCERNS**

The Moorish Science Temple was not unique for its interest in bodies, healing, and religion; the intersection of these ideas proliferated in American religion throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moorish Science Temple's views on health and healing recalled southern spiritual medicine and earlier Protestant concerns about the body. This is not to say that the Moorish Science Temple merely repackaged southern Conjure traditions or mimicked white Protestants, rather it existed as part of a larger historical network of religion and healing practices. Conjure or New Thought may have helped provide inspiration for its notions of healing, but the Moorish Science Temple carved out its own niche with its products and Moorish identity. As part of a larger story of American religion and health, Moorish Science Temple ideas and methods constituted one among many religious responses to health concerns: it was neither bizarre nor commonplace in its concern with health and purity and its endorsement of consumer products.

Southern healing practices of Conjure or root work—"a system of magic, divination, and herbalism"—were commonly practiced among pre- and post-emancipation southern blacks.<sup>57</sup> Conjure ideas about the interrelatedness of religion, sickness, and healing certainly influenced Ali and Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products; in both traditions, healing was a spiritual and physical act. Ali himself was born in North Carolina, an area with a rich Conjure tradition. Concentrated on helping, healing, and/or harming, a primary focus of Conjure was the protection of one's body and soul, and the maintenance of health took center stage. Practitioners viewed the world as a supernatural place, and root workers were "persons who were believed to be able to manipulate unseen forces or 'work the spirits.'"<sup>58</sup> While engaging the supernatural, healing possessed a distinct material element. Roots, herbs, and other organic plants and substances combined to create cures provided by root workers. Specific religio-medical traditions embodied in the material cures concocted by Conjurers often were the sole medical attention sought by slaves and ex-slaves.

Root work healers were particularly popular in the South due to mistrust between black Americans and white doctors. Informed by pseudo-scientific racism, many white doctors viewed the black population with contempt, and a hierarchy ranking races in terms of intellectual capacity and moral behavior was popular among whites of all classes.<sup>59</sup> Many southern blacks viewed white physicians with suspicion and preferred their own root work doctors.<sup>60</sup> In addition to providing an alternative medical tradition, Conjure presented a means of resistance, upholding religious beliefs outside the religious and power structures of slave owners and providing alternative sources of spiritual knowledge and power. If whites did not understand Conjure, this meant that white power was not absolute.<sup>61</sup> Knowledge of root work instilled slaves with power that the white population not only lacked but could not fully access.

Some Conjure elements even possessed Islamic origins. Albert Raboteau argued that some religious elements illustrated that "bits of African faith and practice persisted in folk beliefs and customs."<sup>62</sup> The gris-gris bag, a leather or cloth pouch containing a Qur'anic verse, was a Conjure tool with origins in West African Islam.<sup>63</sup> Observed by Europeans along the West African coast and in the Americas, gris-gris bags were power objects linking an Islamic tradition with traditional African religious practice.<sup>64</sup> In the Americas, believers typically carried amulets, talismans, and charms for health, luck, and protection. Many Conjure amulets contained assorted "medicines" or "various additives that gave them life" through "innate properties or powers."<sup>65</sup> Practitioners also ingested medicines. Along with religious knowledge, root workers' supplies included roots, herbs, and less standard ingredients such as rainwater left in the moonlight.<sup>66</sup>

A protective piece of Moorish material culture resonating with the Islamic amulet and Conjure gris-gris bag was the Moorish Science Temple "Nationality and Identification Card."<sup>67</sup> The card identified the carrier as a member of the Moorish Science Temple and the Moorish/Asiatic race, endowing the holder with "the blessings of the God of our Father Allah." According to Ali, "your card is for your salvation."<sup>68</sup> Some members believed their cards, like protective amulets, could protect them and prevent whites from harming them.<sup>69</sup> In fact, Ali had to instruct Moorish Science Temple members to "stop flashing" their cards to "Europeans" (Anglo-Americans) to avoid causing "confusion."<sup>70</sup> Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products, nationality cards, Ali's supernatural abilities, and his diet restrictions all worked to keep the Moors' religious and racial identities clean, pure, and protected.

Beliefs in Conjure, though concentrated in the South, were brought to the North during the Great Migration and job boom during World War I, and in some northern cities alternative medicines were hardly new. The *Chicago Defender* ran advertisements for the Moorish Antiseptic Bath Compound and other spiritually curative products, as well as for healers and teachers versed in supernatural medicine.<sup>71</sup> In 1929, twenty-seven percent of *Chicago Defender* advertisements were for medicines, with another thirty percent for other toiletry and "medicinal concoctions."<sup>72</sup> Advertisements for panaceas and various religious products also ran in southern black newspapers. For example, in late 1929, an average eight percent of advertisements in the African American *Norfolk Journal and Guide* in Virginia touted assorted "novelties" such as "good-luck rings, gypsy fortune-telling books, and lodestones." Fifty percent of advertisements were for various medicines.<sup>73</sup> Products similar in appearance and function to those of the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation were advertised and sold in both southern and northern newspapers. The panaceas of the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation would not appear strange to southern migrants, who would perceive them to be spiritually motivated, Moorish versions of familiar products.

While consumerism certainly helps explain the creation of the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation, to focus solely on the market aspect builds an incomplete argument. In historian Susan Nance's estimation, Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products fall under her term "playing Eastern," by which the purchase of goods from the "Orient" provided Americans (white and black) with an economic means to create an identity informed by perceived ancient wisdom.<sup>74</sup> By choosing specific cultural artifacts, identities, and ideas, Americans aligned themselves with the East's perceived leisure, abundance, and contentment. Interest in Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products reflected widespread American fascination with "magical transformation and Oriental abundance."<sup>75</sup>

However, Nance's correlation of these products with "playing Eastern" and consumerism neglects the broader religious context.

Though engagement with the marketplace was a popular means for blacks to develop respectable identities, making “eastern”-inspired commerce the main focus oversimplifies the full environment surrounding the Moorish Science Temple and Moorish Manufacturing Corporation,<sup>76</sup> which were hardly alone in marketing religiously grounded panaceas. In the late 1920s, after the successful sale of a few “miracle-working handkerchiefs,” Pentecostal preacher Sweet Daddy Grace began a line of products to reach all who needed his healing power.<sup>77</sup> Some products, such as *Grace Magazine*, had healing potential. Grace simply blessed other products, such as his toothpaste and coffee beans.<sup>78</sup> Like Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products, the items possessed a religious origin and offered a spiritual healing experience. And like Grace’s handkerchiefs, a main part of Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products’ appeal was their producer, Ali the prophet. Corporation products were not just any cure-alls. Their religious origin helped Moorish Science Temple members mediate their religious and racial identity because the teas and tonics were specifically for them and their health needs.

Protestant concerns about body and health provided context for Ali’s ideas and products. Long before Ali marketed his products, herbal remedies had been promoted as natural and pure means to put one’s body in harmony.<sup>79</sup> R. Marie Griffith persuasively argues that America’s current obsession with health and diet is part of a much longer history. White, middle-class Protestantism has greatly shaped the way Americans view their bodies, and the idea that a properly maintained body affects one’s relationship with the divine is a popular belief in American religious history.<sup>80</sup> Nineteenth century health reformers such as Rev. Sylvester Graham popularized the inclusion of both physical and spiritual health under the rubric of wellness.<sup>81</sup> Ali’s endorsement of “the natural stimulation of roots, barks, and herbs” for digestive problems and the natural ingredients of the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products aligned the early Moorish Science Temple with other nature cure traditions.<sup>82</sup> Clean bodies and good health supported a pure Moorish identity.

Ali and the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products, though different from mind cure, emerged from the same medico-spiritual milieu popular in the era. The powers of a conjureman, the mental healing of Mary Baker Eddy’s Christian Science, and the spiritual healing of New Thought’s Emma Curtis Hopkins all find resonance in Ali’s ideas and products. In 1875, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) published her beliefs on spirituality, healing, and health in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, a text that remains crucial to the Christian group she founded four years later, the Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science). Growing up a sickly child, Eddy later healed herself and many others through her knowledge of spiritual healing, a skill she claimed she learned from her reading of the Bible. In 1887, Chester Hayes wrote to

*The Christian Science Journal* about how a couple of visits to the local Christian Science healer cured him of "palsy."<sup>83</sup> Though Eddy rejected the physical world and taught that Christian Science healings originate from thought rather than material products, a similar relationship exists between healing, bodies, and religion in both Christian Science and the Moorish Science Temple. In both, healing only happens with proper spiritual alignment.

In the late 1880s, former Eddy student Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925) brought the New Thought movement to Chicago, where she quickly launched a popular series of classes on spiritual healing and founded her College of Christian Science.<sup>84</sup> While Eddy rejected the existence of physical matter, New Thought emphasized mind and metaphysics over matter without denying the reality of the latter. New Thought held that spirit shapes matter, thus "sickness was the result of wrong ways of thinking or believing."<sup>85</sup> In the 1920s, up to six hundred students a year attended classes at Hopkins' Chicago institution.<sup>86</sup> While there is no evidence that Ali attended the College of Christian Science, New Thought was hardly a white-only phenomenon in Chicago, and Ali clearly had knowledge of the New Thought movement, as his *Koran's* plagiarism of Theosophical and Rosicrucian texts indicates, and as Nance has demonstrated in her work.<sup>87</sup> The popularity of spiritual healing and alternative black medicine in Chicago came together in Ali's Moorish Science Temple.

Ali and Moorish Science Temple members paid attention to what they put into their bodies, and they were not alone. Dr. John Harvey Kellogg (1852–1943) was a popular health reformer known largely for his eponymous food products. In his aptly named 1903 book *The Living Temple*, Kellogg explained Americans' health problems, "Departing from the way of life marked out for him by his Creator, man has sought out many inventions, the soul- and body-destroying influences of which are clearly evident to the thoughtful observer."<sup>88</sup> For Kellogg, diet reform needed to address what people ingested and how they treated their bodies, and his religious background framed his reform choices. Kellogg was a Seventh-day Adventist and student of its prophet Ellen White (1827–1915), who in 1866 created the Western Health Reform Institute (which Kellogg later renamed Battle Creek Sanitarium) to promote the health and diet principles of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Seventh-day Adventists approached health with a spiritual discipline geared towards regulating the body through diet and physical discipline. In 1876, White named Kellogg as lead doctor and medical superintendent. Though Kellogg left the Church in 1907, the body and its efficiency remained for him "a visual indicator of piety."<sup>89</sup>

In 1893, Kellogg created the Chicago Branch Sanitarium (also known as the Chicago Medical Mission and later the American Medical Missionary College Settlement Building) to attend to the health needs of urbanites.

It featured an inexpensive but healthy penny lunch counter, baths, and free laundry service. A visit to the mission also included tracts and pamphlets discussing the spiritual necessity of Seventh-day Adventist health and dietary principles. Though successful and frequented by Chicagoans, Kellogg was forced to close the location in 1910 due to lack of funds. Closing before Ali's arrival to Chicago, the Moorish Science Temple prophet would not have been able to visit this Seventh-day Adventism mission, but its short success and popularity meant that Kellogg's and Seventh-day Adventism's ideas on bodily discipline had circulated among Chicagoans. Kellogg called himself a "medical missionary," and he and others who preceded the Moorish Science Temple shared similar interests in the moral and religious ramifications of proper health.<sup>90</sup>

### **CONCLUSION: PROPER MOORISH BODIES, PROPER MOORISH NATION**

Ali's ideas about religion, identity, and health provide an opportunity to expand upon modern America's religious fascination with the physical body. Moorish Manufacturing Corporation products, Ali's diet restrictions, and his prohibitions against white cultural influences reflected his vision of the Moorish nation and illustrated the means to keep the nation "clean and pure." The Moorish Science Temple was not merely a peripheral group but rather part of a conversation linking Conjure, Christian Science, Seventh-day Adventism, New Thought, Kellogg, and American dietary concerns and consumerism. Historian Jackson Lears argues that American desire for individual and national regeneration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was widespread and reflected in anxieties about race, urbanization, physicality, health, and diet.<sup>91</sup> The Moorish Science Temple shared these concerns by reclaiming the Moors' exclusively linked religious and racial identity and working to keep it physically clean and spiritually pure.

Though previously overlooked, the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation offers scholars a means to elucidate the theology of the Moorish Science Temple and see its approach to health in action. Teas and tonics were significant material expressions of crucial Moorish Science Temple beliefs. They were thought to cure rheumatism and indigestion, but more importantly they were specifically created by the prophet Ali for the Moors' racial and religious needs. Moorish products could restore Moorish Americans to their true spiritual identity, and only the combination of proper health, skilled healers, correct treatments, and racial uplift would spiritually and physically heal Moorish bodies.

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who commented on alternative versions at academic conferences. I am indebted to Sylvester Johnson's kindness and help with primary sources. Finally, I am grateful to the editors of *Nova Religio* and my anonymous reviewers.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Testimonial in a Moorish Manufacturing Corporation advertisement, *Moorish Guide*, 14 September 1928. Many members added Bey or El to their names to indicate their Moorish identity. "Bey" was an Ottoman courtesy title used for chieftains and other leaders.

<sup>2</sup> Most recently in an essay on the Moorish Science Temple, Edward E. Curtis IV briefly calls attention to the similarities between southern folk healing traditions and the material culture of the Moorish Manufacturing Corporation. See his "Debating the Origins of the Moorish Science Temple: Toward a New Cultural History," in *The New Black Gods: Arthur Huff Fauset and the Study of African American Religions*, ed. Edward E. Curtis IV and Danielle Brune Sigler (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2009), 85. See also Aminah Beverly McCloud, *African American Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 17; Richard Brent Turner, *Islam and the African American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 99–100; Susan Nance, "Respectability and Representation: The Moorish Science Temple, Morocco, and Black Public Culture in 1920s Chicago," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (December 2002): 123–66, 628–30; Susan Nance, "Mystery of the Moorish Science Temple: Southern Blacks and American Alternative Spirituality in 1920s Chicago," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 12, no. 2 (2002): 144, 623–59; Robert Danin, *Black Pilgrimage to Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 29; and Michael A. Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 262–63.

<sup>3</sup> Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Resurrection, Transformation, and Change of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America, 1930–1995* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 34–35; Turner, *Islam and the African-American Experience*, 100.

<sup>4</sup> Moslem is in quotation marks because while this spelling is not used in the academic community, it was used by Ali and contemporary Moorish Science Temple documents. It will not be in quotation marks for the remainder of the article.

<sup>5</sup> Turner, *Islam and the African American Experience*, 100.

<sup>6</sup> C. Eric Lincoln's *The Black Muslims in America* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1996) portrays the religiosity of black Muslims as secondary to their calls for nationalism and downplays what is Islamic about the group by citing largely social reasons for the popularity of the Nation of Islam. Numerous later historians have further questioned or defended the authenticity of the Nation of Islam and/or the Moorish Science Temple's Islamic identification. One of the few historians to focus directly on the Moorish Science Temple is Susan Nance, who argues that the Moorish Science Temple of late-1920s Chicago, "although termed 'Islam,' was only vaguely similar to any practices and beliefs among Muslims elsewhere and was in fact a form of black Spiritualism informed by the philosophies of American fraternal orders." See Nance, "Mystery of the Moorish Science Temple," 653, n.15.

Herbert Berg identifies the content of Ali's *Koran* as "more biblical than quranic" and the title *Koran* as a mere attempt "to imitate what Drew Ali (often mistakenly) believed to be Muslim or Moorish practice." See Herbert Berg, *Elijah Muhammad and Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 56, 15. Richard Brent Turner began a trend of more sympathetic readings of the Moorish Science Temple and Nation of Islam by focusing on the self-identified Muslim's experience, and Edward Curtis IV is a dominant voice against scholarship that labels such groups as not *real* Islam.

<sup>7</sup> Colleen McDannell, whose work brought the study of objects into scholarship of American religions, argues that material culture long was ignored in religious studies due mainly to how the field historically described religion. The sacred v. profane dichotomy spurred the long-standing notion that religion could be found only in beliefs or faith. See Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> This article uses materiality akin to Manuel Vasquez, *More Than Belief: A Materialist Theory of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Looking at the role of embodiment, practice, and emplacement in the worlds of religious practitioners and the history of religious theorizing, Vasquez hopes to present a non-reductive material understanding of religion.

<sup>9</sup> Curtis touches upon these types of questions. See Edward E. Curtis IV, *Black Muslim Religion in the Nation of Islam: 1960–1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 95–174.

<sup>10</sup> According to "Koran Questions for Moorish Children," Ali was born in the "State of North Carolina, 1886." This document was often printed and distributed to members along with the *Divine Constitution and By-laws*. Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, New York.

<sup>11</sup> Herbert Berg, "Mythmaking in the African American Muslim Context: The Moorish Science Temple, the Nation of Islam, and the American Society of Muslims," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73, no. 3 (September 2005): 685–703, 689.

<sup>12</sup> Curtis, "Debating the Origins of the Moorish Science Temple," 78. Turner also mentions the contested nature of Ali's racial background in *Islam and the African-American Experience*, 90.

<sup>13</sup> For mention of the 1913 founding see Berg, "Mythmaking in the African American Muslim Context." Also see Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 41. For the 1925 Chicago founding see Curtis, "Debating the Origins of the Moorish Science Temple;" and Nance, "Mystery of the Moorish Science Temple."

<sup>14</sup> Chicago population numbers are found in Mattias Gardell, *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 48.

<sup>15</sup> Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims*, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Unlike the *Moorish Guide*, which printed excerpts from the *Koran*, the *Moslem Sunrise* printed excerpts from the Qur'an and various *hadiths*, but both periodicals

spoke out against urban racism towards blacks. See Turner, *Islam in the African American Experience*, 121–24. The *Moslem Sunrise* was not actively printing (1924–1930) during the Moorish Science Temple's successful years under Ali. Historians have identified the New Thought movement's influence on the more mystical articles in the early years of the *Moslem Sunrise*. See Turner, *Islam and the African American Experience*, 119, 130. While Turner does not name the New Thought movement, allusions to mystical and sacred knowledge seem pertinent. Also see Nance, *Mystery of the Moorish Science Temple*, 131, 154, n. 35.

<sup>17</sup> "Nick Named," *Moorish Guide*, 26 October 1928.

<sup>18</sup> Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis*, 47.

<sup>19</sup> Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis*, 77. Comments such as this demonstrate that Fauset's work resides near Lincoln's and Nance's in terms of the authentic Islam debate.

<sup>20</sup> "What is Islam?" *Moorish Guide*, 1 February 1929. This editorial was reprinted often; for example, the 1 March 1929 edition also features it.

<sup>21</sup> *Divine Constitution and By-Laws*, Act 3, the Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>22</sup> From Ali's question-and-answer-style "Koran Questions for Moorish Children," Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>23</sup> Only the introduction and last four chapters (Chapter XLV–XLVIII) were original and likely written by Ali.

<sup>24</sup> Ali's use of sources for the *Koran* is explored in Nance, "Mystery of the Moorish Science Temple," 127–36; and Gomez, *Black Crescent*, 233–38.

<sup>25</sup> Jesus is akin to a prophet for Mohammad the First, who "fulfilled" Jesus' works and prophecy (chapter XLVI, verse 4). Jesus proclaims himself to be a "son of Allah" and refers to his "Messiahship" in *Koran*, chapter XV, verses 7 and 9. *The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple* (publisher and year unknown), copyright 1927. The copy of the *Koran* referred to in this article was purchased online from Brooklyn Temple #21 in August 2010 and has two raised stamps with the seal of the Moorish Science Temple of America assuring its authenticity and accuracy.

<sup>26</sup> *Koran*, chapter XLVIII, verses 1–6.

<sup>27</sup> The *Moorish Guide*, though not the only periodical of the Moorish Science Temple, was the only one printed during the life of Ali. Later periodicals include the *Moorish Voice*, *Moorish Science Monitor*, *Moorish-Review*, *Moorish Scribe* and the *Moorish American Voice*.

<sup>28</sup> For example, in "Lightning Hits Two Churches," the *Moorish Guide* (28 September 1928) expressed sympathy for two local Christian churches damaged in an electric storm.

<sup>29</sup> The *Moorish Guide* encouraged readers to vote for Ali's friend, Alderman Louis B. Anderson, in city council elections. See "Elect Anderson' – Prophet," *Moorish Guide*, 1 February 1929; and "Moors' Friend Wins," *Moorish Guide*, 1 March 1929. The newspaper also received other local political support, featuring a letter from state representative George W. Blackwell congratulating Ali on the launch of his "splendid paper" and for the "great work" of the Moorish Science Temple. See "Congratulated," *Moorish Guide*, 14 September 1928.

<sup>30</sup> The paper's staff included owner/publisher Ali, editor Richard H. Ross Bey, treasurer Pearl Drew Ali, and managing editor Claude D. Green until his dispute with Ali, when he was replaced by Juanita Richardson Bey.

<sup>31</sup> "Demanding Ours," *Moorish Guide*, 28 September 1928; "The Moorish Science Temple of America," *Moorish Guide*, 26 October 1928; "What is Islam?" *Moorish Guide*, 1 February 1929.

<sup>32</sup> "Our Appearance," *Moorish Guide*, 28 September 1928.

<sup>33</sup> *Koran*, chapter XLVIII, verse 6.

<sup>34</sup> Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis*, 51.

<sup>35</sup> *Divine Constitution and By-Laws*, Act 3, the Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>36</sup> Curtis, *Black Muslim Religion in the Nation of Islam*, 98–109.

<sup>37</sup> "Are You 'Hitting On All Six'?" *Moorish Guide*, 28 September 1928.

<sup>38</sup> Not all sickness, though, could be quickly and easily cured. Membership dues supported the Temple and entitled members to financial protection if they were unable to work. Without this aid, Ali asked his followers, "how can you rightfully expect money or other help when you are sick or otherwise disabled?" See "General Laws As Said By The Prophet," 17 October 1928, the Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>39</sup> Turner, *Islam and the African-American Experience*, 99–100.

<sup>40</sup> From *Moorish Guide*, and reprinted in "Noble Drew Ali – A Centennial Remembrance," in the Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435. The remembrance piece recounted the life, goals, and wisdom of Ali.

<sup>41</sup> For a couple of examples, see *Moorish Guide*, 28 September 1928 and 26 October 1928.

<sup>42</sup> These products, ranging from \$8–\$11, still can be purchased through a temple in Brooklyn. See the Moorish Science Temple of America website at <<http://www.moorishsciencetempleofamericainc.org/>>, accessed 26 May 2012.

<sup>43</sup> In addition to half-page advertisements, a page of testimonials on Moorish Manufacturing letterhead can be found in the Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>44</sup> Spelling and punctuation in original.

<sup>45</sup> The testimonial author does not divulge her ailment or type of operation.

<sup>46</sup> Part of the article states, "Observing that the newest [sic] edition of the Guide was about to come off the press, he expressed his desire of again the public also [sic] that Moorish Healing Oil restored his sight [sic] Brother Jesse Shelby El has been using the oil since July 26 1928." "Mineral Oil Restores Bro. Shelby's Sight," *Moorish Guide*, 1 March 1929.

<sup>47</sup> Debating whether Ali was a capitalistic charlatan poses questions similar to the authenticity debate.

<sup>48</sup> According to the FBI, they were investigated in 1953 for "violation of the Selective Service Act of 1948 and Sedition." See Moorish Science Temple of America, FBI Records: The Vault, Part 5 of 31, p 89, available at <<http://vault.fbi.gov/Moorish%20Science%20Temple%20of%20America>>, accessed 26 May 2012. Reprint of the *Moorish Voice*, February 1943.

<sup>49</sup> Moorish Science Temple of America, FBI Records: The Vault, Part 5 of 31, p 90. Reprint of the *Moorish Voice*, February 1943.

<sup>50</sup> Elijah Muhammad would later advocate a similar purchasing preference for the Nation of Islam.

<sup>51</sup> "Son of Allah" reference in a prize-winning poem from the *Moorish Guide's* 1929 Literary Contest. The poem, entitled "Why the Prophet Came," identified Noble Drew Ali as "the Prophet, son of Allah." *Moorish Guide*, 1 March 1929.

<sup>52</sup> *Koran*, 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Koran*, chapter XLVIII, verse 1.

<sup>54</sup> This particular reference to the legend of the Egyptian pyramid test can be found in an interview conducted by Marsh in *From Black Muslims to Muslims*, 29.

<sup>55</sup> "Sister Davis Bey Visits Prophet – Healed," *Moorish Guide*, 14 September 1928.

<sup>56</sup> "Big Spiritual Demonstration Witnessed at Temple," *Moorish Guide*, 14 September 1928.

<sup>57</sup> Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 80. Zora Neale Hurston observed numerous hoodoo practitioners. See her *Mules and Men* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990).

<sup>58</sup> Yvonne Chireau, *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 21.

<sup>59</sup> Books such as *Types of Mankind* used perceived physiological distinctions between races to ascertain cerebral differences. See J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: or, Ethnological Researches, Based Upon the Ancient Monuments, Sculptures, and Crania of the Races, and Upon Their Natural, Geographical, Philosophical, and Biblical History* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855).

<sup>60</sup> Chireau, *Black Magic*, 94.

<sup>61</sup> Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63–73.

<sup>62</sup> Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 81.

<sup>63</sup> Not all gris-gris bag traditions in the American South contain verses from the Qur'an. Other Diasporic religious traditions, such as New Orleans Voodoo, use gris-gris bags and other power objects.

<sup>64</sup> Particularly on the West African coastline, Muslims and non-Muslims wore gris-gris bags and other amulets from the Islamic tradition before and during the Atlantic slave trade. See Sylviane Anna Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 129. See also Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 284.

<sup>65</sup> Chireau, *Black Magic*, 47.

<sup>66</sup> While many of these ingredients originally were gathered by the practitioner or through a fellow practitioner, hoodoo and Conjure products began to be mass-produced and sold in the early-to-mid-twentieth century. See Carolyn Morrow Long, *Spiritual Merchants: Religion, Magic, and Commerce* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 99–158.

<sup>67</sup> Image of identification cards in the Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>68</sup> "Divine Warning By The Prophet Noble Drew Ali," Moorish Science Temple of America Collection, Sc MG 435.

<sup>69</sup> Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis*, 42.

<sup>70</sup> "Prophet Warns All Moslems," *Moorish Guide*, 15 January 1929.

<sup>71</sup> Chireau, *Black Magic*, 121–50.

<sup>72</sup> Paul K. Edwards *The Southern Urban Negro as Consumer* (New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969), 185.

<sup>73</sup> For this example and others see Edwards, *The Southern Urban Negro as Consumer*, 185–96.

<sup>74</sup> Susan Nance, *How the Arabian Nights Inspired the American Dream, 1790–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). She explains the practice of "playing Eastern" throughout the book, particularly 1–18.

<sup>75</sup> Nance, "Respectability and Representation," 630.

<sup>76</sup> Historian John Giggie also explores the role commerce played in post-Reconstruction southern black religious life, suggesting that "the increased involvement of African Americans in buying and selling consumer products profoundly shaped new expressions of black sacred identity." With various examples, such as Rev. Joseph A. Booker, a Baptist preacher in Arkansas, Giggie illustrates how an increasing number of black itinerant preachers spread consumer markets across the South. At the turn of the twentieth century, "most black southern Christians looked to the market as a critical source for experiencing and publicizing a sense of sacred identity." See John M. Giggie, "Preachers and Peddlers of God: Ex-Slaves and the Selling of African-American Religion in the American South," in *Commodifying Everything: Relationships of the Market*, ed. Susan Strasser (New York: Routledge, 2003), 171–72.

<sup>77</sup> Though Fauset groups Grace with the "negro cults" he studied and depicts him as a greedy charlatan, Marie Dallam and Danielle Brune Sigler identify Pentecostal and/or Holiness influences in the religion espoused by Grace. See Danielle Elizabeth Brune, "Sweet Daddy Grace: The Life and Times of a Modern Day Prophet," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2002); and Marie W. Dallam, *Daddy Grace: A Celebrity Preacher and His House of Prayer* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

<sup>78</sup> Dallam, *Daddy Grace*, 70–71.

<sup>79</sup> Catherine L. Albanese, *Nature Religion in America From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 117–52.

<sup>80</sup> R. Marie Griffith, *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>81</sup> James C. Whorton, "Patient, Heal Thyself: Popular Health Reform Movements as Unorthodox Medicine," in *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America*, ed. Norman Gevitz (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1988), 52–81. Whorton describes numerous alternative medicine supporters whose ideas had spiritual components.

<sup>82</sup> For more on nature cures and alternative medicine, see James C. Whorton, *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America* (New York: Oxford

University Press, 2004); and Claire Badaracco, *Prescribing Faith: Medicine, Media, and Religion in American Culture* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007).

<sup>83</sup> *The Christian Science Journal* 5, no. 1 (April 1887): 204.

<sup>84</sup> Though Hopkins used the title "Christian Science," her metaphysics differed from Eddy's. See Gail M. Harley, *Emma Curtis Hopkins: Forgotten Founder of New Thought* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), particularly chapter 2. See also J. Gordon Melton, "Emma Curtis Hopkins: A Feminist of the 1880s and Mother of New Thought," in *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations Outside the Mainstream*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 88–101.

<sup>85</sup> Christopher White, "Practice," in *Religion in American History*, ed. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 234.

<sup>86</sup> Catherine Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007), 316.

<sup>87</sup> Nance, "Mystery of the Moorish Science Temple," 127, 146.

<sup>88</sup> John Harvey Kellogg, *The Living Temple* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Good Health Publishing Company, 1903), 5.

<sup>89</sup> Griffith, *Born Again Bodies*, 39.

<sup>90</sup> Richard W. Schwarz, "Dr. John Harvey Kellogg as a Social Gospel Practitioner," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1964): 5–22; Kellogg quotation on 7.

<sup>91</sup> Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009).