HOW RELIGION PRESERVED THE MAN:
EXPLORING THE HISTORY AND LEGACY OF AFRICAN ISLAM THROUGH THE
YARROW MAMOUT (CA.1736-1823) ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT

By
MIA LASHAYE CAREY

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To little brown girls and boys who dare to dream
In Loving Memory
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White privilege, which is everywhere and seemingly nowhere at all, has permeated our society, determining what gets commemorated, what gets silenced, and what gets taught. As an on-going historical process, white privilege should be acknowledged in the role that it plays in creating a narrative that marginalizes histories and produces ignorance, fear, and hatred; in the case of this work, it is the silencing of the history and legacy of African Islam, creating the assumption that immigrants and their children are the true representations of Islam. Using praxis grounded in critical race theory and using archaeology as a proxy, this dissertation challenges the dominant narrative white privilege has so carefully constructed to confront race, racism, and Islamophobia. Education and true knowledge, which per Ahmad (2014:945), are the best tools to ward of ignorance, fear, and hatred, can be used to better prepare Americans to live in a culturally and religiously diverse society.

In 2015, the D.C. Historic Preservation Office conducted an archaeological investigation of a property was purchased in 1800 by Yarrow Mamout, an African Muslim who gained notoriety in the early 19th century after sitting for two formal
portraits. It is the first archaeological excavation to investigate a known locality associated with an enslaved African Muslim. Though we intended to identify and interpret the material remains of Mamout’s occupation of the site, as the archaeological project progressed, it became clear that the public component of the project and the local involvement of communities, both Muslim and non-Muslim, presented a unique opportunity for archaeologists to puncture silences caused by white privilege and contribute to a controversial contemporary situation in a real and meaningful way.

By expanding the archaeological product beyond our data, reports, and interpretation of material remains, the archaeological team could start a meaningful conversation about Muslims, race, racism, Islamophobia, and white privilege. As the interest in the project wanes, I argue that as stewards of our future leaders, social science educators, should embrace a culturally relevant pedagogy aided by archaeology, in order to confront their own biases and end the cycle of silence.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

For better or for worse, (as in some of the old marriage ceremonies,) negroes are evidently a permanent art of the American population. They are too numerous and useful to be colonized, and too enduring and self-perpetuating to disappear by natural causes. Here they are, four millions of them, and for weal or for woe, here they must remain. Their history is parallel to that of the country; but while the history of the latter has been cheerful and bright with blessings, theirs has been heavy and dark with agonies and curses. What O’Connell said of the history of Ireland may with greater truth be said of the negro’s. It may be “traced like a wounded man through a crowd, by the blood.”

—Frederick Douglass
An Appeal to Congress for Impartial Suffrage, The Atlantic, January 1867

In the United States, history is taught and preserved through commemorative events, the construction of monuments, the renaming of buildings and streets, the planting of trees, etc. As commemorative acts, places and things come to shape our lives in fundamental ways, most notably giving us a sense of where we have been, where we are going, and who we are both as individuals and part of a collective whole. As physical reminders, monuments not only help tell the stories of our nation’s history, but serve as an interpretation of our national identity and collective memory. Some monuments, such as the Statue of Liberty, remind us the United States was once a beacon of hope for the millions of immigrants who approached Ellis Island by boat, and that the U.S. is and has always been a land of immigrants. Other monuments, such as a relief sculpture of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson in Stone Mountain Park, Georgia demonstrate that America is, at times, unwilling to part ways with its divisive past. If one would try to argue otherwise, consider the controversy that ensued when there was a national call to remove Confederate flags and statues after Dylann Roof, a domestic terrorist, took the lives of nine innocent parishioners at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in a mass shooting in Charleston,
South Carolina in June 2015. In an article posted on Breitbart, a far-right American news, opinion, and commentary website, Stepman (2016) argues that:

The war on Confederate monuments is part of the most recent effort by national activist groups to strip elements of American history deemed offensive and not in line with their current, ever-evolving political agenda. They wish to do more than create a new political order, and insist that the only way for the U.S. to move forward is by entirely erasing the past. The anti-Confederate monument activists are not just setting their sights on the Confederacy, but American history as a whole.

To the far right, this war on American history, is an overzealous quest by the left to be politically correct, an exercise which they view as undermining Judeo-Christian and unabashedly American values. This is an argument that Nick Adams (2016b) makes in his book, *Retaking America: Crushing Political Correctness*. Per Adams (2016a):

> Just about every problem in America today is linked to political correctness. Declining educational standards, increasing secularism, the police not being allowed to do their job, an inability to secure her borders, a diminished American in the world theater and reluctance to smash the evil of currently rampaging Islamism—all of it is rooted in politically-correct ideology. Nothing is more antithetical to America’s foundational principles.

As I paused to wonder to which foundational principles Adams (2016a, 2016b) was referring, a thought occurred to me: if removing controversial monuments serves to erase American history, what does it say about our past if those moments only tell one side of the story, a story that has been whitewashed?

Paynter et al. (1996:314) states that “the lack of historical places on our contemporary landscape that remind all persons of the omnipresence of African Americans throughout U.S. history…helps create a cultural amnesia and contributes to the recreation of racism.” Unlike the homes of more well-known historical figures, the homes and communities of African Americans have been paved over and demolished in lieu of new private and/or commercial development pursuits. Babiraz (2011:49) argues:
Although ideas in how to sweep back the veil that separates the experiences of those who have been “othered” from what is considered mainstream American culture have been argued over, very little discussion has revolved around the mechanisms of this erasure. Keeping the lives of individuals and communities invisible or even physically erased from the landscape requires constant, literal action.

These constant, literal actions that Babiraz (2011) speaks are of course the result of white privilege, or what Bonilla-Silva (2001) calls new racism, which he defines as social systems of racial domination. Lipsitz (1998:vii) argues that “white Americans are encouraged to invest in whiteness, to remain true to an identity that provides them with resources, power, and opportunity.” Babiarz (2011:55) argues that if we are to challenge racial injustice, we need to start by documenting these sites and lobbying for their significance.

In attempting to document the story of one African Muslim, who was emancipated in the late 18th century and who gained notoriety in the early 19th century, a public archaeology project conducted by the D.C. Historic Preservation Office in 2015, offered me the opportunity to challenge the dominant narrative of American history that has been so carefully constructed by white privilege. By looking beyond the artifacts and viewing the public component of the project as our cultural product, I was able to present a narrative that 1) re-introduces the history and legacy of African Islam; 2) acknowledges the influence of white privilege on the construction of history; and 2) most importantly, challenges definitions of what it means to be both Muslim and American. Thus, this work proposes using public archaeology projects, such as the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project, to end the cycle of narratives created by white privilege and aid in preparing our future leaders to live in a culturally and religiously diverse, democratic society.
On Monuments, Memory, Silence, White Privilege, and Racism

On December 6, 1865, the 13th amendment to the Constitution was ratified by the United States Congress abolishing slavery. It has been 150 years, and yet of the hundred, possibly thousands, of monuments and memorials dedicated to the Confederate and Union soldiers, there is only one federally funded slave memorial—and according to Wofford (2015) it has been falling apart. In a corner of Independence Mall in Philadelphia, an exhibit entitled “the Presidents House: Freedom and Slavery in the Making of a New Nation”, pays tribute to nine of George Washington’s enslaved persons. Of Philadelphia’s many significant landmarks, none has been at the center of so much controversy as the President’s House. In the late 1990s, a local historian, Edward Lawler shared his speculations with Coxey Toogood, of Independence National Historical Park (INHP), that the foundations of the Robert Morris House lay buried just a few feet away from a pavilion that was under construction to house the Liberty Bell (Lawler 2017; Wofford 1015). In November 2000, the stone pit of the President’s House was uncovered during archaeological excavations of the proposed location of the Liberty Bell; though initially dismissed as a 19th century structure, Lawler’s research established that it was the icehouse built by Robert Morris in 1781 and used by President Washington and President Adams between 1790 and 1800 (Lawler 2017). Lawler’s research sparked a fierce debate and public battle over whether to memorialize the house and the slaves who lived there. Initially, the National Park Service balked at the idea. In a letter, Martha Aikens, the Park Superintendent of the INHP, argued that creating a memorial to the enslaved would inappropriately attach the narrative of slavery to an exhibition that was intended to convey the memory of freedom, which would confuse visitors (Wofford 2015). Though the memorial was eventually erected in 2010, it
brings to light the inherent power in the construction of collective memories and the use of and preservation of certain sites to tell certain stories about American history.

Most memory studies in the United States can be traced to the work of Maurice Halbwachs, a French philosopher and sociologist, who coined the term 'collective memory' in his landmark study, The Social Framework of Memory (1925) (see Cattell and Climo 2002; Cipolla 2008; Ollick and Robbins 1998; Shackel 2001a, 2001b). Despite Halbwachs coining the term, discourses about collective memory originated with Emile Durkheim, who was Halbwachs' teacher. While Durkheim never used the term, he noted that societies require continuity and connection with the past to preserve social unity and cohesion (Misztal 2003). In The Social Framework of Memory, Halbwachs (1925) argues that all memory, even personal memory, is a social process shaped by the various groups to which people belong. Halbwachs expanded upon his ideas on collective memory in The Collective Memory, which was published posthumously in 1950, following his death in a Nazi concentration camp. In the latter work, Halbwachs (1950:50-53) discusses the difference between three types of memory: 1) Autobiographical Memory, which is an individual's memory of personally experience events; 2) Collective memory, which are memories given to an individual by other members of society; and 3) Historical memory, which shapes the past through the work of historians. Halbwachs (1950) argues that the difference between history and collective memory is history aims for universal objective truth severed from the psychology of social groups while collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in time and space (Savage n.d.). Shackel (2001a:2), who is among the first to use explicit studies of memory in historical archaeology (see Shackel 2000, 2003),
reiterates Halbwach’s argument by saying that, “people develop a collective memory by molding, shaping, and agreeing upon what to remember.”

Historian Michael Kammen (1991) argues that “societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind—manipulating the past in order to mold the present.” Thus, collective memory serves to promote group cohesion and loyalty (Hearn 2006:700), and is frequently cited as a requirement or component that helps constitute a national through the creation of its national narrative (Calhoun 1993:232). Within historical archaeology, without explicitly using the term ‘memory’, Leone (1981); Leone et al. (1987), and Trigger (1984), have argued about the relevance and shaping of the past to meet present needs, particularly the use of archaeology to serve political ends and to control interpretations of the past. For archaeologists, control over the uses and meanings of material culture can be accomplished in several ways. Collective memories can be about forgetting a past, creating and reinforcing patriotism, and developing a sense of nostalgia to legitimize a heritage (Shackel 2001:3). In any of these ways collective memory falsely implies that there is a consensus about the dominant narrative (Freidman and Kenney 2005). Pitcaithley (2003:xiii) argues that in the United States, the dominant narrative is presented as a seamless, upwardly progressive morality tale. In presenting American history, as linear and straightforward, some groups are marginalized. Leff (1995:833) argues that “this sacred story with strong nationalist overtones…derives most of its coherence from the groups it ignored or dismissed.” Thus, silencing and forgetting are just as powerful and acts of remembering. Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger (2010) argue silence should not be only thought of as the
antithesis or speech, but that it can also be disaggregated into overt and covert manifestations. Overt silences are the literal absence of speech and narrative. Covert silences are the silences that are covered and veiled by mnemonic talks and representation; in other words, covert silences are about the absence of content (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010). Per Trouillot (1995:48),

The presences and absences embodied in sources (artifacts and bodies that turn an event into fact) or archives (facts collected, thematized, and processed, as documents and monuments) are neither neutral or natural. They are created. As such, they are not mere absences, but mentions or silences of various kinds of degrees…Mentions and silences are thus active, dialectical counterparts of which history is the synthesis.

Furthermore, Trouillot (1995:26) argues that:

Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retroactive significance (the making of history in the final instance).

Silences are inevitable. Every single event that occurs inevitably has parts that are missing. These silences are typically the doing of the “census taker”, the person or persons recording an historical event. The sources that result from the recording of an event or events in history reflect the unequal control over historical production. Taking a warning from Foucault, Trouillot (1995:28), states that the question of who exercises power cannot be answered until how does it happen is resolved. Both questions can be answered by considering the role of white privilege.

Lipsitz (1995) says that whiteness, which is everywhere in American culture, emerged as a relevant category in American life because of the realities created by slavery and segregation, by immigration restriction and Indian policy, by conquest and colonialism. Like whiteness, white privilege is at times hard to see, particularly for those
with more access to wealth, power, and resources, because to those with the access it is normal. Peggy McIntosh (1989) realized that since hierarchies in the U.S. are interlocking, white privilege was like male privilege in that white people are taught not to recognize white privilege, just as males are not taught to recognize their privilege. She argues that white people are taught to think of their lives as a morally neutral, normative, and average ideal so that when white people work to benefit others, it is viewed as allowing “others” to be more like them (McIntosh 1989). Whiteness, per Richard Dyer (1988:44), secures its dominance by seeming not to be anything which leads many white people to argue that they receive no benefits from being white, especially if they are poor. Thus, white privilege bears elucidation.

White privilege is walking into a room and never having to stop and think why the room fell silent or why someone crosses the street instead of walking past you on the sidewalk. White privilege is opening any textbook and having your history be the dominant narrative. White privilege is having fresh food available in your neighborhood, which does not have liquor stores on every corner and dilapidated housing. White privilege is being able to travel the world, experiencing other cultures, but never having to bear the burden. White privilege is not noticing your ethnicity unless you are presented with something or someone different, i.e. dark skin or coarse hair. White privilege is never having to worry about whether your skin, hair, or cultural accessories were the reason you did not get the job. White privilege is getting probation for raping classmate with a coat hanger or being able to use an ‘affluenza’ defense for a causing fatal drunk driving accident. White privilege allows you to avoid having to talk to your children about systematic racism, to warn them to be careful when talking to a police
officer or walking to a corner store for tea and candy. White privilege is being able to wear and act however you would like, without being labeled as a thug, low life, hoodlum etc. White privilege is never being asked by your teacher to explain something or speak on behalf of your entire race solely because of the color of your skin. White privilege is having the ability to tell someone to get over slavery or that racism is not real. White privilege is walking into a hair care isle and having your shampoos and conditions labelled hair care and not in a separate section for “ethnic hair”. Thus, white privilege, which is a form of privilege that is derived from the race power system of white supremacy (Wildman and Davis 2008: 114), is this “invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, guides codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks” that white people can count on cashing in each day (McIntosh 1989). It is an institutional rather than personal set of benefits that white people receive based on race, though the extent to which white people have them varies by gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, age, physical ability, size and weight, etc. (Kendall 2002). One cannot get white privilege; white people are born with it, and thus cannot give it away, regardless of whether or not the acknowledge it exists (Kendall 2002).

White privilege, argues Paula Rothenburg (2008:1), is the other side of racism. Throughout American history, white privilege has been purposefully created and sustained through a system that codifies the superiority of the white race over all others (Kendall 2002). Consider the following laws and actions that help legitimize white privilege:

- 1830: Indian Treaties and Removal Act-under this law President Andrew Jackson had the authority to negotiate land by exchanging treaties with tribes living within
the boundaries of the states. As incentives, the law allowed Native Americans financial and material assistance to travel to their new locations and start new lives and that they would be protected. This act allowed the president and his followers to persuade, bribe, and threatened tribes into signing removal treaties. Despite the thousands of Native American lives lost during their forcible removal from the southeast during the Trail of Tears, nearly 25 million acres of land were made available for white settlers (U.S. Department of State n.d.c).

- **1862:** On April 16, the District of Columbia Compensated Emancipation Act became law. The act freed slaves in the District of Columbia and compensated owners up to $300 for each freeperson. Over $1 million was paid in reparations to whites for lost property (U.S. Senate n.d.). To date, African Americans have received no reparations for slavery.

- **1934:** National Housing Act- Enacted on June 28, 1934 as part of the New Deal, the act was passed to make housing and home mortgages more affordable during the Great Depression; it also established the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), whose purpose was to encourage banks, building and loan associations, etc. to make loans for building homes, small business establishments, and farm buildings. The FHA’s strict lending standards, contained in the *Underwriting Handbook*, endorsed the practice of redlining, which is the practice of refusing to back mortgages in neighborhoods based on racial and ethnic composition (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston n.d.).

- **1971:** Nixon’s War on Drugs- The Drug Policy Alliance (2016) reports that John Ehrlichman, a Top Advisor to President Nixon, admitted that “We knew we couldn’t make it illegal or either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt these communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did."

- **2016:** Donald J. Trump was elected as the 45th president of the United States of America with no political experience after having spent his entire campaign mocking disabled reporters, calling for the ban of Muslims, and having a 2005 recording surface on which he jokes about grabbing women by their genitals. He has continued to oversee buildings and allowed his children to participate in his duties as president.

Native Americans have continued fighting for their rights and access to the land.

Despite the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, and others, protesting the Dakota Access Pipeline because it would travel under the Missouri River, the primary drinking water source for the tribe, the pipeline is on track to be completed this year. In addition to the
potential threats posed to the water by pipeline leaks, the Standing Rock Sioux also argue that the pipeline traverses a sacred burial ground. In response to the protesting, police have used pepper spray, dogs, rubber bullets, and concussions tactics on protestors (Worland 2016). Redlining, despite being against the law, is still being practiced. For example, in September 2014, the State of New York filed a suit against Evans Bank for alleged redlining. A month later, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced a $16 million dollar conciliation agreement resolving allegations that Midland States Bancorp was actively redlining against Hispanic and African-American neighborhoods in St. Louis, Missouri and northern Illinois (Sullivan 2015). The War on Drugs wages on. Per the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU n.d.) drug arrests now account for quarter of the people locked up in American and that millions of people, particularly poor people and people of color, have been arrested and branded with criminal records that pose barriers to employment, housing, and stability. The point here is that white privilege is an on-going process. Because the methods have changed from the overt tactics of the Jim Crow Era, it requires people who are willing to take on a “critical consciousness”, termed conscientization by Paulo Freire (2000:35), to “perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality”.

Throughout this work, white privilege is the invisible thread that explains how and why the events that unfolded following the entrance of enslaved African Muslims came to be. It explains why slave owners rarely cared to acknowledge differences among their enslaved populations. It explains why the enslaved African-Muslim population was unable to create self-sustaining communities. It explains why immigration restrictions
were placed on Muslims in the 19th and 20th centuries and why immigrant Muslims aspired to be white, thereby silencing the narratives and experiences of African-American Muslims. It explains why archaeology was conducted at 3324 Dent Place, N.W. What white privilege does not explain, is what happens when you challenge the dominant narratives white privilege has so carefully constructed. This is what this work attempts to accomplish.

**Purpose and Goals**

When I first proposed this work, I naively believed that the absence of enslaved African Muslims from archaeological discourses was the failure of archaeologists to identify and interpret a locality that could be associated to an enslaved African Muslim individual or household. My initial knowledge of the history of enslaved African Muslims was limited and from what little research I had done then, I knew that it was not a topic that had been thoroughly explored despite the efforts of Richard Gomez (1994,1998), Allan Austin (1984, 1997), Sylviane Diouf (1998, 2013), and other prominent historians. Thus, the initial purpose of this work was to explore the ways in which archaeology could contribute to the understudied presence of enslaved African Muslims in the United States. However, one absence became two and two became three as I began to trace the connections between enslaved African Muslims and contemporary African-American Muslims, and attempt to place all of this into the broader context of how history is produced and taught.

Thus, the purpose of this work evolved from wanting to bring archaeology into the conversation about a controversial contemporary situation regarding Islam in America using Mamout’s story as an entry point to using archaeology as a medium through which to understand how white privilege silences the narratives and experiences of
enslaved African Muslims and African American Muslims. By shifting the focus, I began realizing that as an on-going process, white privilege needs to be acknowledged and understood as a contributing factor in the ways in which race, racism, and Islamophobia are constructed in America. Thus a new set of goals emerged.

The overarching goal of this work is to de-essentialize and challenge what it means to be both black and Muslim. The widely-held assumption that immigrants and their children are the true representations of Islam, silences the narratives and experiences of both enslaved African Muslims and of contemporary African-American Muslims. A second goal of this work is to challenge the notion that to do good archaeology, one must recover material remains from a specific time period in order to interpret the past. By expanding our product beyond data, reports, and most importantly artifacts, we can see how the process and results of doing out work as part of an engaged social activism (McDavid 2010:37) can better serve the needs of the communities in which we work. This work begins with the search for Yarrow Mamout’s amazing story of self-determination, resistance, and devout faith.

Mamout’s Story

The most comprehensive reconstruction of Yarrow Mamout’s life was compiled in James H. Johnston’s (2012) From Slave Ship to Harvard: Yarrow Mamout and the History of an African-American Family. It is primarily through this source that I rely on to recount the story of Yarrow Mamout’s life and memory.

Mamout was born in Guinea, West Africa ca. 1736. Though much is not known about his life before he was sold into slavery at sixteen, Johnston’s (2012:7) research has suggested that he was a member of the Fulani tribe, largely because of his ability to read and write in Arabic and his devout Islamic beliefs. On June 4, 1752 Mamout
arrived in Annapolis, Maryland aboard the *Elijah* and was purchased by Samuel Beall, a wealthy planter from Montgomery County whose family was influential in the development and founding of Georgetown. Mamout served as Beall’s body servant, accompanying him throughout the day in his many capacities as a member of the Captain George Beall Troop of Horse, a militia group who fought Native Americans and armed men; inspector of the Bladensburg Tobacco Inspection Warehouse; as sheriff, justice of the peace, and part owner in the Frederick Forge, a major iron-making facility in Washington County, Maryland (Johnston 2012:36), until 1777. Following Beall’s death in 1777, Mamout was bequeathed to his son Isaac, but eventually became the property of Beall’s other son Brooke (Johnston 2012:59). Around 1788 or 1789, a year or two after Mamout’s son Aquilla was born to an enslaved woman on a neighboring farm, Brooke Beall moved his family and slaves to Georgetown, where Mamout was loaned out several times.

Mamout’s freedom came in 1796 with the condition that if Mamout made bricks for Beall’s new house in Upper Georgetown that he would be freed. Unfortunately, Beall died before he could free Mamout, but Beall’s widow, Margaret, kept his promise. According to Mamout and Margaret, Mamout’s freedom was made for the purest of reasons-- a reward for a good and faithful servant (Johnston 2013:73). Before Beall died, Mamout purchased his son, Aquilla’s, freedom for £20 or £37 from Ann Chambers on February 4, 1796 (Johnston 2012:73 & 123). Mamout officially received his manumission papers several months later on August 22nd. Four years later Mamout purchased the property at 3324 Dent Place in Georgetown, Washington, D.C. from Francis Deakins on February 8, 1800. That same year the 1800 census listed Mamout
and another person (most likely Aquilla) as living on the Dent Place property, which was valued at $30 according to the 1800-1830 Tax Assessments (Johnston 2012:73). In 1803, Mamout transferred the property deed to Aquilla, who at that time was 15, so that it could not be seized by creditors (Johnston 2012:127). By 1818, the property was assessed at $500 and noted a small frame structure. Though the original deed has been either lost or destroyed, a deed book kept by the Recorder of Deeds exists and is housed at the National Archives. It was believed that Mamout was literate in Arabic because he signed in name in Arabic on the deed (Johnston 2012:74).

Mamout became well known after sitting for a portrait by Charles Wilson Peale in 1819 while Peale was visiting Georgetown to paint President James Monroe for the collection of presidential portraits at Peale’s Museum in Philadelphia. During his time with Mamout, Peale recorded his interaction with Mamout in his diary (Johnston 2012:92). Johnston speculates that Peale was interested in Mamout for two reasons. The first is Mamout was rumored to be 140 years old and Peale, who had studied longevity and at one time believed that humans could live to be 200, decided that he needed to meet this person who could prove his theory was true (Johnston 2006). Though Peale later revised his estimation of Mamout’s age, it was still 53 years too old for Mamout, who was around 83 at the time of Peale’s painting. The second reason Johnston speculates that Peale was interested in Mamout is, Peale who had once owned slaves and had come to oppose slavery, may have been hoping for an opportunity to paint a prosperous African American to make a point about racial equality (Johnston 2006). Three years after sitting for Peale’s painting, Mamout sat once again for a portrait, this time for local artist James Alexander Simpson. The Simpson portrait,
which normally graces the wall of the Peabody Room of the Georgetown Public Library, is now on loan through 2019 to the Smithsonian’s National Portrait Gallery. Peale’s painting hangs in Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia and depicts a somewhat younger, livelier Mamout.

Yarrow Mamout died on January 19, 1823. Hearing of Mamout’s death, Peale wrote Mamout’s obituary and sent it to numerous newspapers, including the *Gettysburg Complier*. The obituary reads:

*Died—at Georgetown on the 19th ultimo, Negro Yarrow, aged (according to [Peale’s] account) 136 years. He was interred in the corner of his garden, the spot where he usually resorted to pray. . . it is known to all that knew him, that he was industrious, honest, and moral—in the early part of his life he met with several losses by loaning money, which he never got, but he preserved in industry and economy, and accumulated some Bank stock and a house and lot, on which he lived comfortably in his old age—Yarrow was never known to eat of swine, nor drunk ardent spirits."

(Gettysburg Complier, 1823).

Following Mamout’s death, tax records indicate that the property at 3324 Dent Place passed to his heirs. Aquilla or another heir continued paying taxes on the property until 1832, the same year that Aquilla died (Johnston 2012:130). The property stayed in Aquilla’s name until 1838, when the city of Georgetown auctioned it off to recovered unpaid taxes of $100 (Johnston 2006).

**Previous Research on Enslaved African Muslims**

Although a significant number of the enslaved population in the Americas were Muslim, scholarly research of Muslims in the American colonial and antebellum periods has been limited. Historians estimate that the enslaved population who were Muslims ranged between 10 percent and 40 percent; For example, Ernst (2003:18), estimates 10- 15 percent while Jaques and Jaques (1984:394) estimate that 15 to 30 percent were Muslims, and Muslim women constituted less than 15 percent. Gomez (1994:672)
argues that the scarcity of primary data is a function of two factors: (1) that colonial and antebellum observers did not accurately record the variegated cultural expressions of African slaves because of their ignorance of the Islamic faith and the reluctance of Muslim descendants to be forthcoming in answering questions about their ancestors\(^1\); and (2) that the lack of scholarly inquiry into Islam is due to the absence of a satisfactory dialogue between historians of African and of North America. Two alternative explanations have been offered. Diouf (1998:205) argues that Muslims have disappeared from the collective consciousness and have been overlooked in scholarly research in the United States because of a reluctance to examine a topic that is associated with a controversial contemporary situation and that it is considered safe to avoid a topic that could be viewed as giving credibility and legitimacy to claims of widespread historical conspiracies and cover-ups. The claims of widespread historical conspiracies and cover-ups are, however, not unfounded, to a certain extent.

Austin (1996:13) argues that writings of the mid-19th - late 20th centuries suppressed the Muslim identities of antebellum African Americans. In the 1850s, there was a sudden burst of scholarship—essays, biographies, histories, poetry, and novels—by African Americans and some European allies and enemies, however, it did not take long before nearly everything in print about Africans became condescending or negative (Austin 1984:4, Austin 1997:13). Until the 1960s, both popular and academic historians presented perverted views of African life. For example, J.W. Buel’s (1889-90) Heroes of the Dark Continent, depicted Arabs as “semi-civilized”; blacks as “barbarians”; and

\(^1\) While Gomez (1994:72) attributes this to ignorance or the failure of the enslaved to answer questions, it is more likely that the slave owners did not care to record this information about their enslaved.
white Christians as the “heroes”, a view that was typical of the era (Austin 1984:44). A second theme found during the first decades of the 20th century was found in the assertions of William D. Boyce, the founder of the Boy Scouts of America. While Boyce acknowledged that Muslims were more than slave traders and murderers, he believed that their simple message was best suited for simple people. Austin (1984:45) argues that Boyce’s comments reflected the belief that if whites had not taken over, cannibalism, the need to protect Africans from one another, from living “any way and eat[ting] anything,” and from uncontrollable urges to rape white women, were African tendencies, could also be found in Afro-Americans.

The effect of such propaganda, which lasted over a century, was to create an early dis-identification between antebellum African Americans and Muslims. It was not until the 1950s that serious histories and studies of Africans, African Americans, and Muslims began to appear (Austin 1997:14). This was in part due to a tri-part assault on European religious, social, and political philosophical presumptions as African nations were beginning to regain their independence, the Civil Rights Movement, and Muslims were rising to power outside of Africa, except Egypt (Austin 1997:14-15). The first study of Islam in West Africa appeared in 1959, though Islam inspired no more than a passing phrase in any history of American or slavery until 1968, and even then scholars emphasized the African aspects of their narratives (Austin 1997:15). Austin’s 1984 *African Muslims in Antebellum America: a Sourcebook* was the first scholarly attempt to bring all the then available stories and references together; since then only a few relevant articles and books have brought these stories forward, and for the most part have focused on only a handful of individuals.
In addition to Austin’s (1984) seminal work, which is a mixture of both primary sources and analysis, and focuses on seven of eighty total individuals who achieved notoriety; there are a number of primary sources such as autobiographies and biographical sketches, newspaper articles and runaway-slave advertisements, slaveholder’s records, and slave narratives available that prove that a lack of resources alone cannot explain the inattentiveness scholars have paid to African Muslims in relation to African Americans in the United States during the 18th and 19th centuries (Gomez 1994). Except for a few biographies, including Douglass Grant’s (1968) *The Fortunate Slave*, which is an account of the life of Ayuba b. Suleiman, more commonly known as Job Ben Soloman; Terry Alford’s (1977) *Prince Among Slaves*, a biography of Abd al Rahman; and Mohommah G. Baquaqua’s (2007) *The Biography of Mohommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*, most of the available information obscures individual stories and experiences. Fortunately, slave advertisements contain valuable information on the ethnic and cultural traits of individual slaves and have thus far been underutilized. They provide names, such as “Bullaly” (Bilali), “Mustapha”, “Sambo”, “Bocarrey”, and “Mamado” (Mamadu) that are clearly Muslims but are rarely identified as such. The appearance of these names in runaway notices are relatively infrequent as owners, more commonly, chose to associate their runaways with supply zones or ethnic identities (i.e. Mandingo or Fula). Overwhelmingly, these notices are from coastal South Carolina and Georgia and colonial Louisiana (Gomez 1994:686). Interviews collected from the descendants of freed slaves by the Georgia Writer’s Project (1940) in the 1930s reveal a number of descendants who claim that their ancestors were Muslim, and help show that the
Muslim presence in coastal Georgia and elsewhere in the region was active, healthy, and compelling.

Apart from Allen (2009) and Davidson and McIlvoy (2012), Islam has alluded the attention of historical archaeologists. Allen’s (2009) exploration of the archaeology of Islam was the first attempt to provide a foundation for understanding the materiality of Muslim identity in the context of American enslavement. She argues that distinctly Muslim expressions are visible in the archaeological record of sites of African enslavement in the Americas and that future African diaspora studies should consider the influence of the traditions of Islam. Her work contributes to the growing scholarship of plantation archaeology by looking at the material expressions of identity in the archaeological record. Davidson and McIlvoy (2012) use new interpretive frameworks in a reanalysis of artifacts recovered from the Couper Plantation excavations in the 1970s to explore the potential for discovering elements of possible African spirituality not original identified. Davidsons and McIlvoy (2012) argue that had Fairbanks continued to look for his so-called Africanisms he would have found them, fundamentally changing the discipline.

This is the first, and it is my hope that it will not be last. Because of this undeniable fact, several questions emerge: What to call this type of work? Why do I as the author, refer to myself? Am I a religious archaeologist? Am I a public archaeologist? Am I an activist or educator? My answer requires me to first examine the history of our discipline.

**Theoretical Framework**

This work is an exercise in theoretically informed action, or praxis. In *A Marxist Archaeology*, McGuire (1992) outlined a theory of praxis, which first originated from his
critical examination of earlier efforts that would contribute to the transformation of society and to a more humane world\(^2\). Praxis is defined as the unique human ability to knowingly and creatively make change in the world; as a conscious undertaking, praxis implies a dialectical relationship between knowing the world, critiquing the world, and taking action in the world (McGuire 1992:33; McGuire et al. 2005). McGuire et al. (2005) contends that the difference between praxis and practice is that praxis is theoretically informed action through which we gain knowledge through the careful and methodical study of the world in which we live. Gadsby and Barnes (2010:53) argue that there is no single formula for praxis, rather it requires careful consideration of the social and economic needs of the community, and communication between a variety of stake-and rights holders while recognizing how certain actions may directly or indirectly affect each.

The strongest examples of praxis in modern archaeology can be found in feminist, indigenous, and emancipatory archaeology. By critically examining the structures of power and ideology that exist in society, feminist archaeologists seek to understand how male privilege springs from controlling women or mobilizing their complicity or both (Enloe 2004:7). This understanding then becomes the basis to which feminist archaeologists use praxis to challenge and eliminate the control and complicity of patriarchy in order to transform society (McGuire 2008: 73; see Mohanty 2003). While we may now question why archaeologists did not seriously examine gender until the 1980s (Conkey and Spector 1984), we as archaeologists have to understand and

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\(^2\) Randall McGuire is one of the most vocal and intelligent proponents for understanding the political significance of archaeology and for adopting an explicitly praxis-based approach to demonstrating the social efficacy of the discipline.
acknowledge that androcentric bias pervaded the interpretation of the past and the practice of archaeology (see Voss 2006). By creating and reinforcing images of active men and passive women, archaeologists supported the broader gender stereotypes in U.S. society (McGuire 2008:74). In a radical transformation of archaeological practice, feminist archaeology seeks to expose gender bias in archaeological inquiry; to find women in the archaeological record and to identify their participation in gender relations, gender ideologies, and gender roles; and to challenge underlying assumptions in Western culture about gender and difference (Conkey and Gero 1991:5).

Praxis in indigenous archaeology was born from efforts of indigenous communities over the repatriation of their ancestors (Lippert 2005:63) and to decolonize archaeology (see Atalay 2006). In the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists were confronted and issued citizen arrest warrants by indigenous communities who were concerned about forms of colonialism inherent in archaeological practices (see Deloria 1993, Thomas 2000, Watkins 2000; Fforde 2004; Wiseman 2005; and McGuire 2008:78). Eventually, legislation such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 forced archaeologists to confront and change the colonialism of the discipline (Watkins 2000:176). McGuire (2008:79) argues that while indigenous peoples have been at the heart of its creation, indigenous archaeology is a methodology or theoretical approach that is not defined or limited by race or ethnicity. There are four key facets to a praxis in indigenous archaeology: 1) it serves the interests of native communities; 2) the method of working with these communities is collaboration; 3) collaboration requires that many voices be heard; and 4) this kind of archaeology should be of use to indigenous peoples (McGuire 2008:80).
One other example of praxis is emancipatory archaeology. Defined by Duke and Saitta (1998), emancipatory archaeology is a reflexive, politically, engaged activist approach that was founded on principles borrowed from feminist archaeology, indigenous archaeology, and Marxist archaeologies of class. An emancipatory praxis, for Duke and Saitta (1998), brings attention to the study of social class, whose emancipatory potential has been less well developed. By exposing the political, economic, and cultural structuring principles that organize human life, knowledge of the past was be emancipatory if it is used in the struggle to realize human freedom, potential, and dignity (Wright 1993). Saitta (2008) states that emancipatory archaeology is “dedicated to expanding the conversation about what it means to be human by illuminating variation in the forms and consequences of social relationships that have organized human life across time and space”; by expanding he means taking archaeological knowledge to audiences who have historically had little use for traditional archaeology, specifically the working class. To accomplish an emancipatory archaeology, Duke and Saitta (1998) urged archaeologists to embrace a pragmatist epistemology that could better serve the human need through collaborating with groups to tell their stories and explaining why those stories matter. Pragmatism, defined by Preucel and Mrozowski (2010:28), is “the distinctive American philosophy that holds that the meaning of ideas or action can be determined by considering what idea or action it routinely generates, that is to say, its practical consequences.”

However, this work aligns more closely with activist archaeology, which is a form of praxis that uses archaeology to affect change in and advocate for contemporary communities, not as the archaeologists sees it but as the community sees it (Stottman
Stottman (2010:8) argues that activist archaeology is about more than just interacting with the public or partnering with communities, it is about understanding a community and integrating its needs and wants into our work and using the process of archaeology and the knowledge it produces to help satisfy community needs. It is grounded in two major traditions of thought: critical theory, which attempts to affect consciousness, and community action (Gadsby and Barnes 2010:49). Activist archaeology shapes archaeological practice by including women and people of color (e.g., Franklin 1997a; Gero et al. 1983; Nelson et al. 1994); gender (e.g., Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero and Conkey 1991); race and the diaspora (e.g., Blakey 1996; Singleton 1999); capitalism (e.g., Leone 1995) etc. and by reshaping interpretive frameworks to be more accessible to the public (Gadsby and Barnes 2010:48). Activist archaeology can take on a variety of forms, be derived from a multitude of critical perspectives, and tackle a variety of contemporary issues (Stottman 2010:15). For me, for my research, and for my purpose of reclaiming my past, the African diasporic past requires the use of critical race theory.

Taken from Delgado and Stefancic (2000:3) critical race theory (CRT) can be defined as a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. It considers many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up, but places them into a broader perspective that includes economics, history, context, group-and self-interest, and even feelings and unconscious. Critical race theory was born in the 1970s when lawyers, activists, and legal scholars realized that the advances of the civil rights era of the 1960s had stalled and were being rolled back (Delgado and Stefancic 2000:4).
Though there are a number of spin-off movements in other disciplines, CRT originated in law and thus has an activist dimension that attempts to understand and change our social situation (Delago and Stefancic 2000:6). There are five main themes of CRT: 1) the centrality of race and racism in society, which asserts that racism is a permanent component of American life; 2) the challenge to dominant ideology, which challenges the claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness, and meritocracy in society; 3) the centrality of experiential knowledge, which asserts that that experiential knowledge of people of color is appropriate, legitimate, and an integral part of analyzing and understanding racial inequality; and 4) the emphasis on interdisciplinary methods; and 5) the commitment to social justice and the elimination of all forms of marginalization of people. Epperson (2004) argues that while CRT offers historical archaeologists a sophisticated paradigm for politically engaging the issue of race, it is necessary to adopt a community-based alliance approach that addresses common goals and enhances the relevance of our work. Central to understanding how African diaspora archaeology can and should be constructed to affect change in the communities they serve is acknowledging that it is simultaneously race-conscious and anti-essentialist. Grillo (1995) argues that anti-essentialism and intersectionality can aide us in going forward. Intersectionality demonstrates that at any given time the identity lies at the intersections of many factors, including race, class, gender, etc. Anti-essentialism rejects the notion that each factor contributes to each individual and that there are no clear, constant meanings for everyone to encompass a group. Together, Grillo (1995) argues we have the tools necessary to dismantle the master’s house.
Is this African Diasporic Archaeology, Islamic Archaeology, Public Archaeology, or Something Else?

As of this moment, there is no other work within the discipline of Anthropology or the field of Archaeology, that has attempted to reconcile the history of enslaved African Muslims with that of the contemporary African-American Muslim community, nor that has had the opportunity to excavate the property that is clearly linked to that of an enslaved African Muslim.

Where Have We Been?

During most of its formative years, historical archaeology was embroiled in a debate over whether it was a subfield of American history or anthropology (see Fish 1910; Harrington 1955; Russell 1967; Schuyler 1970) Archaeologists such as Carl Fish, J.C. Harrington, and Carl Russell believed that archaeology was a handmaiden to history and that its only utility was providing data (Schuyler 1978:2). Prehistorical archaeologists openly criticized the interests of these “historical archaeologists” and argued that historical archaeology was just an expensive way of finding out what we already knew (Bradley 1987:293; Fontana 1968). Throughout these years, historical archaeologists, initially trained as prehistorians, sought to define the anthropological mission of historical archaeology while justifying its existence. As the debates waged on, many historical archaeologists suffered from a crisis of identity. For example, Cotter (1967:15) could not decide whether to refer to a colleague as an anthropologist-turned historic sites archaeologist or as an Historian-Americanist turned archaeologist. The problem faced by early historical archaeologists was that historical archaeology bore a structural similarity to Old World archaeology in its use of historical documents;
however, Old World Archaeology was never conceived as an anthropological pursuit (Orser 2001).

By the mid-1950s, Phillips (1955) declared that “American archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing,” as he illustrated that on the level of explanation (theory) archaeology converges with anthropology because of its need to focus on the social aspects of data. Kluckhohn (1940) was among the earliest advocates to call for the adoption of anthropological theories, though this call was not answered until the rise of Binford’s New Archaeology in the 1960s. Aided by the passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which mandated the examination of sites, buildings, and objects that could be deemed to possess exception value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States, and processual archaeology, historical archaeology was given its firmest anthropological standing. One of the most significant aspects of Binford’s New Archaeology in the 1960s was that is sought to become more scientific and anthropological in nature by utilizing anthropological theories and making contributions. For Binford, the ultimate goal of archaeology was the generation of laws of human behavior through a combination of evolutionary theory and a systematic study of archaeological materials (Binford 1962, 1968; see Gosden 1999). Within the Taylor/Binford framework, the parameters of the history/prehistory divide became irrelevant as culture process took precedence over temporal affiliation (Orser 2001).

The passage of landmark legislation such as the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, and the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, federally mandated historical archaeologists to preserve and protect significant historic sites over 50 years
old once again offering credence to the field. Stanley South took the most explicit and successful attempt to change the intellectual respectability of the field (Orser 2004). South’s goal was to transform the field into an explicitly processual practice that would be openly concerned with understanding past lifeways, culture history, and culture process through the examination of material remains that reflected those processes; this process required the adoption of a pattern framework that would enable archaeologists to recognize patterns in the artifacts assemblages that would help them understand the dynamics of past cultural systems (South 1977).

Though the debates that characterized the birth of the field have been all but settled and historical archaeology is now recognized and accepted as a form of anthropological inquiry, the often contentious nature of the field has not disappeared. At the beginning of the 21st century, Orser (2001) noted that historical archaeologists conceptualized the field in several ways: as a critique of modern history, as a trans-temporal study of broad cultural trends and processes; and as a particularistic study of specific places.

Where Are We Going?

Historical archaeology throughout its existence has had many goals, though paramount among them is supplementing and challenging history known through the documentary record and reconstructing the lives of those who have been footnotes in history (Allen 2009). Concern for the past has been mirrored in archaeological practice through the continuous shift in goals for the discipline. The first 30 years of historical archaeology were characterized by efforts to preserve and reconstruct famous historic sites such as Williamsburg, Jamestown, Fort Vancouver, and various Spanish missions in the West (Schuyler 1978:1). However, in the midst of the radical social, political, and
milieu that characterized the 1960s, a new social history defined by the historian Peter Burke as the history of social relationships, structures, solidarities, conflicts, classes, groups, and every day and private life (Foner 1990) emerged bringing attention to African Americans, women, the family, gender, education, urban and rural life, and labor unions as the private rather than public sphere of life came into focus. These subjects provided historical archaeologists with new avenues for research, and as a result, the field of African-American archaeology was born.

At present, the goals of the discipline are to demonstrate archaeology's relevance to society and taking stock in our heritage. Ramous and Duganne (2000:31) state that archaeology is important for the endeavor because we improve the future by learning about the past and contribute to our understandings of the modern world. Preserving and protecting archaeological sites for the public's sake is beneficial when it enables us to develop a new understanding of the past that appreciates the complexity of its messages (Molyneaux 1994:6). Christensen (2010:22) argues that “by articulating the processes by which current sociopolitical and economic conditions came to be, we can denaturalize the received historical narrative and show how current conditions were not inevitable.”

By its very nature, this project and this work is historical archaeology, or it is nothing. It was directed and written by an African-American historical archaeologist, in the sense that I am an African American and a historical archaeologist. Checking off any additional boxes complicates, and for me, takes away the purpose and goal of this work and the mission to which I have found myself dedicated to. In a similar vein as
indigenous archaeology, this work is for African Americans and the diaspora by an African American.

Chapter Summaries and Organization

Throughout this work I use current events to place the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project into a broader social and political context. Though the archaeological investigations themselves are significant, the public aspect of the project emerges as a medium through which to meet the intended purpose and goals of this work, and as such the archaeology resides firmly but securely in the background.

In Chapter Two, “Resisting Invisibility: (Re) Introducing the History of African Islam”, I re-introduce African Islam and its history by dispelling myths through education, while providing a historical context for understanding how African Muslims entered the United States and what they leave behind. This is an important first step because by historically dis-associating African Muslims with their contributions, they have been obscured from the historical record in such a way that many people have no idea there were African Muslims in the United States before the rise of the Nation of Islam in the 20th century.

In Chapter Three, “From an Ideology to a Movement: The Historical Links between Pan-Africanism, Black Nationalism and the Rise of Islam in African American Communities by the 1920s,” I use Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism to provide an ideological bridge between enslaved African Muslims and contemporary African-American Muslims. Resistance, self-determination, and education are the legacy that enslaved African Muslims gifted to the Black Nationalist and Islamic movements of the twentieth century.
In Chapter Four, “Hidden in Plain Sight: Erasing African American Muslims No More,” I explore how African-American Muslims at the very least suffer a double discrimination in the United States; their blackness is seen as a threat and their religion, is seen as homegrown, lacking crucial trans-national ties. By tracing the influx of immigrant Muslims, I explore how attitudes within and towards the Muslim community have changed and impacted the African-American community. In conjunction with the Chapters Two and Three, this chapter demonstrates why, particularly in the present, how enslaved African and African-American Muslims have been hidden in plain sight.

In Chapter Five: “Representation as Power: The Search for Yarrow Mamout in the Archaeological Record” examines the results of the 2015 archaeological investigations and introduces the concept of negative data.

Chapter Six: “Rethinking Our Cultural Product” argues that archaeologists should look beyond artifacts and their interpretation as our cultural product, and instead view the processes of and results of our work as a cultural product.

In Chapter Seven, “I don’t see color, but I see your hijab”: How Archaeology Can Help Millennials Combat Race, Racism, and Islamophobia, I examine the dangers of color-blind racism and the need for millennials, in particular, who are educating predominantly minority students, to confront their white privilege and inherent biases. I argue that this can be accomplished by adopting a culturally relevant pedagogy aided by historical and/or public archaeology.

**Conclusion**

African Muslims who came to America during the trans-Atlantic slave trade and African-American Muslims who paid homage to the cultural legacy they left behind by converting to Islam in the 20th century have virtually been erased from historical
reconstructions of 19th century America and present discussions of race, racism, Islamophobia. I believe by grounding this work in praxis informed by critical race theory, I can shed light on two overlooked communities and understand the conditions under which they were hidden in plain sight. The stereotype that Middle Eastern Muslims are the true representation of a religion that has over 1 billion adherents obscures the fact that one-third of this population is of African descent. It renders the experiences of those who are both black and Muslim to be illegitimate and trivial. The goal that emerges from this is to legitimize the experiences, needs, and wants of present day African-American Muslims to the experiences, needs, and wants of enslaved African Muslims. In an era where black bodies continue to be owned and abused by institutionalized racism, I hope that my research can demonstrate that not only do black lives matter today, they have mattered historically. Understanding the lived experience of enslaved African Muslims helps provide context for the lived experience of both Muslim and non-Muslim African Americans today.
CHAPTER 2
RESISTING INVISIBILITY: (RE)INTRODUCING THE HISTORY HISTORY OF AFRICAN ISLAM

*To rob people or countries of their name is to set in motion a psychic disturbance that can, in turn, create a permanent crisis of identity.*

– Jan R. Carew

In the introduction to the second edition of Islam in the African-American Experience, Richard Turner (2003:xii) writes, “Islam is the second largest and fastest growing religion in the United States, yet many Americans are unaware of Islam’s place in the nation’s religious diversity or of its presence in their own communities”. This is particularly troubling as American Muslims currently make up an estimated 0.9 percent (or 1.8 million) of the U.S. adult population, a figure that surges to 2.75 million if children are included (Williams 2015). According to the Pew Research Center (2015), there will be a significant shift in the religious composition of the U.S. by 2050: Christians will drop from 78 percent of the population in 2010 to 66.4 percent; the Unaffiliated population will rise from 16.4 percent in 2010 to 25.6 percent; the Jewish population will drop slightly from 1.8 percent to 1.4 percent, and the Muslim population will double from 0.9 to 2.1 percent. Understanding the implications of this new religious pluralism is important, especially as Islam’s contribution to changes in American culture and society could be profound. As Muslims join mainstream American society they bring with them their religious values of social justice and of racial and ethnic equality to civil rights and human rights struggles (Haddad 2002:vii).

Unfortunately, Islamophobia is rampant and in the United States it has become commonplace among American citizens to associate Islam with Middle Eastern, radical, violent terrorists, which is understandable given the negative images reinforced through mass media and echoed by our politicians. However, Islam is one of the most diverse
racial and ethnic groups in the world, comprising nearly 1.4 billion adherents. According to the Teaching Tolerance: A Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center website (2015), approximately one-third of the Muslim population is African and African-American, a second third is of South Asian descent, one-quarter is of Arab descent, and the rest is from all over the world, with a growing Latin population (Curtis 2009:xi). While many believe that Islam is a religion of the Middle East, 40 percent of the global Muslim population is found in Southeast Asia, with Indonesia being the country with the largest population, representing 12.7 percent of the global Muslim population (Anderson 2007:9). Understanding the variability within and between these groups is important, particularly as it pertains to American Muslims. Like the rest of the population, the Muslim community is divided along lines of race, class, and ethnicity and because of their different life experiences, they often know very little about one another. Sixty percent of the American-Muslim population are immigrants, who lack a collective memory of Islam in the U.S. and lack deep and meaningful social ties to African-American Muslims, among whom Islam first developed as a religious “denomination” that was national in scope (Curtis 2009:xi). As the religious composition in the United States changes over the next few decades, it is necessary to provide the American public with accurate, unbiased information about a growing subset of the American population. This chapter focuses on the African-American Islamic population. Among this group, the presence of Islam can be traced back to the forcible exportation of Africans to the New World through the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Though there is evidence from a seafaring account that suggested African Muslims reached the New World during before Christopher Columbus (Austin 1997:3). To date, there is no
concrete archaeological evidence for this pre-slave trade presence of Muslims in the New World. Understanding the routes of Islam in the United States requires a basic understanding of what Islam is, and largely is not. Following this brief discussion, I examine the spread of Islam through North and West Africa, the impact of Islam in early America, and end with the significance of an early Muslim presence.

**The Birth of Islam**

Understanding the history of African Muslims and Islam as a whole requires a basic understanding of its development. Though there is a considerable difference in Islamic expressions amongst its diverse communities worldwide, there are certain core beliefs and practices that are shared (McCloud 1995:2). The basic definition of Islam is the ongoing act of submitting one’s will to the will of Allah, the sole God and Creator of all worlds. The moniker, Allah, was used before the final prophet received the revelations, and does not specify any gender (Anderson 2007:9). Adherents believe that submission and obedience to the will of Allah is the only way through which a person can ever achieve real peace in the heart and mind, and in society as a whole (Masood 1995:4). Unlike Christianity, Islam teaches the unity of God and rejects the Holy Trinity (Anderson 2007:9). The worldview centers around the revelations received by a forty-year old Arabian merchant, Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Abd-al-Muttalib, from God between 610 and 632.

The Prophet Muhammad was born into the Hashim clan of the Quraysh tribe in or around 570, a tribe that was responsible for maintaining the Ka'bah, a stone used in pagan rituals in the town of Mecca (Anderson 2007:10; Donner 1999:6). The Quraysh tribe were the guardians and stewards of the cult of Hubal and were involved in the trade of humble goods such as hides, which connected them to Arabia and the
surrounding lands (Donner 1999:6). After the death of his parents and grandfather, Muhammad spent his teen years traveling with his uncle as a merchant. During these travels he met a wealthy widow, Khadijah, who was 15 years his senior. He later married her and they had several children. Traditional sources suggest that he was a promising and respected young man who participated in Mecca’s cult activities and commerce, but who also had an inward, contemplative side, which was expressed by frequent periods of withdrawals to secluded spots for prolonged periods of meditation and reflection (Donner 1999:6). During once such period when he was 40, Muhammad received a vision from the angel Gabriel during the month of Ramadan (Anderson 2007:10-11). Collectively known as the Qu’ran, these revelations are held by Muslims as God’s direct and inalterable word (Gordon 2010:6). Initially, the concepts of Muhammad’s message were familiar in Arabia: the emphasis on monotheism; a Last Judgement; heaven and hell; prophecy and revelations; and the emphasis on intense, even militant, piety had been widespread in the Middle East since the sixth century (Donner 1999:8). However, as time passed, these revelations became more unusual: Muhammad claimed he could speak with the dead and prayed for the dead at one cemetery. He began preaching against greed, economic oppression, the idolatry of his time, and the polytheism of the Arab times. His controversial preaching’s and their effect of the commercial interests of those who profited from the worship at the Ka’bah in Mecca, eventually led him to flee from Mecca in 622 with his followers to Medina, where he was accepted as a prophet. His flight, known as the Hijra, marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar (Anderson 2007:12).
During his time in Medina, Muhammad proposed several key features of Islam including: 1) establishing the five pillars of Islam: the profession of faith, the offering of prayers five times a day, alms-giving, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and the obligation to go to Mecca once in one’s life if it can be afforded; 2) proposing that the Muslim holy day would be on Friday, so that it would not conflict with the Jewish Sabbath, and Muslims would pray towards Mecca rather than Jerusalem (Anderson 2007:12); and 3) dividing the world into two spheres, dar al-Islam (the house of submission, which refers to the government by Islamic law and tradition) and dar al-Harb (the house of war, which refers to those outside Muslim rule) (Anderson 2007:13). He also took control over Medina’s disparate population and helped to extend control over Medina’s power and influence in Arabia (Donner 1999:10). During his time in Medina, Muhammad was involved in an intense struggle with Mecca, which included raiding caravans and engaging in a number of battles against those who rejected his teachings and with the Jews. In one such battle, Muhammad and his army killed over 600 Jewish men and took their wives and children as reward (Anderson 2007:13). After a series of raids against the Quraysh, Muhammad finally negotiated a truce at Hudaybiya in 628 in exchange for giving his followers the right to make pilgrimage to Mecca’s shrine, the Kabba; and to subdue the Oasis of Khaybar, whose large Jewish population rejected the Prophet (Donner 1999:10). He later turned against Mecca in 630 and with an army of 10,000 men, Muhammad took the city. Most of the city converted to Islam after Muhammad demanded a pledge of allegiance from the citizens and destroyed the idols in the shrine in Mecca (Anderson 2007:14). In tandem with his struggles against Mecca, Muhammad had spent time slowly bringing more nomadic
groups and towns into Medina’s orbit as loose allies or full-fledged members of his community. Using the appeal of his religious message, promises of financial gain, or brute force, Muhammad solidified his position as the most powerful political leader in western Arabia (Donner 1999:10). Islam continued to grow, via religious persuasion and political alliance rather than force, following Muhammad’s death in 632; and it began its expansion into Persia to the east, northern Africa, and Spain to the west.

**Sunni-Shia Split**

Islam is not nor has it ever been a monolithic system. Thus within the first century of its birth, Islam had contending interpretations, social groups, and sources of legal authority that were characterized by a similar core (Leonard 2003:3). The most significant division within Islam is between Sunni Muslims, who comprise between 80 to 90 percent, and Shi’ite Muslims, who comprise 10 percent of the global population. This split occurred in the years following the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Although Muhammad had married nine times following the death of his wife Khadijiah, none of them bore a son (Hazelton 2009:9). Thus, his death posed a challenge to his followers—Who would lead them? Should there be one leader or many? Some, who would become the Sunni, chose Muhammad’s father-in-law, Abu Bakr, to assume the role of caliph, or successor, to Muhammad. However, many tribes sought political and religious independence, which initiated the Wars of Apostasy. Abu Bakr quelled the political and religious threats after two years and extended his control over the entire Arabian Peninsula (Anderson 2007:17). The Sunnites believed Abu Bakr to be the right successor because he was the most excellent of men after the prophet (Madelung 1998:1). They believe that the leader (*imam*) of the Muslim community should be selected on the basis of communal consensus, on the existing political order, and on a
leaders individual merits rather than blood succession (Blanchard 2005). Sunnites derive their name from the fact that they look to the Quran and the Sunna, the recorded behavior or example of Muhammad and of the early Muslim community in establishing proper Muslim conduct, i.e. they see themselves as more traditional Muslims (Anderson 2007:31). Followers who would become Shi’ites, supported the candidacy of Ali ibn Abi Talib, Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law, who had played a prominent role during Muhammad’s lifetime, but lacked seniority within the Arabian tribal system. Ali’s followers believed that the Abu Bakr’s two succeeding caliphs, Umar and Uthman, were illegitimate and that the Prophet Muhammad himself had chosen Ali to be his successor, and thus orchestrated the assassination of Caliph Uthman in 656 (Blanchard 2005). Shi’ites derive their name from the word Shi’ite which means partisan and refers to the fact that they are partisans of Ali (Anderson 2007:31). Conflict between the two groups was briefly resolved by a Muslim council, but ended with civil wars between the various factions. Doctrinal differences between the Shia and the Sunni persist to this day; most important is Shi’ites see themselves as opponents of privilege and power in Islam and assert that Islam took the wrong path after the assassination of Caliph Ali (Shultz and Dew 2009:201).

**Sufism**

Nayang (1996:xiv) argues that understanding the history of Islam in the United States would be incomplete if the role and place of the Sufi orders were not considered, especially as this form of Islam was brought to the New World with African Muslims during the slave trade. Sufism is the religious philosophy of Islam that can be described as the apprehension of divine realities (Nicholson 1963:1). It is not a religion nor does it create another church or new sect (Fatemi et al. 1976:13); rather it is an inseparable
element of Islam that only arises when abuse of Islam is rampant because Sufism upholds the real message of Islam (Haeri 1997:vii) by eliminating conflicts, feuds, fights, and uniting people in love and harmony (Fatemi 1976:13). The key to Sufism is the inner awakening, freedom, and joy through recognition of outer restriction by choice and discrimination (Haeri 1997:viii). Sufism has two sides, the philosophic and the mystic. Sufis see their God directly as having absolute Truth, absolute good, and absolute beauty (Fatemi 1976:13). The personal dimension of the relationship between God and self is stressed through emphasis on rituals and devotional practices designed to bring one closer to God; these rituals include the recitation of the Quran, incantations (dhikr), music to attain spiritual ecstasy (sama), mediation, action of devotion, asceticism, retreats (khalwa), and fasting (Diouf 1998:5).

Sufism arose in the first century after Islam in response to the struggle against increasing distortions and misrepresentations of its teachings. People in power used Islam to justify their own ends and discarded the aspects of Islam that did not suit their purposes or extravagant lifestyle (Haeri 1997:vii). At the height of moral decadence and the social injustice faced by the common man, Sufis raised their voices by initiating a protest against the formalism of orthodoxy in Islam, which gradually developed into a rebellion against the decadence, corruption and tyranny of a sick, material society (Fatemi 1976:27). Sufism arrived in Timbuktu in the fifteenth century from Maghreb and the northern Sahara, and by the sixteenth century Timbuktu’s leading scholars were Sufis (Levtzion 1999:484). However, Sufism made its first tangible appearance in West Africa in the eighteenth century and appears to have been a matter of individual devotion (Seesemann 2010).
African Muslims, West Africa, and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

Though trade between West Africa and the Mediterranean pre-dated Islam, the early presence of Islam in West Africa is inextricably linked to the intensification of trade and commerce in North Africa (Hill 2009). Following Arabian trade expeditions, conversion, and conquest in the seventh and eighth centuries, Islam penetrated Africa in three ways: 1) coming from North Africa across the Sahara to Bilad al-Sudan (The Lands of the Black People); 2) expanding southward from Egypt, following six centuries of resistance from Nubian Christians, and west to Darfur and Wadai; and 3) moving across the Arabian Peninsula to the Red Sea and eventually to the Horn of Africa (Levtzion 1999:475). Through trade with Arab and Berber Muslims from Egypt and North Africa in search of gold, ivory, and slaves, West Africans were introduced to Islam in the eighth century (Curtis 2009:4; Diouf 1998:4, 2013:20; Turner 2003:16). In its orthodox Sunni form, Islam spread after the conversion of War Diaby, from Takrur in northern Senegal, and Kosoy, from Gao in present-day Mali, that occurred at the beginning of the eleventh century (Diouf 1998:4). This endeavor was aided by several trade routes that connected sub-Saharan Africa with the Middle East, particularly in the Sahel, the ecological transition zone between the Sahara desert and the forest zone, which was home to the three great medieval empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay (Hill 2009). By the eleventh century, Arab and Berber traders had secured a base in the commercial centers of Awdaghust and Tadmekka in sub-Saharan Africa. From these towns, they began trading with the kingdoms of Bilad al-Sudan, Ghana, and Gao (Levtzion 1999:476). The spread of Islam through what is now Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali, and Nigeria was a slow and gradual process, as traders and their families peopled various towns in West Africa (Curtis 2009:5; Hill
Initially, Islam was limited to these segregated Muslim communities that were linked to the trans-Saharan trade, and as contact increased between Muslims and Africans, Muslim states began to emerge (Hill 2009). The capital cities of Bilad al-Sudan, Ghana, and Gao were composed of a Muslim town and a royal town, which allowed each group to practice its own religious rites without offending the other (Levtzion 1999:476). Several models have been developed to explain how and why Africans may have converted to Islam; some have emphasized an economic component, while others have focused on the appealing spiritual message and the prestige and influence of Arabic literacy in facilitating state building (Hill 2009).

Fundamental features of traditional religions and customs, such as the ritual sacrifice of animals, circumcision, polygamy, communal prayers, divination, and amulet making, were present in Islam, which helped to facilitate conversion and accommodation and tolerance of others’ rituals and beliefs (Diouf 1998:4). While the motivations of early African conversion remain unclear, it did not take long before Islam became an integral part of the West-African landscape, even though it was not the religion of the majority (Diouf 2013:21). In fact, Islam initially was an elite faith of traders and rulers before it was adapted by the agrarian people to fit their life circumstances (Curtis 2009:5). For instance, during Hill’s (2009) mixing stage, a period in which African rulers blended Islam with local traditions as the population selectively appropriated Islamic practices: the African city of Gao had a Muslim king and a mosque, the common people continued to practice their ancestral religion, and pre-Islamic customs persisted at the court. In contrast, the king of Takrur compelled his subjects to observe Islamic law and carried out jihad against his neighbors (Levtzion 1999:476). Early accounts emphasize the role
of rulers in facilitating the process of Islamization (Levtzion 1999:477). Despite the influence of the traders and craftspeople on the West-African black ruling elite, they had very little impact on rural areas before modernity (Turner 2003:17).

By the eleventh century, Islam had become a major factor in West Africa after the Almoravids, a non-black Orthodox Muslim militant Islamic group in the southwest Sahara, organized the Sanhaja Berbers in a holy war against non-Muslims in western Sudan in pursuit of economic and religious pursuits (Turner 2003:16). The Sanhaja Berbers realized early on that in Ghana, which was the center of the gold trade, there was a separate Muslim district that had been established under a Soninke polytheist ruler who employed Muslims in government affairs after the state converted to Islam by 1076 (Levtzion 1999:476; Turner 2003:16). Ghanaian conversion was likely the result of the influence of the Almoravids, who impressed them with their literacy, prayers and spiritual powers (Levtzion 1999:476; Turner 2003:16). Though they succeeded in making Islam the official religion of the Ghanaian Empire and Islamicized some of the black kingdoms and towns in Sudan, the Almoravoids lost their military power and eventually became wandering scholars and preachers of Islam in the Sudan (Turner 2003:16-17). It was not until the Songhay Empire fell to Morocco in 1591 that Muslims in West Africa were seriously affected by military power. The Songhay empire emerged from the ruins of the Mali Empire (1215-1450), which at its height encompassed most of modern Mali, Senegal, and parts of Mauritania and Guinea. It was a multi-ethnic state founded by Sunjiata Keita, who was not Muslim. By 1300, Malinke kings had converted to Islam, the most famous of which was Mansa Musa (1307-1332), who made Islam the state religion and went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 (Hill 2009). Despite borrowing
ideas about government, economics, and religion from the central Islamic lands, Mali
culturally and politically remained a non-Muslim, black African kingdom (Turner
2003:20). When Morocco seized control of Songhay’s salt mines it signaled the end of
the economic and political power of the empires that had sustained West-African Islam;
Timbuktu declined as a black Muslim intellectual center; Islam entered a slow and
steady decline that lasted until the 19th century; and the beginning of modernity, during
which there were major changes in the institution of slavery (Lovejoy 1983:66-78;
Turner 2003:21). By the 16th century, Timbuktu was home to between 150 and 180
Quranic schools, where students were able to study under a scholarly expert in that
field. The intellectual sphere in Timbuktu matched that of contemporary Morocco and
was influenced by Egyptian scholars (Levtzion 1999:483).

From its inception, slavery under Islam was a central issue for black people,
particularly following the fall of the Songhay. Arab Muslims had already been enslaving
black Muslims in record numbers in the name of jihad since the beginning of the
sixteenth century and taking control of the rich mineral resources of their lands, which
highlighted the separate and radical agenda Arabs had for black Muslims in West
Africa. Ghana, Songhay, Mali, Kanem, Bornu, Senegambia, the city states of the
Hausas, and Yorubas had been supplying Arab Muslims with black bodies for decades
in exchange for advantages that might consolidate their political and economic power in
West Africa. By the time of the emergence of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 15th
century, the European market had globalized West-African slavery and transformed the
institution into an industry and mode of production that changed the political and
22) refers to the “external trade for capitalist markets” a radical break in the history of Africa because of its numbers, brutal methods, and the involvement of politicians and merchants in its bureaucracy. The rise and expansion of the European slave trade into West Africa had a decided impact on the evolution of slavery, especially in areas along the Guinea coast where the influence of Islam had been weak or non-existent (Lovejoy 1983:18). Whereas the Arab Muslim slave trade of black bodies had stimulated moderate political instability in Africa, the expansion of the European slave trade was so ferocious that it surpassed the Islamic slave trade by 1600 and devastated the continent by permanently displacing 12.8 million people and dramatically transforming the economic and political structure of West Africa (Lovejoy 1983:18; Turner 2003:23).

Evidence for the Pre-Columbian Presence of Muslims in the New World

Though scant, there are multiple historical sources that suggest that Muslims from Spain and West Africa arrived in the Americas at least five centuries before Columbus (Ahmad 2014; Austin 1997:3; Mroueh 2012; Husain, Woods, and Akhter 1996). For instance, Mroueh (2012) notes three examples from primary sources that offer evidentiary support to this claim: (1) Abul- Hassan Ali ibn Al-Hussain Al-Masudi’s (871-957 CE) Muruj adh-dhahab wa maadin alijawhar (The Meadows of Gold and Quarries of Jewels)¹, Masudi wrote that a Muslim navigator, Khashkhash ibn Saeed ibn Asward, from Cordoba, Spain sailed from Delba (Palos) in 889 CE and crossed the Atlantic, where he encountered an unknown territory and returned with fabulous treasures; (2) Abu Bakf ibn Umar Al-Gutiyya, a Muslim historian, narrated that another

¹See Agha Hakim, Al-Mirza Riyaadh Al-Ulama (Arabic), Vol. 2 pp. 386/ Vol. 4 pp.175
Muslim navigator, Ibn Farrukh, from Granada sailed from Kadesh in February 999 CE and landed in the Great Canary Islands after which he continued westward, encountering two islands and naming them Capraria and Pluitana; and (3) When Columbus sailed for Gomera (Canary Islands), an Arabic word meaning small firebrand, he eventually met and fell in love with Beatriz Bobadilla, the daughter of the first captain general of the island. All of this was eight years before Columbus landed on an island in the Bahamas known by the natives as Guanahani, which is derived from Mandinka and modified Arabic words meaning Hani brothers.

Geographic exploration of Muslims in the New World is described by several authors. In the 12th century, Al-Sharif al-Idrisi, an Arab geographer, reported on the journey of a group of African seamen who reached the America in his book *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq* (*Excursion of the Longing One in Crossing Horizons*). Having left Portugal, the men sailed into the sea of darkness and fog (the Atlantic Ocean) and reached an island that was cultivated and settled by people; on the fourth day, a translator spoke to them in the Arabic language (Ahmad 2014; Mroueh 2012). This encounter provides evidence of contact between Muslim seamen and indigenous peoples in the Americas and describes the inter-American exchange of Islamic culture and Arabic Language (Ahmad 2014:923; Quick 1996a, 1996b). Shaikh Zayn Eddine Ali Ben Fadhil Al-Mazandarani described his journey across the “sea of fog and darkness” from South Morocco during the reign of King Abu-Yacoub Sidi Youssef (1286-1307) to

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3 See Bell, Barry 1976 America Before Columbus. New York.
the Green Island in the Caribbean in 1291. The details of his journey are mentioned in Islamic references⁴. Sultan Mansu Kankan Musa (1312-1337), the Mandinka monarch of the West-African Islamic empire of Mali, travelled to Makkam on his Hajj in 1324, where he informed the scholars of the Mamluk Bahri sultan court in Cairo that his brother Abu Kakari I (1285-1312) had undertaken two expeditions in the Atlantic Ocean, the second of which he never returned from⁵. Finally, during Columbus’s first trans-Atlantic voyage he was accompanied by two Muslim captains, Martin Alonso Pinzon of the Pinta and his brother Vicente Yanez Pinzon of the Nina, who were both wealthy, expert ship outfitters that organized the expedition and prepare the Santa Maria at their own expense. The Pinzon family was related to Abuzayan Muhammad III, the Moroccan sultan of the Marinid dynasty⁶. Despite seafaring accounts, the first identifiable Muslim in North America was Estevancio, a black Moroccan guide and interpreter who arrived in Florida in 1527 from Spain with the Panfilo de Narvaez expedition (Turner 2003:11). During the Spanish control of Florida (1565-1763), Fort Mose and St. Augustine had a significant black population (Landers 1990); by the 18th century the third largest African ethnicity was “Mandingo”, a group that certainly contained Muslims (Landers 1988:27-28).

Estevancio’s story is unique because he was one of the first native Africans to explore the American Southwest and who encountered the Zuni Indians (Wright 1902). He was enslaved after the Portuguese captured his hometown of Azemmour, Morocco

in 1513 and was later sold as a personal servant to Andres de Dorantes of Bejar del Castanar of old Castille; though he was enslaved by del Castanar, they became good friends. (University of California, Irvine n.d.). Following the collapse of the de Narvaez expedition to Florida, Estevancio was one of only four survivors of the original 600 explorers to reach the Spanish territory in modern day Mexico after surviving for more than a decade as slaves to native tribes. Upon reaching Mexico, the other three survivors returned to Europe, while Estevancio was sold to Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain. Putting Estevancio’s rare knowledge of the area beyond New Spain to use, Mendoza ordered him to lead Franciscan Fray Marcos de Niza to explore the area to the north. Though Estevancio was well received by several tribes and developed a rather large entourage, he was later killed by the Zuni who believe him to be the envoy of war (Gordon 2006).

Given this evidence, it must be understood that the Old and New Worlds were not as isolated as once thought, and people mingled and exchanges ideas long before Columbus used information gained from Muslims to explore the New World (Winters 1977:57).

**The First True Wave of Muslims**

The true roots of Islam in America can be traced to the West-African Muslim men, women, and children who were forcibly removed to their homelands. It was no accident that they were sold into slavery. As Diouf (2013:37) argues, there were political, religious, and social reasons why these particular people were the victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and either willingly or through coercion African kingdoms were necessary participants. The Muslims who were brought to the Americas were enslaved through a variety of military conquests over a period of more than 350 years.
and sold as prisoners. These military conquests established a regular slave trade, in which there was first a mass deportation of Senegambian, many of whom were Muslim, and then Muslims from a wider area as Spaniards attempted to regulate and limit human trade (Diouf 2013:39). Aside from military conquests, abduction was another method to fuel the human flesh supply. Unlike war, abductions were less costly, less dangerous, but also were less lucrative because those who were abducted were usually individuals or small groups. Diouf (2013:55) argues that the most likely targets for abduction were those who travelled frequently and far, such as Muslim students, teachers, traders, and pilgrims. Muslims were sold by non-Muslims to Europeans because of their religion, while Muslims sold “non-believers” because Islam allowed it, which coincidentally expanded Islam’s converts. Europeans needed African kingdoms to drive captives towards the coast; they viewed inland Africa as a dark, forbidding, dangerous land. Dirks (2006:76) notes that native Africans fabricated tales of cannibalism and exotic dangers to keep the European slavers confined to the “safety” of the coastal areas. While it is unknown the exact number of African Muslims who were captured and sold into slavery, scholars such as Austin (1984:29-36), Ernst (2003:18), and Jacques and Jacques (1984:394) estimate that the figure ranges between 10 and 40 percent. Austin (1984:29-36) argues that before the American Revolutionary War, African Muslims comprised 10 percent of the enslaved population, but following the war, the number of African Muslims increased as slave owners gained a preference for Senegambians because of their knowledge of rice production.

**Literacy**

Of the unique elements brought by African Muslims from the Old World, literacy is one of the most distinct. A large majority of those who were sold and shipped to the
America’s were urban, in many cases well-traveled, and literate, which in itself is impressive because the majority of African civilizations relied on oral tradition and lacked a writing system (Diouf 1998:1). In Islam, literacy in Arabic is of primary importance because its believers rely not only on the Quran to understand the religion but also to guide them in their daily life; provide them with the right prayers for different circumstances; and to instruct them on legal matters and proper social behavior (Diouf 2013:23). Prior to their enslavement, African Muslims would have studied the Qur’an and may have been familiar with major sections of the Bible (Dirks 2006:90). The stereotype that African slaves were illiterate, savages, devoid of any civilization is unfortunate, and even more malicious when attributed to Muslim slaves. Unlike in the norm in Europe, peasants and girls were taught to read and write; however, basic the education might have been (Diouf 1998:7). Diouf (2013:25) argues that literacy was so strong and widespread in Muslim West Africa, that by the end of the nineteenth century, the French estimated that as many as 60 percent of all Senegalese were literate in Arabic. In comparison, Dirks (2006:89) notes that the literacy rate among European and American females was almost non-existent and was substantially lower than the 20 percent literacy rate found among Muslim females in West Africa. This alone combats the statement made by Noah Webster: “Of the wooly-haired Africans who constitute the principal part of the inhabitants of Africa, there is no history and there can be none. That race has remained in barbarism from the first ages of the world” (Turner 2003:11). In addition to their literacy, African Muslims were bilingual at the very least, speaking Arabic and their native language, and at best trilingual or better, having previously learned Turkish or one of the other many European languages (Dirks 2006:89).
It is because of their literacy that we have gained insight into their lives as African princes, teachers, soldiers, and scholars (Turner 2003:12). As we will see in the next few sections, African Muslims received preferential treatment because of their education and were distinguished by their leadership abilities. This preferential treatment or tolerance of African-Muslim slaves over non-Muslim slaves is indicated by the considerable writing that emerged through Muslim slave narratives. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, African Muslim slaves captured the American imagination as Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, Omar Ibn Said, and Nicolas Said, among others, began publishing their autobiographies. Their narratives have proven to have been an invaluable resource for understanding their experiences under slavery and how they were treated and represented (Aidi and Marable 2009:3). The first known Muslim slave to have gained freedom for his literacy is Ayyub Suleiman Ibrahima Diallo (1701-1773), also known as Job Ben Solomon. Born in the Kingdom of Futa, Diallo was a prominent member of the Fulbe family of Muslim religious leaders. He was captured in 1730 by Mandingos while on a trip to the coast to buy paper and sell two of his father’s slaves to English traders; he arrived on the same ship to which he had planned to sell the slaves. In 1731, Thomas Bluett, an English minister, heard about Diallo and arranged to meet him while he was imprisoned in Maryland for attempting to run away. So impressed by his devotion to Islam and his education in Arabic, Bluett arranged for Diallo to go to England in 1733. While in England, he wrote out several copies of the Qur’an from memory and translated other Arabic materials for the Royal Society. Bluett published Diallo’s biography in London in 1734, and the Royal African Company arranged for his return to Africa, where he was used to trade slaves, gold, and rum. Diallo eventually
returned to his hometown of Bondu (Aidi and Marable 2009:7; Austin 1997:51-69; Bluett 1734:79-93; Turner 2003:26). Another well-known African Muslim, Bilali of Sapelo Island, is remembered for having wrote an Arabic text which was placed inside his coffin along with a prayer rug. The text was a collection of pieces from the Maliki legal text ar-Risala that attempted to reconcile the law of Islam with leading a principled life (Aidi and Marable 2009:3). Though hundreds of narratives were written, few were written by native born Africans. Viewed in a historical context, Aidi and Marable (2009:7) argue that the narratives of African-born slaves would not have been promoted by abolitionists because they were viewed as too alien to gain a wide readership and the narratives of African Muslims often times gave descriptions of Islamic teachings and life in America rather than the horrors depicted by other slaves.

**Resistance**

What is most impressive about this group of people is they were able to maintain their faith in spite of a hostile Christian environment. Their intellectual resistance to Christian conversion, through keeping their African names, writing in Arabic, and continuing to practice their religion, is astonishing. Turner (2003:24) argues that they preserved their Islamic identities through the refusal to internalize the Christian racist significations that justified the institution of slavery, an institution that had attempted to eradicate all aspects of African heritage in the slave quarters by stripping slaves of their culture. Furthermore, Turner (2003:25) argues:

> As African Muslims signified themselves as the people they wanted to be in America, they transformed Islam to meet the demands of survival and resistance in the “strange Christian land.” Their significations turned their history, religion, and genealogies into “an instrument of identity and transformation” in America. For African Muslims, the practice of jihad through armed warfare against unbelievers was not possible in America. Instead, they reinterpreted jihad as an “inner struggled with the ego,” a
resistance to oppression, and a struggle for justice in an unjust land. In this context, writing in Arabic, fasting, wearing Muslim clothing, and reciting and reflecting on the Quran were the keys to an inner struggle of liberation against Christian tyranny.

This “quiet and complaint” behavior was typical of enslaved African Muslims in the continental U.S.; instead of violent resistance, American-enslaved African Muslims practiced intellectual resistance. In comparison, their Latin American-Muslim counterparts are known for their often violent resistance. For example, hundreds of African Muslim slaves planned and executed a major slave uprising in Bahia, Brazil in 1835 (Turner 2003:24). The roles of Muslim slaves in these forms of violent resistance cannot be understated; their ability to communicate orally and through written means allowed them to maintain secret communication prior to and during revolts (Dirks 2006:106). The ability of African Muslims to retain their faith can be aptly described contempt for their Christian captors. Charles Ball (1837:209), an enslaved African American who served in the War of 1812, noted that:

…the native Africans are revengeful, and unforgiving in their tempers, easily provoked, and cruel (sic) in their designs. They generally place little, or even no value, upon the fine houses and superb furniture of their masters; and discover no beauty in the fair complexions, and delicate forms of their mistresses. They feel indignant at the servitude that is imposed upon they and only want power to inflict the most cruel retribution upon their oppressors, but they desire only the means of subsistence, and temporary gratification in this country, during their abode here.

African Muslims did not hold their white masters in contempt because of their race, nor because Islam teaches them to despise the Bible or Torah. Islam holds Christianity and Judaism in high esteem, but Muslims believe that Jews and Christians do not follow their holy books (Diouf 2013:130). African Muslims could also see how conversion was used as a justification of slavery rather than a means of emancipation; how debaucherous the Christian men were as they sexually exploited women (Diouf
This bitterness towards Christianity, rather than whiteness alone, would follow African Americans into the twentieth century.

**Treatment**

While Muslim slaves were subjected to the same hardships as other slaves, they received preferential treatment. Gomez (1998:60) believes that the “most lasting [and]…most salient impact” of Islam in colonial and antebellum America “was its role in the process of social stratification within the larger African-American society.” By this, he means the placement of African Muslims in positions of power over non-Muslims slaves and their preferential treatment by overseers who believed that the features of Fulbe, Mande, and Senegambian slaves closely resembled that of Europeans. American slave owners thus viewed Muslim slaves as “more intelligent, more reasonable, more physically attractive, more dignified people (Aidi and Marable 2009:2; Puckett 1926:528-529).” Diouf (1998:102) argues that slave owners and authors during the 18th and 19th centuries had a tendency to depict African-Muslim slaves a Moorish, Arab or of Oriental origin because to accept them as Africans would have posed an ideological threat to the American racial order. This clear distinction between Africans and Muslims would permeate deep into the twentieth century, as the experiences and narratives of African-Muslim slaves laid the intellectual groundwork for the black-Muslim movements (Aidi and Marable 2009:11). It would encourage other non-Muslim slaves and free African Americans after the Civil War to claim Moorish or Arab descent, some would even go as far as to convert to Islam.

**Islam and the Founding Fathers**

Ahmad (2014:931) argues that the most crucial remnant of Islam from early America is the influence of Sharia law or Islamic jurisprudence on the democratic ideals,
particularly religious pluralism, and morals of the Founding Fathers as they drafted the Constitution. Sharia or Islamic law, meaning path, is a guideline for all aspects of Muslim life that is derived from the Quran and the Sunna, the sayings, practices, and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Muslims in Medina under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad drafted the first written constitution in the world in the seventh century (Hallaq 2005). These constitutional precedents are visible in American constitutional debates in several ways. For instance, while arguing for the right for the federal government to have the right to impose taxes, Alexander Hamilton referred to the example of the Ottoman Empire by stating that a strong central government would protect people from oppressive local governments (Ahmad 2014:933). When Rep. Keith Ellison, a Democrat from Minnesota took office on January 3, 2007, he took his oath with a two-volume English translation (by George Sale), of the Qu’ran, that was purchased by Thomas Jefferson when he was a student in Williamsburg, Virginia (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation n.d.; Hammer 2014). Jefferson purchased the Qu’ran after reading about Muslim civil rights from one of his intellectual heroes, John Locke. Locke advocated the toleration of Muslims and Jews following the footsteps of others who had been considering the matter since the 16th century. As a result of European precedents, Islam and its practitioners became a part of American debates about religion and the limits of citizenship (Spellberg 2013:4). The founding fathers raised concerns about whether the United States would be an exclusively Protestant or a religiously plural polity, and if the latter would have the full rights of citizenship including access to the presidency, would be extended to non-Protestants. For example, in 1788, William Lancaster, a delegate to the North Carolina convention to ratify the Constitution,
projected his fears that Mahometans (Muslims) would occupy the presidency of the United States if Article VI section three of the Constitution was approved. A clause in this article stipulated that no religious test would ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust in the United States. Lancaster argued that the passage of this clause would open the door to all non-Protestants, which fueled a day-long debate about Muslims who became central to the definition of American ideals of religious and political rights. (Spellberg 2006). In that same year, James Madison wrote to Thomas Jefferson and said, “I am sure that the rights of conscience in particular, if submitted to public definition would be narrowed much more than they are ever likely to be by an assumed power”. Continuing on, Madison listed a number of Muslims who he believed would negatively affected if “future” Muslim citizens were not permitted to freely worship (Muhammed 2013b:6). In addition to religious freedom, the founding fathers borrowed the ideals of *shura* (decision-making by consensus), the separation of power principles (separate and distinct branches of government), and judicial review from the Constitution of Medina (Ahmad 2014:934).

Apart from the Constitution, Muslims also influenced American presidents and policymakers in significant ways. In 1764, Benjamin Franklin invoked a passionate story of the Prophet Muhammed rebuking a cruel Muslim for not being merciful in time of conflict while advocating for the humane treatment of Native Americans persecuted by his Christian brethren (Muhammed 2013b:6). In 1777, Morocco became the first nation to seek diplomatic relations with the United States and was the first of any Arab, African, or Muslim country to enter into a treaty with the United States. *The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States and Morocco* was signed by John Adams and
Thomas Jefferson in 1787, which remains the longest unbroken treaty of its kind in U.S. history (Muhammed 2013b:50). Following President Lincoln’s death, General Otman Hashem travelled 5,000 miles to deliver condolences from Tunisia on Lincoln’s death and their congratulations on the end of the Civil War. In 1865, the now defunct Norfolk Post republished an article written by President Andrew Lincoln praising Gen. Hashem for his anti-slavery humanitarianism. The Norfolk Post, included President’s Johnsons remarks that the general was favorably known to Americans and was above all a statesmen devoted to the extinction of slavery—at that time the 13th amendment abolishing slavery had not yet become law (Muhammed 2013a). The previous year, another Tunisian general, Hussein Pasha, made a highly regarded passionate plea for the eradication of U.S. slavery, which was forwarded to Secretary of State William Seward and later included in executive documents published by the House of Representatives (Muhammed 2013a).

The Fight for American Geopolitical Interests

According to a Huffington Post piece, a 2013 YouGov poll showed that 44 percent of American citizens questioned the loyalty of Muslims to the United States and that older Americans and those who tend to vote Republican are more likely to view Muslims as being less patriotic than other religious groups (Considine 2015). Despite prevailing stereotypes due to ignorance, Muslims have defended American soil, and fought for American independence and for the preservation of the Union. Though there were undoubtedly more, there were four known African Muslims who served in the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) under the command of General George Washington: Bampett Muhamed, Yusef Ben Ali, Salem Poor (also known as Joseph Benhaley), and Peter Salem (also known was Peter Buckminster). Among these
individuals, Muhamed served as a corporal for the duration of the war (Curtis 2010:561). Yusef Ben Ali, was a North-African Arab who was worked as an aide to General Thomas Sumter of South Carolina, while Poor is believed to have fired the gun that killed British Major General John Pitcarin at the Battle of Bunker Hill (Considine 2015; Curtis 2010:561). The Muslim imprint can also be seen in the Battle of Derna and in the Mameluke Sword carried by the U.S. Marine Corps. The Mameluke Sword, which is the oldest ceremonial weapon in use by the U.S. forces today, was originally given to Lieutenant Presley O'Bannon in 1805 by a Mameluke chieftan in North Africa. In the Battle of Derna, Lt. O'Bannon and his marines marched 600 miles across North Africa to rid the shores of pirates and to rescue the kidnapped crew of the USS Philadelphia. By 1825, all Marine officers carried this sword in recognition of the battle, which was the Marine Corps’ first on foreign soil (Muhammed 2013b:49). In the War of 1812, records indicate that three men with Muslim last names were enlisted: Bilali Muhammad (of Sapelo Island, Georgia), Jacob Amin, and John Hamin, who served as a corporal in the Fourth Company of the Virginia Militia. Bilali is thought to have led a group of Muslim slaves against a British invasion in order to defend the seacoast (Curtis 2010:561). And finally, in the years leading up to the civil war, Charles Sumner stated that Islam’s position on the just treatment of slaves and their preference toward emancipation were words worthy of adoption and that former slaves under Muslim rule often took eminent posts. Sumner, who would later be elected as U.S. senator from Massachusetts, pushed President Lincoln to embrace emancipating the slaves. The African Muslim, Nicolas Said, who served as a Union soldier and was active in politics following the war, was regarded so strongly that an 1867 Nation article described him as being worth
enough to be the vice president of the United States (Muhammed 2013a). Following the war, Said founded several schools for black children in the South during Reconstruction (Muhammed 2013b:62).

Conclusion

While enslaved, African Muslims may have left no self-sustaining communities, their cultural and ideological legacy has endured, particularly in the sea islands of Georgia and South Carolina. In the 1930s, the Georgia Writer’s Project collected stories from African Americans along the Georgia coast, which helped to shed light on the men and women that the informants knew were African born and enslaved along the Georgia coast. In one such example, Katie Brown, who was a descendant of Bilali Muhammed, on Sapelo Island stated:

Yes’m I knows about Belali. He wife Phoebe. He hab plenty daughtuhs, Magret, Bentoo, Chaa-lut, Medina, Yaruba, Fatima, and Hestuh. Magret an uh daughtuh Cotto use tuh say det Belali an he wife Phoebe pray on duh bead. Dey wuz very puhticluh bout duh time dey pray an dey bery regluh bout duh hour. Wen duh sun come up, wen it straight obuh head an wen it set, das duh time dey prey. Dey bow tuh duh sun an hab lill mat tuh kneel on. Duh beads is on a long string. Belali he pull bead an he say, ‘Belambi, Hakabara, Mahamadu.’ Phoebe she say, ‘Ameen, Ameen (Georgia Writer’s Project 1940:161).

The research of the Georgia Writer’s Project (1940), which was primarily focused on collecting stories involving conjuring, magic, root doctors, spells, potions, charms, etc. was compiled into Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes. It holds invaluable clues about the residuals of enslaved African-Muslim life, especially about prayer, the ways in which they overcame their inability to perform the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, their clothing, the production and consumption of Saraka, a special rice cake, and music. The relative isolation of the sea islands from the mainland helped to preserve Muslim traditions. The extent to which these traditions are
maintained within broader African-American culture remains speculative, according to Aidi and Marable (2009:4).

What is not debated, however, is the ideological impact enslaved African Muslims had on the rise of Black Nationalist movements in the 20th century. Diouf (2013:251) argues that while the orthodox Islam brought by enslaved Africans did not survive because it failed to be transmitted to the children and to convert the unbelievers, it has contributed to the culture and history of the continents. Marable and Aidi (2009:2) argue that the impact of the early African-Muslim presence on American racial discourse and representations of the Islamic world is crucial to understanding the different Islamic movements that emerged in early twentieth-century African America. As I explore in Chapter Three, the resistance, self-determination, and education of enslaved African-Muslim slaves, like Yarrow Mamout, would form the core values of the ideological movements of African Americans in the twentieth century, which provide a crucial link between the past and present. This is their history.
CHAPTER 3
FROM AN IDEOLOGY TO A MOVEMENT: THE HISTORICAL LINKS BETWEEN PAN-AFRICANISM, BLACK NATIONALISM, AND THE RISE OF ISLAM IN AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES BY THE 1920S

When we say so-called Negro that's pointing out what we aren’t, but it isn’t telling us what we are. We are Africans, and we happen to be in America. We are not Americans. We are a people who formerly were Africans who were kidnapped and brought to America. Our forefathers weren’t the Pilgrims. We didn’t land on Plymouth Rock; the rock landed on us. We were brought here against our will; we were not brought here to be made citizens. We were not brought here to enjoy the constitutional gifts that they speak so beautifully about today...So our unwanted presence—the fact that we are unwanted is becoming magnified in all of American’s preachers today...

—Malcolm X
Ballot or the Bullet, Washington Heights, N.Y., 1964

Throughout the 18th, 19th, and even early 20th centuries, there was a false division between non-Muslim and Muslim enslaved Africans/African Americans by authors and slave owners, leading many non-Muslim, African Americans, free and enslaved, to claim that they were of Moorish or Arab descent. Some even went as far as to convert to Islam in order to escape the oppression of Jim Crow in the late 19th century (Aidi and Marable 2009:11). It was a known fact that among the enslaved, Muslims received preferential treatment over non-Muslims because their education and physical features were increasingly associated with Arabs, Berbers, and Moors. The need to “de-Negroize” African-Muslim slaves, as I demonstrated in Chapter Two, was performed in order to save white Christians from the ideological threat to the preferred racial order. This treatment would lead prominent black leaders, like Booker T. Washington, to lament that “a dark-skinned man...a citizen of Morocco” is allowed into a local hotel from which he [Washington], “an American Negro,” is banned (Washington 1993:103).” At the same time the very qualities that set Muslims apart from other blacks—their names, religious based dietary restrictions, rituals, modest dress, literacy
in Arabic, former high social status, and ethnicity—impressed non-Muslim blacks, for within those distinctive features, they saw resistance, self-determination, and education. These qualities inspired the Black Nationalist movements in the twentieth century that lead African Americans to not only rediscover Africa, but to (re)discover Islam as an “authentic” black man’s religion. This link to Islam, provided by the ideological rather than physical, bridge between enslaved African Muslims and free blacks in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, offered a solution to the problem of identity. Likewise, Islam provided twentieth century African Americans with the tools they felt were needed to unite the black community in order to escape the oppression caused by racism. In this chapter, I explore the ideological bridge between enslaved African Muslims and the contemporary African-American Muslim community in order to argue that while the Islam practiced by contemporary African-American Muslims may be homegrown it is no less legitimate than the Orthodox Islam brought by immigrants and their children, it just serves a different secular purpose. In Chapter Two I reintroduced the history of African Islam. This chapter reintroduces the legacy of African Islam and its contributions to African-American history, identity, and struggles for social justice—a critical goal addressed by this work—during the first two decades of the 20th century.

**The Golden Age of Pan-Africanism and Nationalism**

Resistance. Self-Determination. Education. These qualities form the basis of the legacy enslaved African Muslims gifted to the Black Nationalist and Islamic movements of the twentieth century. Though the religion they brought with them was defunct among slave populations by the mid-19th century, enslaved African Muslims planted the seeds of Pan-Africanism, multi-culturalism, and black bitterness towards Christian racism into the minds and souls of the enslaved and their descendants (Gardell 1996:36; Turner
Understanding the underlying ideology between the “old” Islam of the enslaved Africans and the “new” Islam of the twentieth century is crucial to the deconstruction of the double discrimination contemporary African-American Muslims face, which will be addressed in Chapter Four. This section traces the early development of Pan-Africanist and Black Nationalist ideologies in the 18th and 19th centuries in order to provide an ideological bridge between enslaved African Muslims and contemporary African-American Muslims.

Wilson J. Moses refers to the period between 1850 and 1925 as “the golden age” of Black Nationalists, with the exception of Elijah Muhammad and Minister Louis Farrakhan (who lived outside this period) (Gardell 1996:12; Juergensmeyer 1993:2). However, in order to discuss Black Nationalism, especially in the context of the movements of the twentieth century, it is necessary to talk about “classical” Black Nationalism, which has roots in the early nineteenth century and the rise of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is an ideology that can be described as, “seeking political, socio-economic, religious, educational, and cultural self-determination for Africans and for blacks in the African Diaspora, [that is] informed by fierce pride in African history and culture” (Adi, Sherwood, and Vinson 2005). In other words, Pan-Africanism seeks to encourage and strengthen the bonds of solidarity between people of the African diaspora. Through unity, Pan-Africanists believe that political, socio-economic, religious, educational, and cultural-determination progress for people of the African diaspora can be achieved. Unity, which can also be thought of as a collective destiny, is the shared experience and ‘race’ of Africans and their descendants; for many Pan-Africanists the shared experience is the direct or indirect exposure to European imperial or colonial
projects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gardell (1996:12) argues that both Pan-Africanists and classical Black Nationalists were influenced by European, especially German, 19th century discourses on race; which saw race as transcending biology by acquiring national romantic meanings of a spiritual, psychological, and cultural kinds. Racial solidarity in a wider sense was organic, and members of a race shared mental and spiritual qualities. Thus, Pan-Africanism was envisioned as a way to bring about social and political change to white hegemonic power on a global, rather than national level (Lenhardt 2016).

As an ideology, Pan-Africanism began emerging during the mid-18th century, as enslaved and free blacks began realizing that the civil rights promised by the freedom won by the American independence did not apply to them (Esedebe 1994:8). Pan-Africanism was conditioned by three factors: 1) the racism and repression that characterized the everyday experiences of black people in the United States; 2) though the historical roots lie with African Americans in the United States and Caribbean, Pan-Africanism was conditioned by events in Africa, namely the fact that African countries were considered to be shining examples of black achievement in a world dominated by white racism and imperialism; and 3) that Africa offered the opportunity for enterprising blacks (Abdul and Associates 2004:292). Pan-Africanism grew from an idea to a movement with the Chicago Congress on Africa in 1893, whose participants included Alexander Crummell, Yakub Pasha, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, Bishop Alexander Walters, J. Ormond Wilson, of the American Colonization Society, Edward Blyden and Booker T. Washington (Esedebe 1994:39).
Classical Black Nationalism also began emerging in the 18th century. It reached its first peak in the 1850s and then declined towards the end of the Civil War before peaking again in the 1920s as a result of Garveyism (see Moses 1988; Turner 2003:49). Some historians, according to Moses (1996:2) define Black Nationalism broadly enough to include Pan-Africanism; however, he argues that such a definition is too broad to be meaningful. By definition, Black Nationalism is “belief that a group possesses, or ought to possess, a country; that it shares, or ought to share, a common heritage of language, culture, and religion; and that it’s heritage, way of life, and ethnic identity are distinct from those of other groups” (Pinkey 1978:4). A key component of Black Nationalism of the 19th century was that it was a racial nationalism, based on the assumption that membership into a race could function as the basis of a national identity, such as that proposed by other 19th century Japanese, Italian, and German nationalists (Moses 1996:5). Race for classical Black Nationalists was based on organic views that were derived from contemporary Western theories about races as different personalities (Gardell 1996:12). Moses (1982:17,27) describes the goals of Black Nationalism as the:

…attempts to unify politically all [black] peoples whether they are residents of African territories or descendants of those Africans who were dispersed by the slave trade… Black Nationalism has sometimes but not always, been concerned with the quest for a nation in the geographic sense. But often it has been nationalism only in the sense that it seeks to unite the entire black racial family, assuming the entire race has a collective destiny and message for humanity comparable to that of a nation. For this reason, it is impossible to speak of Black Nationalism without simultaneously speaking of Pan-Africanism.

As an ideology or a philosophy, Black Nationalists advocate for black self-determination; racial solidarity and group self-reliance; various forms of voluntary racial separation; pride in the historic achievements of those of African descent; a concerted effort to
overcome racial self-hate; and to instill black self-love; militant resistance to anti-black racism; the development and preservation of a distinctive black ethnocultural identity; and the recognition of Africa as the true homeland of those who are racially black (Shelby 2003). What is most important to point out is Black Nationalism is fundamentally different from white nationalism. Whereas white nationalism is always reactionary, is chauvinistic, includes racism, and is never a progressive force, Black Nationalism expresses the desire of black people to be free and represents the nationality of the oppressed (Abdul and Associates 2004:292).

Historically, both Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism arose as a response to the racist oppression faced by the African diaspora. Understanding the experiences and the core thoughts of some of Pan-Africanism’s forefathers helps to bridge the ideological gap between enslaved African Muslims and the rise of Black Nationalist and Islamic movements in the twentieth century. Three of Pan-Africanism’s and classical Black Nationalism’s forefathers—Edward Wilmot Blyden, Alexander Crummell, and Martin Robinson Delany—will be reviewed as well as Henry McNeal Turner. Turner is important to this discussion because he exemplifies why African Americans became discouraged and developed a bitterness towards Christianity, which helped open the door to alternative religions, such as Islam. Despite proposing and debating different ideas about black emigration to Africa and ways to solve the problem of racism, collectively their ideas could be described by goals the Constitution of the African Civilization Society in 1858:

…the civilization and Christianization of Africa, of the descendants of African ancestors in any portion of the earth, wherever dispersed. Also, the destruction of the African slave trade, by the introduction of lawful commerce and trade into Africa…and generally, the elevation of the
condition of the colored population of our country, and of other lands (Moses 1978:18; Turner 2003:48-49).

Though these are not the only major players in Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism by the end of the 19th century, when considered together their stories and contributions to the rise of Black Nationalist and Islamic movements in the 20th century help provides an ideological bridge between those movements and the ideology that helped sustain the minds, bodies, and sprits of enslaved African Muslims.

**Edward Wilmot Blyden**

Edward Blyden (1832-1912), who is sometimes called the “father” of Pan-Africanism, was an educator, writer, diplomat, and politician. Born to a tailor and a schoolteacher, Blyden was raised by his parents in a predominantly Jewish and English speaking community in the West Indies where he attended the integrated Dutch Reformed Church. Romen and Judith Blyden, his parents, were free and literate during a time in the West Indies when slavery had not yet been abolished (Adi and Sherwood 2005:11; Gardell 1996:19). He immigrated to the United States from the West Indies in 1850 to attend Rutgers Theological College. Though he was a promising candidate for the Presbyterian ministry, Blyden was denied admission because of his race (Gardell 1996:19; Turner 2003:48). That same year the United States Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, which required that all escaped slaves be returned to their masters upon capture and that officials and citizens of free states were required to cooperate. Fear of being captured lead Blyden to embrace the American Colonization Society (ACS), an organization established by white Americans for the purposes of making Africa a homeland for free blacks (Adi and Sherwood 2005:11; Turner 2003:48). The ACS, was led by Presbyterian ministers John Pinney, Walter Lowie, and William
Coppinger. In December of 1850, Blyden travelled to Liberia, with the help of these sponsors, to bring Christianity and civilization to the people of the dark continent (Adi and Sherwood 2005:11; Turner 2003:48). By 1858, Blyden had been ordained as a Presbyterian Minister and was appointed Principal of the Alexander High School in Liberia.

While he was in Liberia Blyden made the connection between Islam and the plight of blacks, and began collaborating with Alexander Crummell. Turner (2003:51) argues that Blyden’s initial interest in Islam, specifically of global Islam, may have been sparked by some of Omar ibn Said’s manuscripts as well as well as the role of Islam in the level of learning among and the unification of African Muslims. Blyden, though ultimately wrong, believed that Islam lacked racial prejudice which led him to conclude that because it promoted brotherhood it was a more suitable religion for people of African descent than Christianity. As Blyden became aware of the different status blacks had under Islam compared to Christianity he stated: “The Negro came into contact with Christianity as a slave and as a follower at a distance. He came into contact with Mohammedanism as a man, and often as a leader” (Gardell 1996:36). Furthermore, as Turner (2003:52) argues, Blyden saw Islam as a means through which blacks could gain social, cultural, political, and economic autonomy. Blyden, inspired by German nationalist theories, believed that races were organic types of beings and that each had distinctive personalities that should be developed separate from the others; by carefully cultivating the distinctive qualities of the black race, through conversion to Islam, Blyden believed that Africans would be able to balance the competitive, materialistic qualities of the European race (Gardell 1996:20). He thus supported the emigration of blacks, from
the Caribbean and the United States, to Liberia because he truly believed that it was the only means of delivering the colored man from oppression and of raising him up to respectability (Adi and Sherwood 2005:12). The problem with Blyden’s ideology is it centered on the myth of color-blind Islam, which was perpetuated by black intellectuals and religious leaders in the twentieth century to discredit African-American Islamic groups. Along with the ideas of racial separatism, Blyden’s ideas would have a profound impact on Pan-Africanism.

**Alexander Crummell**

Alexander Crummell (1819-1898) was an African-American minister, academic, journalist, scholar, educator, and the founder of the American Negro Academy, the first major learned society for African Americans. Unlike his more celebrated contemporary, Frederick Douglass, Crummell never became a household name, likely because of his black chauvinism and advocacy for racial separatism (Moses 1989:4). He was born in New York City to a free woman of color and former slave, both of whom were active abolitionists; the *Freedom Journal*, the first black newspaper in the United States, was founded in their home (Moses 1989:13). Charity Hicks and Boston Crummell, his parents, instilled in him a sense of unity with Africans living in Africa, which shaped his values, beliefs, and actions throughout the rest of his life. Boston Crummell claimed to be descended from the Temne chiefs of West Africa, in what is today Sierra Leone, and that he was captured and sold into slavery when he was around 12 or 13 (Moses 1989:11). As a result, Crummell’s early philosophical perspective advocated for historical and cultural transatlantic black ties that was sustained by strong Christian values (Adeleke 2015:74).
Like Blyden, Crummell was denied admission to the General Theological Seminary because of his race, and went on to be ordained as an Episcopal priest in Massachusetts in 1842. In 1847, Crummell travelled to England to raise money for his church by lecturing about American slavery. Supported by abolitionists, Crummell studied at Queens’ College Cambridge and eventually became the first black student to ever graduate from the institution (Twigg 1987:268-271). That same year he travelled to Liberia with his wife, three children, a servant, and a well-stocked theological library (Moses 1989:89). Crummell would spend the next twenty-five years in Liberia working as a missionary for the Episcopal Church and lecturing at Liberia College. As a missionary, Crummell worked to uplift Africans from the “rudeness of barbarism”; he believed that if enlightened blacks returned to Africa as redeemers to bring the benevolent light of Christianity and Victorian civilization, only then would Africans be able to return to their divinely ordained plane (Gardell 1996:19). He believed that God had planned the slave trade and slavery as instruments of a greater good—that is the Christianizing and civilizing of Africa (Adeleke 2015:76). In 1854 he wrote:

Darkness covers the land, and gross darkness the people. Great evils universally prevail. Confidence and security are destroyed. Licentiousness abounds everywhere. Moloch rules and reigns throughout the whole continent, and by the ordeals of Sassywood, Fetiches, human sacrifices, and devil worship, is devouring men, women, and little children” (Moses 1978:67; Gardell 1996:19).

He returned to the United States in 1872, where he worked as a pastor for St. Mary’s Episcopal Mission in the Foggy Bottom area of Washington, D.C., a then predominantly African-American neighborhood. Crummell spent the rest of his life trying to adapt his ideas of civilization, evangelization, and separation to the changes he saw occurring in American society (Gardell 1996:19).
On March 5, 1897, Crummell founded the American Negro Academy to “accomplish the civilization of the Negro race in the United States, by the scientific processes of literature, art, and philosophy” (Moses 1978:73). Though after his return from Liberia in 1972, Crummell believed that African problems had to be solved by indigenous Africans, he still believed in a universal uplift movement of the African race (Moses 1996:30). Crummell's legacy to Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism does not lie in his personal achievements but rather through his influences on other Pan-African and Black Nationalist intellectuals. Some of the academy’s original members, such as John E. Bruce and William H. Ferris, would later become important figures in Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) (Moses 1996:30).

**Martin Robinson Delany**

Martin Delany (1812-1885) was an African-American abolitionist, political writer, physician, teacher, a judge, businessman, one of the first African-American field officers in the United States Army, and one of the earliest advocates for African Americans returning to Africa. He was born free in Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia) to an enslaved father and a free mother. In 1822, Delany’s mother moved her family to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania to avoid their enslavement brought on by her teaching them to read and write; his father later joined after purchasing his freedom (Hochbruck 2007:345). Delany’s career began in 1831 when he walked from Chambersburg to Pittsburgh (Stanford 2009), where he attended the Bethel African Methodist Church School under the tutelage of Lewis Woodson (Delany 2003:25). He also began meeting with John Vashon and others for literary and political discussions, which led to the African Education Society (Delany 2003:25). In 1833 he began an apprenticeship with a Pittsburgh physician and soon after opened a successful medical practice in cupping.
and leeching. By 1843, Delany had turned to journalism—he began editing his own abolitionist newspaper, *The Mystery*. From 1847 to 1849 Delany served as the co-editor of Frederick Douglass’s *North Star*. Delany was dismissed from the Harvard Medical School in 1850 after only three weeks following petitions from white students. Two years later he published, *The Condition Elevation Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered*, which claimed that the solution to the black condition lay in the emigration of all African Americans back to Africa (Hochbruck 2007:346).

Unlike Blyden, Delany held a deep contempt for the American Colonization Society and its efforts to have free African Americans emigrate to Liberia. Liberia had been founded by the American Colonization Society in the 1820s, and Delany felt that because some of the society’s founders were racists that free blacks should be cautious about settling there; Delany would not have a favorable opinion of Liberia until 1859 when he visited the country for the first time (Delany 2003:144). Delany instead advocated that slaves should flee to Canada and Mexico and that free blacks should look to East Africa instead of West Africa. In 1859, Delany led an emigration mission to Africa to explore possible sites for a new black nation along the Niger River. He signed an agreement with eight chiefs in the Abeokuta region; however, after Delany returned to the United States and decided to fight for the emancipation of the enslaved, the plans to resettle African Americans in Africa fell apart (Hochbruck 2007:346). Delany would eventually go on to recruit thousands of men for the Union Army and be assigned to the Freedman’s Bureau in South Carolina, where he would call for black pride, the
enforcement of black civil rights, and land for the free people. Martin Delany died in Xenia, Ohio in 1885. Many consider him to be the grandfather of Black Nationalism.

**Henry McNeal Turner**

Henry McNeal Turner (1834-1925) was a minister, politician, and the 12th elected and consecrated bishop of the African Methodist Church. Turner is among the “grandfathers” of the modern civil rights and black power movements and was universally known for his staunch defense of his race and the doctrines of manhood, justice, and equality (Angell 1992:2). Born to free black parents near Abbeville, South Carolina, Turner ran away after he was forced to pick cotton after his father died. He became an itinerant minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1851 and several years later joined the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Turner joined the efforts to convince President Abraham Lincoln to allow freedmen to enlist in the army, and in 1863 Turner was appointed the first black U.S. Army chaplain (Marable and Mullings 2003:131). Following the Civil War, Turner walked to Georgia and began organizing A.M.E. churches and the Georgia Republican Party. After Turner and twenty-six other African Americans were expelled from the Georgia legislature in 1868 by white racists legislators, he turned his back on the American political process and turned his attention to developing the political potential of the black church (Marable and Mullings 2003:131; PBS 2003). In 1880, Turner became a bishop in the A.M.E. church and founded the Morris Brown College in Atlanta in 1890. Between 1891 and 1898, Turner traveled to Africa four times where he became a proponent of black migration back to Africa (Marable and Mullings 2003:131). For Turner, emigration back to Africa would provide blacks with the opportunity to achieve political and economic power that they could not obtain in the United States (Turner 2003:60). He declared:
We have so much right biblically and otherwise to believe that God is a Negro as you...white people have to believe that God is a fine looking, symmetrical and ornamental white man....Every race of people since time began who have attempted to describe their God by words, or by paintings or by carvings, or any other form or figure, have conveyed the idea that the God who made them and shaped their destinies was symbolized in themselves, and why should not the Negro believe that he resembles God as much as other people? We do not believe that there is any hope for a race or people who do not believe that they look like God (Redkey 1971:viii).

By this time, Turner (2003:59) argues that Reconstruction had failed, leaving free blacks searching for strategies for self-determination, which they had found in Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism (Turner 2003:59). Christianity was coming under fire for its links to racism and Turner was completely disillusioned by white Christianity and the United States. Like Blyden, Turner's time in Africa brought him face to face with Islam and Muslims. Likewise, Turner depicted Islam in a positive light and was impressed by their lack of racial prejudice. He saw Islam as a stepping stone towards Christianity. In 1895, Turner argued for the return of the slave trade so that the Africans heathens could be exposed to a higher civilization—he later backed down from this idea (Angell 1992:233). However, his ideas would help open the door for Islam and lead black leaders within the church to question Christianity.

Turner, like Crummell, is not as well-known as his contemporaries, Douglass, Washington, and Du Bois, but leaves behind a legacy of work as a pastor, missionary, evangelist, church administrator, church builder, army chaplain, correspondent and editor of religious publications, theologian, compiler of a hymnal, author of a book on A.M.E. polity, and as a support of women's leadership in the church (Angell 1992:2). Due to his outspokenness, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner died isolated and bitter in 1915 (PBS 2003).
Black Migration and the Rise of Islam in the African-American Community

Eyerman (2001:1) argues that the trauma of slavery, not as an institution or experience but as a collective memory, helped forge a unique African-American identity in the post-Civil War period. Furthermore, Eyerman (2001:1) argues that “slavery formed the root of an emergent collective identity through an equally emergent collective memory, one that signified and distinguished a race, a people, or a community depending on the level of abstraction and point of view being put forward.” This collective identity was a formal response to the legal disenfranchisement, racism, segregation, lack of economic opportunity, and lynch-mob terrorism that characterized the experiences of African Americans in the late 19th century. The failure of Reconstruction demonstrated that African Americans needed to find alternative strategies for resisting racial oppression and striving for self-determination—which they found in Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism (Turner 2003:59). By providing a framework for asking questions, African Americans used Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism as tools to pursue new religious, political, economic, social, and psychological opportunities. To escape racial oppression in the South, approximately 6 million rural southern African-Americans migrated to northern industrialized cities between 1915 and 1960, which fundamentally changed urban centers and resulted in massive demographic shifts across the United States. Their arrival in the north helped sensitize them to Islam by the 1920s. In the following sections, I examine the role of black migration and political consciousness in the rise of Islam in the African-American community, specifically by the 1920s and 1930s—the Nation of Islam will not be addressed in depth in this chapter. By examining how and why African Americans were
sensitized to Islam in the early half of the 20th century, I demonstrate how Islam was more than a religious path to salvation, but as a means through which to (re)claim an identity that was stripped away from them centuries before.

**Journey to the Promised Land**

Despite relatively small groups of African Americans migrating to border states, such as Kansas, by the time the Great Migration began in 1915, approximately 90 percent of the African-American population in the United States still lived in the rural south. Held captive by sharecropping and isolated from the rest of the country, southern African Americans saw the entrance of the U.S. into WWI, the passage of the Selective Service Act of 1917, which required all able-bodied men between 21 and 31 to register for military duty, and the chance to escape racial violence, political and economic disenfranchisement as reasons to break free from the south and migrate to northern industrialized cities. And migrate they did. Between 1915 and 1920, approximately 500,000 African Americans fled to the north and mid-west (U.S House of Representatives n.d.). This figure was boasted by the fact that by 1918 foreign immigration, the original source of cheap labor in the north, had slowed so dramatically, from 1.2 million in 1914 to 110,000 by 1918, that northern manufacturers sent labor agents to the south to recruit African Americans with promises of free train tickets and jobs to help meet the cheap labor demand (Turner 2003:73). Resistance to African American departure from the south was high among southern whites. Labor agents were required to pay a $25,000 recruiter’s fee plus the recommendations of 25 local businessmen, ten ministers, and ten manufactures or face imprisonment and fines, leading many to recruit secretly. African Americans were threatened, arrested on charges of vagrancy, and had their tickets to the north torn up on railroad platforms.
(Wilkerson 2016). However, this did not deter labor recruiters or African Americans from leaving the south.

African Americans escaped only to be faced with the same hostility and racial hierarchies that they faced in the south. As urban centers grew and whites became increasingly uncomfortable with black and immigrant newcomers, Wilkerson (2016) argues, northern and mid-western cities erected barriers to black mobility, including but not limited to, relegating them to the lowest-paying, most dangerous jobs, barring them from entering labor unions, and segregating them into the most dilapidated housing, effectively forming black ghettos. And yet, African Americans persevered. Turner (2003:76) argues that various middle-class black leadership organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League (UCL), which had been formed to prior to the Great Migration, attempted to assist the plight of African Americans by the 1920s. The NAACP was established by Moorfield Story, Mary White Ovington, and W.E.B. Du Bois in 1909 with the purpose of ensuring the political, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate racial hatred and racial discrimination (NAACP n.d). The NCL was established in 1910 by social workers, white philanthropists, and black leaders to provide economic empowerment to underserved urban African-American communities (National Urban League n.d). While many of these organizations advocated for self-determination, education, resistance, they primarily appealed to the business and professional segments of the black communities and offered little to the impoverished communities (Turner 2003:76). Stimulated by the experiences of African American men in World War I, who had fought in the war only to return home and face the same conditions from
which they had left, a heightened political consciousness, with an emphasis on nationalism in urban black communities gained force among African American city dwellers, providing the perfect stage for young, militant race leaders and the rise of Islam within the African-American community (Turner 2003:78). Confined to the “ghettos”, large urban black communities began creating cities within cities, among them Harlem emerged as the largest, with over 200,000 African Americans living in a neighborhood that had been predominantly white 15 years before (Digital History 2016). It is within this neighborhood that the Harlem Renaissance, also called the New Negro Movement, formed. Best described as “a cultural phenomenon in which the high level of black artistic and cultural production demanded and received mainstream recognition, where racial solidary was equated with social progress, and where the ideas of blackness became a commodity in its own right” (Graham 2011). It is the spirit of the Harlem Renaissance which helped to fuel the creation of mass movements aimed at refining the cultural and political identities of African Americans. No black leader was as successful in appealing to the needs of working-class African Americans as Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

**Marcus Garvey, the Black Moses**

Marcus Mosiah Garvey Jr. (1887-1940) was a Jamaican born political leader, publisher, journalist, and entrepreneur who became a leader in the Pan-African and Black Nationalist movements by forcefully combining all of its dominant themes, into one ideology, called Garveyism. Descended from maroons, runaway slaves who established freed communes in the central Jamaican highlands, Garvey was first introduced to the importance of organized action after he lost a union fight against the P.A. Benjamin Company when he was 25. Following this loss, Garvey travelled
throughout the Caribbean, and Central and South America observing and learning about the oppression blacks were facing before he sailed to England and became associated with Duse Mohammed Ali (1886-1946), a militant, Muslim Pan-Africanist of Egyptian and Sudanese parentage who founded the *African Times and Orient Review* in 1911 (Gardell 2006:23-24). Garvey’s travels demonstrated to him that white people would never consider the lives of black people as valuable, and it is during his time in England that he began to formulate his plan to liberate the ‘Negro race’ on a permanent basis (Garvey 1970:10). He realized that this could not happen without a strong foundation built on the rehabilitation of African values; Garvey believed blacks needed to cultivate self-respect, race pride, and the love of their dark skin, wooly hair, broad nose, and thick lips before they would be able to unify (Esedebe 1994:57).

In 1914, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) in Jamaica, which represents the largest secular mass movement in African-American history. Although it was eventually only known worldwide as the UNIA, in a leaflet bearing the former title Garvey explained that in:

> view of the universal disunity existing among the people of the Negro or Africa race, and the apparent danger which much follow the continuance of such a spirit, it has been deemed fit and opportune to found a Society with a universal programme [sic], for the purpose of drawing the people of the race together, hence the organization above-named” (Esedebe 1994:58).

Furthermore, the goals of the organization were to:
- To establish a Universal Confraternity among the race.
- To promote the spirit of race pride and love.
- To reclaim the fallen of the race.
• To administer to and assist the needy.
• To assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa.
• To strengthen the imperialism of independent African States.
• To establish Commissionaires or Agencies in the principal countries of the world for the protection of all Negroes, irrespective of nationality.
• To promote a conscientious Christian worship among the native tribes of Africa.
• To establish Universities, Colleges, and Secondary schools for the further education and cultures of the boys and girls of the race.
• To conduct a world-wide commercial and industrial intercourse (Garvey 1984:302; Esedebe 1994:58).

Through Garvey’s concepts of Pan-Africanism, race pride, and self-help, which were embodied in the UNIA, Africa emerged as “an ontological symbol that connected the political, cultural, and spiritual aspirations of the black people…” (Turner 2003:81). Though the original chapter was founded in Jamaica, the UNIA would not achieve widespread success until its establishment in the United States.

Inspired by Washington’s Tuskegee Institute, which was founded in Alabama in 1881 to train African Americans in agriculture and industry, Garvey attempted and failed to establish a Jamaican Tuskegee. Washington invited Garvey to the United States after Garvey wrote to him asking for advice and financial support for his school, but died before Garvey could leave Jamaica (Gardell 2006:24). When he arrived in the United States in the spring of 1916, Garvey visited Tuskegee, a visit that would ultimately change his political outlook and lead to his stepping out from under Washington’s shadow (Hill 2011). Leaving Alabama, Garvey travelled the country observing the beginning stages of the Great Migration and the loss of hope among African Americans for achieving equal rights; he concluded that integration would never happen until
African American were to achieve economic, political, and cultural success. To this end, Garvey established the headquarters of the UNIA in New York in 1917 (Leeuwen 2000). World War I had ruined the image of European culture as the highest possible form of civilization which contributed to the rise of the UNIA, especially in the inner cities. New York provided the perfect climate for Garvey to combine the economic nationalist ideas of Washington with the political possibilities he observed by the growth of black communities in northern cities. After Garvey decided to stay in the United States permanently and transfer the headquarters of the UNIA to Harlem, membership increased from 600 to 12,000 members in a few short months (Gardell 2006:24; Garvey 1986:126).

By January 1918, Garvey had a founded the *Negro World*, a weekly newspaper aimed at spreading black consciousness, self-help, and economic independence. With its first page always written by Garvey, the *Negro World* was read aloud at the Sunday evening service of the local UNIA chapters (Burkett 1989:66,70). In its first years, *Negro World* was published in English, French, and Spanish; it remained in circulation worldwide until it was replaced by the *Black Man* in 1933 (Esedebe 1994:59). A second newspaper, the *Negro Times*, proceeded the *Black Man*, which appeared in 1922 as an evening newspaper; however, it drained the funds of the organization and was only active until 1924 (Garvey 1970:111). Though the newspapers were used as the vehicles to spread Garvey’s message of racial pride and unity, he knew that capitalism would be the way African Americans would achieve independence. In 1919, he established the Negro Factories Corporation and offered stock for African Americans to buy; the corporation, at one time, operated three grocery stores, two restaurants, a printing
plants, a steam laundry, and owned several buildings and trucks in New York City (Leeuwen 2000). Garvey’s most famous venture was the Black Star line, a steamship company he started in 1919 that was “owned, controlled, and many by Negroes, to reach the Negro peoples of the world” (Cronan 1969:52; Gardell 2006:28). Though Garvey envisioned it to serve as a beacon of black success (Leeuwen 2000), his gross mismanagement destroyed its potential and promise by crushing it in financial debt and legal problems (Du Bois 1922:210-214).

**Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple**

Unlike Blyden and Turner, who launched a vision of a Christian Africa, Timothy Drew (1886-1929), who later became known as Noble Drew Ali, established the Moorish Science Temple in Newark, New Jersey in 1913, the first mass movement to fuse Black Nationalism with Islam (Gardell 2006:31). Apart from his birth in North Carolina, there are diverse legends that surround his life and activities before 1913. According to some popular legends, he was either a child of ex-slaves raised among Cherokee Indians or a descendent of Bilali Mohammed, the famous African Muslims slave who lived on Sapelo Island (Turner 2003:90). Other legends posit that he spent his early childhood as an orphan, wandering with a gypsy group; that after he turned to America from Egypt he worked as a merchant seaman based in Newark; and that he went to D.C. in 1912 to ask President Wilson if he could teach his people Islam, the religion of their ancestors (Turner 2003:91). However, with the advice of Dr. Suliman, Drew assumed a Moorish identity, named himself Prophet Noble Drew Ali, and founded the first chapter of the Moorish Science Temple of America, called the Canaanite Temple. After a slow and steady growth, new temples were founded in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Philadelphia, Lansing, Cleveland, Youngstown, Richmond, Petersburg, Pine
Bluff, and Baltimore. Believing that the Midwest was closer to Mecca, Prophet Ali moved to Chicago in 1925 and established his headquarters, which would later become the largest Moorish chapter (Gardell 2006:37). It is there that he finally organized all of the temples under the name of the Moorish Divine and National Movement of North America, Inc. (Turner 2003:92).

The temples were established on a philosophy that combined appropriated symbols and ideas from Garveyism, Islam, Freemasonry, Theosophy, and the 19th century Pan-Africanist and Black Nationalist tradition (Turner 2003:90). During his travels before 1913, Prophet Ali had come into contact with various beliefs systems that led him to the conclusion that Christianity was a white man’s religion, and he proclaimed, along with the later Nation of Islam, that Islam was the original and only true religion for black people. He declared that blacks were the descendants of Moors, who had emigrated from Asia and eventually settled in Morocco (Scopino 2013). In 1927, the Moorish Science Temple published the Holy Koran, a 63-page pamphlet Ali compiled from scriptures in the Quran, the Bible, the Aquarian Gospels of Jesus Christ (an occult version of the New Testament), and Unto Thee I Grant (literature of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, a Masonic order which was influenced by lore concerning the Egyptian mystery schools) (Ali 1927:56-58). According to Ali’s teachings, he was selected to lift the fallen Asiatic nation of North America by teaching them their true religion, their true nationality, and their true genealogy (Turner 2003:93). Ali preaches that man was created in the Garden of Eden in Mecca in the land of Canaan. The people, known as Moabites (Moors), migrated to Africa where they founded the Moroccan empire, which expanded across the world. As long as the Moors remained faithful, Allah would bless
them. Unfortunately, they lost their racial consciousness, with resulted in their downfall and their enslavement. Ali was selected by God as Jesus Christ and the prophet Mohammad reincarnated to redeem the fallen and restore them to their rightful place (Gardell 2006:37-38). Thus the Moorish Science Temple of American provided African Americans with a sense of identity and advocated for personal transformation through education, racial pride, and spiritual upliftment. Once a prospective member proclaimed their Moorish identity, they were given Moorish identity cards, or “passports” documenting their new identity (Scopino 2013).

The Ahmadiyya Movement

If Garveyism attracted the masses and the Moorish Science Temple introduced thousands of African Americans to Islam, albeit by using Garvey’s name, the Ahmadi offered African Americans a sense of legitimacy and connection to the global Islamic community. As I examine in Chapter Four, Muslim communities began appearing in the mid-west as immigrants from the Middle East, primarily Syria and Lebanon, began arriving in the United States between 1878 and 1924. However, unlike these “white” Muslim communities, the Ahmadi attempted to break down the patterns of racial and ethnic separation in Islam by providing a multi-racial model that disseminated Islamic literature to its black and white converts (Turner 2003:107-108,110). This was significant not only for sensitizing African Americans to Islam by the 1920s and 1930s, but also providing a crucial link between immigrant Muslims and black Muslim groups, especially the later Nation of Islam.

The Ahmadiyya is an Islamic religious reform movement that was founded in 1889 in Punjab, India by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad during British colonial rule. The location of the movement’s genesis is significant because the conditions that Indian’s were facing were
prophesized by the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century. There was internal
debate within the Indian Muslim community that ranged from the ritual practices of the
Sufis to the role of the hadith. Conflicts with non-Muslims groups like the Hindus, Sikhs,
and Christians fueled religious rivalries (Khan 2015:2). As Indians struggled under
British rule, Islamic leaders, at different points of time and in different locations,
attempted to “reinterpret their religion and identity in light of the political and
philosophical realities of the western invasion (Esposito 1988:137). Ahmad, who was
born in Qadian, India in 1835 and spent most of his youth studying comparative
religions, logic, philosophy, various hard sciences, medicine, and learning several
languages, founded the movement by combining a reformist program with private
religious experiences in order to unite the Muslim mainstream with other world faiths
under one true religion after receiving a revelation in 1889 (Ahmadiyya Muslim
Community 2014; Khan 2015:1-2). Following his revelation, Ahmad published a
pamphlet describing the ten conditions for initiation into the community on January 12th
and began initiating members on March 23rd (Ahmadiyya Muslim Community 2014).
The goals of the movement were:

To propagate Islam; to think out ways and means of promoting the welfare
of new converts to Islam in Europe and America: to further the cause of
righteousness, purity, piety, and moral excellence throughout the world, to
eradicate evil habits and customs; to appreciate with gratitude the good

Initially, Ahmad’s message different little from the teachings of Orthodox (Sunni) Islam.
In 1891, Ahmad declared himself to be a mujadid (renewer, a special individual whom
God sends at the beginning of each Islamic century in order to revive the faith)
announced that Jesus had not died on the cross, but rather had gone to India and died
there before ascending to heaven in 1899. From this point on the Orthodox Muslim
community began seeing Ahmad and the Ahmadiyya as heretical and began persecuting the movement and its followers (Turner 2003:111-113). Though the group eventually permanently split into different factions, it had laid the groundwork for its missionary work.

One of those missionaries, Mufit Muhammad Sadiq, arrived in Philadelphia aboard the S.S. Haverford in 1920, and after being detained for several months while authorities ensured that he would not teach polygamy, was allowed to enter the United States (Turner 2003:116). Sadiq's arrival came on the heels of the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1917 (further discussed in Chapter Four) fueled by hostilities toward Asians. He eventually travelled to New York in April 1920, where he set up headquarters and began missionizing through lecturing and writing. By May, he had converted twelve people, two of whom were white men—Dr. George Baker and Ahmad Anderson—, and had contributed twenty articles on Islam to various American periodicals and newspapers (Turner 2003:118). By October 1920, Sadiq relocated his headquarters to Chicago, where he began cultivating multi-racial relations with various communities of “white” Muslims, those from Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. He purchased a house at 4448 S. Wabash and converted it into a mosque. By the following year, he published the first issue of the Moselm Sunrise, a quarterly journal aimed at teaching Islam and refuting the misrepresentations of Islam that appeared in the American press (Ahmadiyya Muslim Community 2009).

Between 1921 and 1925, over 1,000 people were converted by the Ahmadiyya missions, many of whom were African Americans from Chicago and Detroit who were drawn to the multi-racial religious community with opportunities for leadership
unavailable in Protestant contexts and the movement’s teaching and practice of universal brotherhood. Leadership opportunities eventually began attracting members of the UNIA (Ahmadiyya Muslim Community 2009; Turner 2003:124, 127). Though at times subtle, the connection between the UNIA and the Ahmadiyya movement was that they both offered African Americans a new religious identity that separated them from Christianity and its links to white supremacy and racism; they were both forms of political religion; and had similar parallels with the focus of Pan-Africanism and Indian nationalism (Turner 2003:128). Dr. Sadiq gave five lectures at UNIA meetings in Detroit, where he told African Americans that Islam was the religion of the forefathers before slavery (Ahmadiyya Muslim Community 2009). Though Sadiq concluded his work in 1923, his missionary work had lasting impacts on the African-American community. Separated from “white Muslims”, the Ahmadi provided African-American converts a crucial link to Islamic texts as they were the first to translate the Quran to English in the United States and published the majority of Islamic literature before the 1960s. They also built mosques in black “ghettos” that provided spaces for African Americans to study the Quran as well as Arabic and Islamic history (Rashid 2013:86).

**Conclusion**

When considered together, the history and legacy of African-American Islam in the United States documents the desire of a group of people to define themselves in an environment that historically has left them oppressed, disenfranchised, and virtually hidden in plain sight. By reconnecting enslaved African Muslims to contemporary African-American Muslims through an ideology, rather than a physical bond, it is clear that Islam was more than a path to salvation. It provided African Americans with a means of resistance, self-determination, and education. Pan-Africanism and Black
Nationalism planted the seeds of political consciousness and the desire to achieve political, economic, social, and psychological success. As I demonstrate in Chapter Four, this desire would lead to the persecution of black Islamic movements; such as the Nation of Islam by the United States government and from immigrant Orthodox Muslims, who viewed African-American Muslims as inauthentic because Arabic was not their first language. As immigrant Muslims underwent a racialization process, whereby their brown skin, beards, and hijabs inextricably linked them to violet, radical-terrorist organization, they simultaneously enjoyed the privileges African-American Muslims gained as active participants in the Civil Rights Movement, and denied their black brothers and sisters in faith. By bringing attention to the history and legacy of African-American Islam, we can combat negative stereotypes through education and understand the overwhelming need to preserve and protect sites like the property that once belonged to Yarrow Mamout, in order to avoid silencing the voices of those who have been silenced too long.
CHAPTER 4
HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT: HOW THE RACIALIZATION OF ISLAM SERVES TO OBSCURE THE NARRATIVE AND EXPERIENCES OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MUSLIMS

*O people, your Lord is One and your father is One. An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab nor a non-Arab has any superiority over an Arab; also a white has not superiority over a black nor does a black have any superiority over white except by piety and good action. All mankind is from Adam and Eve, and Adam from dust.*

—Prophet Muhammad

*Farewell Sermon*

*O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted.*

—Qu’ran 49:13

*The Muslim world has seemed to ignore the problem of the black American.*

—Malcom X

*Interview with Al-Muslimoon*

Before an audience at the 2016 Reviving the Islamic Spirit Convention held in Toronto, Canada, Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, the leading American Muslim theologian, was asked whether or not Muslims should get more involved in the Black Lives Matter Movement, a movement that campaigns against police brutality and systemic racism and injustice in the judicial system. He responding by saying:

The United States is, in terms of its laws, one of the least racist societies in the world. We have some of the best anti-discriminatory laws on the planet. We have between 15-18,000 homicides a year, 50 per cent are black-on-black crime. There are twice as many whites that have been shot by police but nobody ever shows those videos. It’s the assumption that the police are racist and it’s not always the case. I think it’s very dangerous to just broad stroke any police that shoots a black as immediately being considered a racist, sometimes, these are African-American police officers. The police aren’t all racist. We should all be against any ideologies of supremacy of one people over another people, it’s completely antithetical to our religion but we have some of the worst racism in our own communities. The anti-Jewish rhetoric that you hear in the in the Islamic community is horrific… do you know what it’s like to be a Pakistani in a lot of the Gulf States or from India or from Kerala even worse? People talk about white privilege, what about Arab privilege over non-Arabs in the Middle East? (Muhammad 2016; RT 2016).
Later in a clarification speech, Yusuf argued that the breakdown of the black family, not racism, was the greatest tragedy facing African Americans (Muhammad 2015). If the problem with Yusuf’s response is not clear, consider this. Born Mark Hanson in Walla Walla, Washington in 1960, Yusuf is a white American Muslim who converted to Islam from Christianity in 1977 following a near death experience (Curtis 2008:405). Religion aside, as a white American, Yusuf’s comments serve as a reminder many are of the opinion that black people, both Muslim and non-Muslim, rather than institutionalized and systematic racism, are solely to blame for their current economic, social, political, and emotional shortcomings. If Muslims, regardless of ethnicity or nation of origin, are made from the same peoples and have no superiority over one another, why is there not more solidarity and cross movement organizing between those fighting Islamophobia and others battling to bring an end to America’s deeply rooted structural racism?

Yusuf’s comments serve to demonstrate the double discrimination faced by African-American Muslims, where their blackness is seen as a threat and their religion is seen as inauthentic, homegrown, and lacking crucial trans-national ties to the Middle East. Within the Muslim community, which is fractured along lines of class, ethnicity, and different life experiences (Curtis 2009:xi), some non-Black and immigrant Muslims have sought to achieve whiteness by distancing themselves from their black brothers and sisters in faith. Immigrant Muslims, who lack a collective memory of Islam in the U.S. and lack deep and meaningful social ties to African-American Muslims, obscure the narratives and experiences of African-American Muslims, while simultaneously benefiting from their efforts of social justice (Elliott 2007; Hill 2015a). In Chapter Three, I explored how for African-American Muslims, Islam is a vehicle through which they
receive spiritual and political empowerment and how Islam serves to combat white hegemony and supremacy. In this chapter, I explore how and why immigrant Muslims, particularly Arab and South Muslims, have fought so hard to assimilate into mainstream American culture and separate themselves from their African-American counterparts only to undergo a process of racialization. This racialization process explains how immigrant Muslims, particularly those of Arab and South Asian origin, now experience prejudice and discrimination as a result of cultural racism, “a process of othering that constructs perceived cultural (e.g. Arab), religious (e.g. Muslims), or civilization (e.g. Arab and/or Muslim) differences as natural and immutable” (Naber 2008:279). More importantly, in the context of this chapter and this work, the racialization of Islam and the construction of a Muslim “archetype” serves to erase the history, legacy, experience, and contributions African-American Muslims have made to American history. When taken into consideration with Chapters Two and Three, this chapter brings the history and legacy of African Islam full circle by acknowledging that Islam was made an American religion by twentieth century African Americans who were seeking a deep and meaningful connection to an identity that was ripped from them, beat out of them, and suppressed from within them by rediscovering their African roots and viewing Islam as a black man’s religion. The chapter begins by examining how immigrant laws influenced immigrant Arab, and later South Asian, Muslim identity in terms of viewing whiteness as the gateway to naturalization and citizenship, and how these same laws radically changed the state of Islam in America. The large scale arrival of immigrant Arab and South Asian Muslims began in 1965- a time when African-American Muslims were facing FBI surveillance and fighting for basic civil rights. Despite distancing themselves
from their black brothers and sisters in faith, following 9/11, immigrant Arab and South Asian Muslims began experiencing an increase in the racialization of Islam; a process through which anyone who was deemed to be ‘Muslim’ by virtue of their physical appearance was targeted. The chapter concludes by examining how without the efforts of African-American Muslims, and despite immigrant Muslims bringing Orthodox Islam to the United States, Islam would have no indigenous roots.

**Contact: Immigrant Identity and Xenophobia Pre-9/11**

Prior to the Civil War, Muslim immigration was sparse due to existing laws governing U.S. citizenship. Under Article 8, Section 1 of the U.S. Constitution, the Naturalization Act of 1790 stipulated that only free whites of “good moral character” could become citizens of the United States after residing in the country for two years, which undoubtedly discouraged dark-skinned Arab, Indian, and African Muslims from immigrating (Dirks 2006:309-310; Powell 2009:200); this act was Congress’s first attempt to set immigration policy (Han 2016). The 1790 act was later repealed by the 1795 act which raised the residency requirements to five years and required an immigrant give three years notice of the intent to seek naturalization (Powell 2009:200). This act was once again amended in 1879 to allow citizenship to people of African descent (GhaneaBassiri 2010:152).

By the 1830s, nativism, defined as an intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e. un-American) beliefs, had emerged as a political movement (Higham 2012:4). The immigration laws that arose during this movement

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1 The stipulation of five years’ residency required for naturalization is still currently in use today (Han 2016).
were not specific to Islam as a minority religion or to Middle Easterners as ethnically non-European immigrants, but rather to their foreign, non-whiteness (Elver 2012:131). Though they affected dark skinned Middle Easterners, both Muslim and non-Muslims, the overtly racist, xenophobic, exclusionary immigration laws that arose during the nativist movement in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries were primarily directed towards Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Nativists regarded Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Oriental, and Jewish migrants as disrupting a pre-existing American culture which they regarded as “Nordic, white and Protestant” (Weiner 2007:153-154). Two examples of such laws, are the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Immigration Act of 1891. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by the U.S. Congress on 1882 to suspend Chinese immigration for ten years and barred Chinese immigrants from becoming naturalized; though this law did not specifically affect Muslims, it was followed by the passage of the Immigration Act of 1891, which added:

polygamists; or persons who admit their belief in the practice of polygamy to the inadmissible classes, which also included idiots, insane persons, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and hosts of other individuals which included felons, anarchists, and persons who cares were funded by others (GhaneaBassiri 2010:151).

The 1891 act was followed by the passage of the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, also known as the Immigration Act of 1917 or the Literacy Act, which helped to restrict immigration primarily from Eastern and Southern Europe and secondarily from Western Asia and Africa (Handlin 1951:290). The Asiatic Barred Zone Act was the first sweeping legislation of its time aimed at restricting, rather than regulating, immigration, which it accomplished by imposing a literacy test on immigrants. The act also broadened restrictions on Asian immigrants by barring those from the Asia-Pacific Zone and
expanded categories inadmissible persons (Bromberg 2015). Despite the restrictions placed on immigration to the U.S. during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, immigrant Muslims slowly began arriving and coming into contact with “native” or “indigenous” African-American Muslims, a relationship which Elliott (2007) describes as reflecting a unique struggle as nowhere else in the world are Muslims “from so many racial, cultural, and theological backgrounds trying their hands at coexistence.”

Following enslaved African Muslims, the next influx of Muslims occurred between 1878 and 1924 as immigrants from the Middle East, from mainly what is now Syria, Jordan, and Palestine, Lebanon, began entering the United States. The Arab immigrants, who identified themselves as Lebanese or Syrian Lebanese, were classified as “Turks” since they were coming from the Ottoman Empire; “Turks” were considered to be Asiatic and during the latter half of the nineteenth century they were still ineligible to become citizens. Many of these early immigrants were poorly educated laborers who came to the United States seeking greater economic stability, though many became disenchanted and returned to their homeland (Tweed 2004). Those who remained in the United States became miners, factory workers, migrant workers, peddlers, grocers, shopkeepers, or petty merchants (Smith and Leonard 2009). Though their numbers were small, representing only 10 percent of the Arab immigrants who were predominantly Christian, sizeable clusters of immigrant Arab Muslims settled in the midwest. The first mosque structure whose purpose was to serve the Muslim community was built in Ross, North Dakota in 1929 and the oldest surviving mosque (ca. 1934) is in Cedar Rapids, Iowa (Teaching Tolerance 2015). The influx of “Asiatic”, Arab Muslim,
and non-Muslim Arab, immigrants ended in 1924 with the passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act (Tweed 2004), which limited the annual number of immigrants who could be admitted from any country to 2 percent of the number of people from that country who were already living in the United States as of the 1890 census. Though primarily aimed at Eastern and Southern Europeans, the act severely restricted Africans and outright banned Arabs and Asians. Its most basic purpose was to preserve the ideal homogeneity of the United States—there were no restrictions placed on immigration from Latin American countries (U.S. Department of State n.d.a). After successfully fighting the law, Arab immigrants were finally classified as “white” by the 1930s; they accomplished this by assimilating, attending citizenship classes, Americanizing their names, not teaching their children Arabic and neglecting to instill them pride in their heritage (Suleiman 1999:7-8).

Before the third largest wave of Muslim immigration to the United States occurred after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, a smaller wave occurred between 1948 and 1965 as people sought asylum from political unrest in the Middle East and North Africa (Migration Policy Institute 2015). Part of the reason for this smaller wave was the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which revised the quota system established by the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924. Known as the McCarran-Walter Act, the INA of 1952 did several things: 1) it upheld the national origins quota system established by the Immigration Act of 1924, which reinforced the controversial immigration selection system; 2) it ended the exclusion of Asians from immigrating to the U.S., though it continued to discriminate against them; and 3) it introduced a system of preferences based on skill sets and family unification.
Established to help American consuls prioritize visa application in countries with heavily described quotas, the preference system provided individuals with special skills or those with families already living in the U.S. to receive precedence (U.S. Department of State n.d.b). Due to the quota systems, Muslim immigrants who came during the second wave tended to be highly educated and from Egypt, Iraq, and Syria (Migration Policy Institute 2015; Smith and Leonard 2009). Once here Arab Muslims began mobilizing on the basis of national origins and then one the basis of Islam, going on to found the Federation of Islamic Associations (FIA) in 1953, the Muslim Student Association (MSA) in 1963), and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) in 1982. These organizations and others that followed, such as the Islamic Medical Association, the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, and the Association of Muslim Social Scientists which grew of out the ISNA, worked to maintain and transmit Islam in their own families and communities (Smith and Leonard 2009).

On October 3, 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965. This landmark immigration reform bill abolished the quota system established by the 1924 Johnson Reed Act and liberalized rules for immigration, particularly by prioritizing family unification. Under the Hart-Celler Act, once immigrants were naturalized, they were able to then sponsor relatives in their homelands, which resulted in a migratory process called chain migration (Kammer 2015). Chain migration utilizes networks of familiar social ties to build neighborhoods or communities within new places of habitation that reflect the cultural and societal norms of the homelands. This is the unintended consequence and legacy of the Hart-Cellar Act that President Johnson did not foresee. In fact, President Johnson stated:
This bill that we will sign today is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions. It will not reshape the structure of our daily lives. Yet it is still one of the most important acts of this Congress and of this administration. For it does repair a very deep and painful flaw in the fabric of American justice. It corrects a cruel and enduring wrong in the conduct of the American nation (Kammer 2015).

As a result of this legislation, 2.78 million non-white people immigrated to the United States between 1966 to 1997, of which 1.1 million are estimated to be Muslim (Curtis 2009:73). Today, we are still in that third phase of Muslim immigration. Since the passage of the Hart-Celler Act, Muslims have immigrated to the United States to: 1) seek refuge from ethnic persecution, religious persecution, Islamism, Anti-Islamism, civil wars, and international wars; 2) seek educational opportunities; 3) and to a lesser extent to find a freedom of expression to fulfill their religion and political ambitions to change the U.S. to a majority Muslim country (see Hoffert 1930:309; Duran and Pipes 2002).

Once here, immigrant Muslims began forming political coalitions on the basis of religion and encouraged participation in national politics (Smith and Leonard 2009). Since there is no way to track Muslims through the census, the Pew Research Center estimates that there were approximately 3.3 million Muslims in the U.S. in 2014, which represents 1 percent of the total U.S. population (estimated at approximately 322 million in 2015) (Mohamed 2016). These figures are typically based on mosque attendance.

**Divergence: Separationists vs Assimilationists**

The passage of the Hart-Celler Act marked a crucial turning point for Islamic history in America and the end of what Sherman Jackson called a “once exclusively Black Religion” (Beydoun 2014) as immigrant Muslims brought Orthodox Islam to the United States. By 1965, the Moorish Science Temple and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) had declined, creating a void in Black religious and
political life that was fulfilled by Malcolm Little, better known as Malcolm X, who had become a prominent leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI). First founded by the mysterious Wallace D. Fard in Detroit on July 4, 1930, the NOI was formed in order to improve the spiritual, mental, social, and economic condition of African Americans in the United States and all of humanity (Nation of Islam n.d). Posing as an Arab street peddler, Fard entered the homes of Detroit’s lower class blacks and began telling them about the great religion of their brothers and sisters in Africa (Turner 2003:149-150). Claiming to be a prophet of Allah, Fard told his growing followers that he had come to resurrect his people, who were the royals of the Original People from the holy city of Mecca (Gardell 2006:50), and to put them on a path to salvation and to achieve self-independence in a superior culture and higher civilization than they had previously experienced (Nation of Islam n.d.). Following other Black Nationalist and Pan-Africanist movements, Fard and later Elijah Muhammad, used the teachings of the NOI as a “political weapon, a strategy for physical and spiritual survival and a way of life that could be effectively appropriated in their struggle for racial justice and ethnic freedom” (Muhammad 1974:10). Part of the way they accomplished this was by destroying the invincibility of the white race, teaching their followers that white people were nothing more than blonde blue-eyed devils while proclaiming blacks to be the superior race (Elliot 2007; Turner 2003:157). The doctrine of the NOI is contained in three works: The Message to the Blackman in America, the Supreme Wisdom: Solution to the So-Called Negroes’ Problem, and the Teaching for the Lost Found Nation of Islam in a Mathematical Way; the latter two of which are relatively obscure works (Lee 1996:27). In August 1931, Fard met Elijah Poole, a young man from Bold Springs, Georgia who
he would later select to lead the Nation of Islam in 1934 until his death in 1975. By late 1932, the Nation of Islam became publicly known as one of its members, Robert Harris, was arrested by the Detroit Police Department (DPD) for the alleged human sacrifice of James J. Smith. Ten days later DPD raided the NOI headquarters at 3408 Hasting Street and arrested Fard along with Ugan Ali. (Gardell 2006:47). Fard was arrested two more times in Detroit before he was finally forced out of the city on May 26, 1933, leaving NOI in the hands of his messenger, Poole, who had taken the name Elijah Muhammad (Gardell 2006:58; Lee 1996:25). Following Fard's mysterious disappearance, Elijah Muhammad finally revealed his secret: W.D. Fard was not a prophet but rather God himself, a black man (Gardell 2005:58). Though a comprehensive look at the NOI is beyond the scope of this chapter, the arrest of Fard, Ali, and Harris set the stage for the NOI to be labelled and tracked as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. To this end, I briefly examine the ways in which the beliefs of the NOI were seen as a threat to American ideals and thus sparked investigations in African-American Muslim Movements by the U.S. government beginning in the 1940s.

Paranoia about the Nation of Islam and African-American Islam being an internal security risk due to their controversial teachings and “anti-American” rhetoric, caused the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to begin an intensive investigation into W.D. Fard, following his mysterious disappearance in the 1940s that lasted through the 1960s; the FBI’s investigation into Fard stemmed from their belief that they could break the black Muslim movement (Turner 2003:165). Part of this paranoia followed the declaration of Japanese nationalists who vowed to challenge white-world supremacy.
during WWII; they found common ground with black militant groups like the NOI who railed against fighting with or for white supremacist powers. After African Americans refused to fight a war for “democracy”\(^2\) while they were simultaneously being denied civil rights in America, the FBI officially launched a full-scale investigation into all African-American Muslims movements in order to discover any and all anti-American rhetoric (Gardell 2006:70). However, as Turner (2003:158) argues, despite the controversial, black separatist teachings of the NOI, it was not similar to white supremacist groups in the 1930s because it did not develop programs of genocide; rather it took on a defensive stance to counter racial discrimination against African Americans. Elijah Muhammad refused to allow white Americans to join the NOI and discouraged his followers from fraternizing with immigrant Muslims (Muhammad 1985:74). This is what makes the NOI so significant in terms of its place as a Pan-Africanist organization; following the demise of the Moorish Science Temple and Garveyism, the NOI became the premier voice for African Americans, preaching a political ideology that served as a tool for their political, economic, social, and technological advancement (Turner 2003:159).

The fight for racial justice and inalienable rights granted to them by virtue of their citizenship by African Americans, both Muslim and non-Muslim, was not a fight that immigrant Muslims wanted to be involved in. Their mass arrival in the United States during the Civil Rights Movement is not only historically significant because it represented a sudden demographic shift in the fabric of American ethnic and religious

\(^2\) The Nation of Islam encouraged its followers to reject citizenship and duties like voting and serving in the military; one of the most famous NOI followers to refuse to serve in the military was the late boxing legend Muhammad Ali (Smith and Leonard 2009).
diversity, but it also is ironic, given that immigrant Muslims directly benefitted from the efforts of African Americans, both Muslim and non-Muslims, who were currently fighting against racial discrimination. Apart from the Ahmadi, immigrant Arab and South Asian Muslims did not encourage relations with African-American Muslims and tended to view them as an embarrassment (Turner 2003:162). Elliott (2007) argues that Islamic scholars abroad believed that the teachings of the NOI were anti-thetical to the faith—a belief that undoubtedly followed immigrants to the U.S. The desire of immigrant Muslims to separate themselves from their black brothers and sisters in faith during this period, can partly be explained by their desire to assimilate into American culture and partly by their belief that Islam is an inherited identity and they were authentic representations of the faith due to their link to the Muslim world and their knowledge of the Islamic texts and the Arabic language. From the previous section, it is clear that immigrant Muslims, Arab Muslims in particular, had fought to become “white” in order to gain the right to become American citizens. As Jackson (2005:137) argues, whereas African-American Muslims see assimilation, if it were possible, into mainstream culture as a threat to their authenticity and tend experience America as a culture, immigrant Muslims view citizenship as a culture, in the sense that being Egyptian or Syrian is not a political arrangement but rather a cultural legacy. As a result of their experience, immigrant Muslims therefore view assimilation into that “culture” has a duty of their citizenship. Before 9/11, immigrant Muslims were primarily concerned with fighting against this idea that Islam was hostile to American ideals and society or that dark-skinned Muslim immigrants were outside the bounds of whiteness (Beydoun 2016). Similarly, GhaneaBassiri (2010:163) argues,
the conflation of race, religion, and progress necessitated that [immigrant Muslims] argue for their inclusion into American society not in terms of the actual contributions they made to the nation, but rather through claims to the matrix of whiteness, Christianity, and progress that had come to constitute America’s national identity.

Thus despite being one ummah, that is the community of believers who struggle in unison to submit their will to the Will of Allah and in this sense is composed of groups who can put aside their individual identities and mutual suspicions in order to uphold that is right, forbid justice, and worship Allah in congregation (McCloud 1995:4), the largest ethnic division between Muslims in America is between predominantly African-American Muslims and immigrant Arab and South Asian Muslims. Though Muslims societies have been plagued by ethnic conflict for the last 1,400 years, the “black/immigrant” or “indigenous/immigrant” divide (see Elliot 2007; Marable and Aidi 2009; Muhammad 2011), described here is caused by the desire for African-American Muslims to use Islam as a tool for political empowerment and the desire of immigrant Muslims to use ethnicity rather than Islam to shape their sense of national belonging (GhaneaBassiri 2010:164). Additionally, the divide is strengthened by economic tensions and questions over leadership. Significant class barriers serve to keep Muslims of various ethnic groups in unequal power arrangements; immigrant Muslims typically have higher education attainments which boost higher incomes, allowing them to move to suburban areas with whites, while African-American Muslims, who overwhelmingly convert to Islam while in prison, lack the economic stability to leave the inner cities (Elliott 2007; Hill et al. 2015; Karim 2009). African-American Muslims, particularly those who follow the American Society of Muslims (current name for W.D. Muhammad’s segment of the NOI) felt as though, following 9/11, they were better poised to be the voice of American Muslims because of their American roots and their Christian
backgrounds, which remained relevant after conversion (Smith and Leonard 2007). Immigrant Arab and South Asian Muslims on the other hand felt that their connection to Orthodox Islam through their home or origin and knowledge of Islamic text, made them better suited to lead interfaith activities.

Paris, San Bernardino, and the Racialization of Islam

On November 13, 2015, two months after Ahmed Mohamed was arrested in Texas, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), claimed responsibility for a terrorist on attack in Paris that claimed the lives of 130 people and wounded hundreds. In remarks following the attack, President Barack Hussein Obama declared that the attacks on Paris were “an attack on all of humanity and the universal values that we share”. He continued, “We stand prepared and ready to provide whatever assistance the government and the people of France need to respond. We are going to do whatever it takes to work with the French people and nations around the world to bring these terrorists to justice” (Miller 2015).

Barely a month later, on December 2, Syed Rizwan Farook, 28, and Tashfreen Malik, 27, killed 14 people and wounded another 22 in a targeted attack and attempted bombing at a social services building in San Bernardino, California. Farook, who was a U.S. citizen of Pakistani descent, met Malik, a Pakistani native, through an online dating service and met her in person when Farook visited Saudi Arabia; Malik later came to the U.S. on a fiancée visa and became a legal permanent resident (Ahmed 2015). Initially, police could not pinpoint a motive because Farook had worked at the health Department as an environmental health specialist for five years, was not in jeopardy of losing his job, and had no criminal record. During the attack, a post made on behalf of the couple appeared on a Facebook page associated with Malik that pledged allegiance to Abu
Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIL (Schmidt and Perez-Pena 2015; Stanglin and Johnson 2015). Following the attack, the couple fled and were eventually killed in a shootout with police. On December 9, FBI Director James B. Comey stated that the investigation led them to believe that the couple were homegrown, violent extremists who were inspired by foreign terrorist organizations, but were not directed by these groups or part of a broader cell or network of terrorists (Williams and Abdullah 2015).

The attacks led then Republican presidential candidate frontrunner, Donald J. Trump, to call for a temporary “total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country’s representatives can figure out what is going on” according to a campaign press release” (Trump 2015). Previously, Trump argued for surveillance against mosques and establishing a database that would track all Muslims living in the United States (Diamond 2015). His declaration was added to an ever growing list of anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant rhetoric that the hopeful Presidential nominee used to fuel his campaign and appeal to right-wing voters. Like many of his vague campaign proposals, the language regarding the ban shifted when Trump traveled to Scotland and was asked whether it would bother him to allow a Scottish or British Muslim to enter the United States. His response: “I don’t want people coming in. I don’t want people coming in from certain countries. I don’t want people coming in from the terror countries. You have terror countries! I don’t want them, unless they’re very, very strongly vetted” (Vitali 2016). Trump’s campaign, which was rooted in playground-esque insults and controversial proposals, is not surprising. In 2011, he launched a public campaign to pressure President Obama to release his real birth certificate. Trump like many others in the “birther movement” claimed that President Obama was not born in
the state of Hawaii like he claimed, and that the President was lying about not being a Muslim. Though President Obama later released his long-form birth certificate proving that he was in fact born in the United States, he denounced Trump stating that “we do not have time for this kind of silliness. We’ve got better stuff to do. I’ve got better stuff to do” (Moody and Holmes 2015).

Anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant rhetoric like Trump’s is dangerous, especially coming from our politicians. It serves to heighten the fears of Muslim Americans who have served and sacrificed for their country; who face being attacked on the street simply for existing; who are accused to being terrorists while boarding flights; who watch the news with trepidation hoping that an act of terror was not perpetrated by a Muslim; and who are misunderstood and seen as something ‘foreign’ and ‘un-American’. The reality is Muslim Americans and Muslim immigrants have much more to fear from Americans than Americans do from radical Islamic attacks. According to the F.B.I. database (2005), terror attacks by Islamic extremists accounted for only six percent of terror attacks between 1980 and 2005. In a U.S. News and World Report (Cline 2013), the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security reported that of the 300 American deaths from political violence and mass shootings since the 9/11 attacks, only 33 were perpetrated by Muslim-Americans. In comparison, since the November 2015 attacks on Paris, anti-Muslims attacks in the U.S. have tripled. Similar to what happened after 9/11, there was a dramatic spike in anti-Muslim attacks, and those thought to be Muslims as well, like Sikhs. Since 9/11, the average number of hate crimes against Muslims per month has been 12.6, according to the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism (Lichtblau 2015). Between November 13 and December 20, 2015, there were 38
attacks against Muslims in the U.S. (Siemaszko 2015). Attacks range from smashing eggs over a Muslim woman’s hijab, to the burning of mosques and homes, to the more extreme of shootings. Fear, hatred, and ignorance are the driving force behind these senseless acts of violence. Calls for Muslims to ‘return to where they came from’ have remained consistent since the 9/11 attacks. With this being said it would support the findings of a Pew Research Center (2011) study that found 28 percent of surveyed Muslims felt that people act suspicious of them; 22 percent have been called offensive names, and 21 percent have been singled out and searched on flights. An additional Pew study (2013a) argues that Muslims experience more discrimination than other marginalized groups, including those in the LGBT+ community, African Americans, Latinos, and women. I would venture to argue that this is not necessarily true, but that instead immigrant Muslims have undergone a process of racialization, which a process of othering that constructs perceived cultural (e.g. Arab), religious (e.g. Muslim), or civilizational (e.g. Arab and/or Muslim) differences as natural and immutable (Naber 2008:270), which is similar to other forms of discrimination. Joshi (2006) argues that the racialization of religion results in the conflation of race and religion in a way that religion is seen as an immutable, essential, and ultimately unassimilable aspect of their identity rather than their chosen belief system.

Following major violent acts where a Muslim is deemed to be the perpetrator, i.e. San Bernardino and Paris, or when immigrants Muslims are attacked, immigrant Arab and South Muslims formulate initiatives that are aimed at showing that they were just as American as everyone else. Bazi (2016) argues that non-Black Muslims, like herself, rallied behind this idea of ‘aspirational whiteness’, which is the denial of Otherness to
gain access to white privileges, which serves to obscure the narrative and experiences of African-American Muslims. Many of the self-appointed Muslim national organizations and leaders, who are predominantly of South Asian and Arab descent that arose to power in the post 9/11 era, distance themselves from the narrative of black Muslim resistance against white supremacy by sharing their stories of coming to the U.S. and becoming American. This assimilation narrative, Hill (2015a) argues, focuses on highlighting how immigrant-Muslim Americans are just like their white neighbors, rather than connecting their struggle with other minorities, particularly those in their ummah. Unfortunately, this assimilation narrative and quest for aspirational whiteness has done little to decrease anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant sentiments and violence.

In a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center (2011), they noted that despite 56 percent of Muslims preferring to adopt American customs and ways of life—having educational, income, and occupational levels comparable to average Americans, and sharing similar concerns about Islamic extremism—more than half of those surveyed believed that being Muslim in the United States has been more difficult since 9/11. The reason? Since 9/11, immigrant Muslims and their children have undergone a racialization process, which has led to the creation of a Muslim archetype, and an increase in “race”-based violence (Zopf 2015). Traditionally, the unique forms of anti-Islamic prejudice and discrimination faced by Muslim immigrants and their children have been explained through frameworks of Orientalism and Islamophobia (see Sheridan 2006; Silverstein 2008; Meer and Modood 2009). Though most of this research has focused on European Muslims; after 9/11, scholars began turning their attention to American Muslims and began incorporating a racialization framework to complement
Orientalism and Islamophobia (Zopf 2015). Together, Orientalism, which is the style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the “Orient” and the ‘Occident’ (Said 1978:2), and Islamophobia leads to 1) the production of stereotypes that lead to essentialist misrepresentations of the Middle East; and 2) the explanation of anti-Muslim sentiments in Europe and the United States. Racialization, therefore, connects prejudicial attitudes of Islam (as a religion) and of the Orient (as a civilization) to Muslims (as a people) by incorporating the visibility aspect of race (Zopf 2015). As Islam is racialized, the attacks target the people, who are “brown” and may or may not have a beard or wear a head scarf, rather than the religion itself.

Understanding the racialization of Islam is important particularly as it pertains to the relationship between the immigrant-Muslim community and the African-American Muslim community. By continuing to conflate Muslims with Arabs or Middle Easterners, the narratives, experiences, and legitimacy of other minority groups is called into question. Hill (2015b) specifically argues that by making “Muslim” a category or using ethnic groups like Arab or South Asian as a synonym for Muslims, it excludes African-American Muslims from conversations about Muslim civil liberties and the effects of Islamophobia.

Still Not Quite White: Why There can be no #MuslimLivesMatter without #BlackLivesMatter

Following 9/11, American Muslims were thrust into the spotlight as non-Muslim Americans sought out information, explanations, and responses to their fears and incomprehension from Muslims scholars, religious figures, and other believers (Diouf 2013:2). Despite intense public scrutiny and violent attacks by Americans, some immigrant Muslims still struggled to understand why African-Americans Muslims were
reluctant to meet with law enforcement officials (Elliot 2007). Curtis (2009:xi) argued that this lack of understanding or empathy is because American Muslims, both indigenous and immigrant, know very little of each other, which in large part stems from the fact that there is no strong inter-faith alliance. Leaders in the African-American Muslim community argue that immigrants have failed to learn their history, which includes a pattern of F.B.I. surveillance. For immigrants to understand why “African-American Muslims are always so angry”, Imam Al-Hajj Talib ‘Abdur-Rashid, a 56-year-old first generation, African-American Muslim, had to explain to a South Asian Muslim that “African Americans are like the Palestinians of this land. We are not just angry black people. We are legitimately outraged and angry” (Elliott 2007). As immigrant-Arab and South Muslims undergo the racialization process, they understand that African-American Muslims have something that they do not: a cultural and historical fluency in dealing with institutionalized and systematic racism and a proven track record in mobilizing in America. Since 9/11, Arab and South Asian Muslims have been increasingly turning to African-American Muslims for their civil rights experience and giving them roles of leadership in their largest organizations (Elliot 2007; Pluralism Project 2006). Though the two groups have joined forces politically, the alliance is uneasy and typically found among the leaders rather than the congregation.

This divide is seen in the appropriation of the hashtag #MuslimLivesMatter and the continued use of the derogatory term ‘abeed’, which means slave, that Muslims use when referring to African Americans. Following the murders of Deah Barakat, Razan Abu-Salha and Yusor Abu-Salha, three Muslim students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, in February 2015 (see Talbot 2015), American Muslims began
using the #MuslimLivesMatter hashtag as a way to vent their frustrations and express their support and outrage. The problem? As argued by Islam (2015) and Sabah (2015), appropriating a hashtag used by the Black Lives Matter Movement, which is used to discuss police brutality and violence against African Americans and to serve as a stand against the establishment for continuing to devalue black lives, trivializes the experiences of African Americans, derails the conversation, hurts those affected, and adds to the lack of solidarity between black and immigrant Muslims. In an open letter to Muslims who use the #MuslimLivesMatter hashtag, White (2015) urged his fellow Muslims to consider that there was no movement of people devaluing the lives of Barakat and the Abu-Salha sisters, the media was not painting them as criminals, and their killers did not walk free to sit at home with their family on paid-administrative leave. Instead, White (2015) challenged non-black Muslims to stand in solidarity with their black brothers and sisters by attending rallies and to abandon the hashtag. Arias (2015) argued that the #MuslimLivesMatter hashtag should not be taken the wrong way or seen as appropriating, but as American Muslims finding their voice, and doing so by acknowledging the strength and courage of the Black Lives Matter Movement. History, however, between indigenous and immigrant groups tell a different story, one that does not include standing in solidarity. As immigrant-Arab and South Asian Muslims continue to struggle with aspirational whiteness and aligning their identities with mainstream American culture, it would do them and others justice to understand how indebted we all are as a nation to the efforts of African-American Muslim leaders in issues of civil rights. The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag is much bigger than a hashtag or a fight against police brutality. It represents a 400-year struggle by African Americans to be included, to be
respected, and to be valued by American society. We, as Americans, no matter our creed, nation of origin, ethnicity, educational background, or socioeconomic status are all indebted to the efforts of African-American Muslim leaders like Malcolm X and W. D. Muhammad to not only change the face of the NOI from its separatist, race-based theology towards Orthodox Sunni Islam and the global Muslim community (Smith and Leonard 2009), but to fight for basic rights that should be acknowledged given the freedoms established by our Constitution.

**Conclusion: #BeingBlackandMuslim**

Starting in September 2015, black Muslims began using the hashtag #BeingBlackandMuslim to reflect on their experiences as they grappled with the intersectionality of their identity. First coined by Kimberly Crenshaw in 1989, intersectionality refers to the overlapping social identities and related systems of oppression that are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another. Relaunched by the Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative (Muslim Arc) in February 2014 as part of Black History Month, the hashtag has now spread in a global campaign to address racism within Muslim communities and to embrace the beauty and power of being black and Muslim (Saleem 2015). Consider these tweets:

“#BeingBlackandMuslim: Q4. Holding the incorrect and brainwashed notion that we need to shed our Blackness to be a true Muslim”- Twitter user @AminaKoroma.

“#BeingBlackandMuslim is about loving your country and loving your people and understanding that Islam promotes both!”- Twitter user @basheerj

“#BeingBlackandMuslim is recognizing the groundwork the Nation of Islam set for people of all races [so that they] can practice being Muslim in America- Twitter user @cigmbigresh
“#BeingBlackandMuslim means having immigrant Muslims dismiss the work black Muslims did fighting for civil rights they also benefit from”- Twitter user @taqwabr

These tweets demonstrate a way for African-American Muslims to be erased no more, to actually be seen not only by their non-black, co-religionists but by the American people. In Chapters Two and Three, the history and legacy of African Islam provided a historical and intellectual foundation for the creation of African-American Islam today. We can only pay tribute to that legacy if we acknowledge this history by hearing the voices of contemporary, African-American Muslims who have continued to fight for civil rights and against white supremacy, and institutionalized and systematic racism. The purpose of this chapter has been to understand why, as Malcolm X put it, that the Muslim world does not care about the black American. Through education, through community and public outreach, and through interfaith and intrafaith alliances, we can begin to eradicate the stereotype and assumption by many Americans, both Muslim and non-Muslim that immigrants and their children represent ‘true’ Islam. The fact remains that without African Islam, that predates the mass immigration of Orthodox Muslims Jackson (2005:131) argued, Islam would have no indigenous roots nor whatever status it does have as a bona fide American religion.

In 2015, the D.C. Historic Preservation Office, had a rare opportunity to bring the stories of enslaved, African Muslims and their link to contemporary African-American Muslims into conversations regarding the state of Muslims and Islam in America. The Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project provided the gateway for archaeologists to truly engage in a controversial contemporary situation.
Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign. But stories can also be used to empower, and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people. But stories can also repair that broken dignity.

— Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

I first read Shepherd’s (2003) “When the Hand that Holds the Trowel is Black”, when I was an undergraduate student at Howard University. Shepherd (2003) used images taken from the archive of John Goodwin, one of the first professional archaeologists in sub-Saharan Africa, to open up a set of questions about the nature of archeological work, specifically the use of native labor. One of the uncaptioned and unprovenienced photos is of Goodwin and an unknown native worker. Within early African Archaeology, native workers were the co-producers of knowledge, and yet were rarely, if ever, acknowledged within official documents. While Shepherd’s (2003) article deals largely with the decolonization of African archaeology, it also addresses issues of representation, visibility, power, and the production of history. If history is typically written by the articulate members of society (Orser 1996:162), who speaks for the silenced? Can they speak for themselves?

One of the greatest strengths of archaeology is unlike any of the other social sciences, it has the ability to shed light on the lives of those who are not only poorly represented in historical records, but to give a voice to the silenced (Orser and Fagan 1995:202-204). Archaeology has the power to make those who are invisible, visible, to give them recognition and representation through the recovery and close study of their material culture. In Chapter Two, Three, and Four, I traced the silencing of enslaved African Muslims and erasure of their history and legacy. In this chapter, I document the
archaeological investigations that took place between June and November 2015 on the property that once belonged to Yarrow Mamout. Despite finding no definitive evidence of Mamout’s occupation of the site, the archaeological investigations brought visibility to the history and legacy of enslaved African Muslims. As a result of this visibility, enslaved African Muslims have been given representation and legitimacy in history.

**Project Background**

Though no ground breaking activities occurred until 2015, the project was initiated in 2012 when James H. Johnston contacted Dr. Ruth Trocolli, the City Archaeologist for the District of Columbia, and informed her that the historical integrity of Mamout’s former property at 3324 Dent Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. was at risk of being destroyed to private and/or commercial development pursuits. Johnston had started researching Mamout’s life back in 2005, when he happened upon the Simpson portrait on a visit to the Georgetown Public Library (Johnston 2006). Johnston and others in the neighborhood were concerned that the history attached to the property would be lost if any development took place, and were the prime pushers for archaeological investigations. Their motivation stemmed from the demolition of an 1850s wood framed house that had sat blighted for two years with a blue tarp covering the roof after a tree destroyed the second story in Hurricane Irene (see Figure 5-1 and 5-2). Unfortunately, according to the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, the City Archaeologist and the D.C. Historic Preservation Office (D.C. HPO) had no clear legal mandate to require the property owner, Ms. Margaret Cheney, to conduct compliance work on privately owned land. Ms. Cheney initially gave permission through her lawyer to conduct archaeological investigations, but little was known about the history of the property at that time. Over the course of the next three years, interns
through the District Leadership Program in the D.C. HPO conducted background research about the property using historic maps, photographs, documents, and archaeological reports on investigations conducted in the vicinity of the property obtained from the D.C. HPO.

In May 2014, the D.C. HPO developed a preliminary archaeological work plan (Bradley 2014) to outline the scope of work to be conducted during the excavations. Although the archaeological investigations were not required to comply with municipal or federal historic preservation office, nonetheless, they were carried out in accordance with the *Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in the District of Columbia*. As such, the archaeological excavations included five tasks: 1) review of relevant background research; 2) archaeological field investigations; 3) artifact analysis and site and site recordation; 4) report writing; 5) and artifact/document curation (Bradley 2014). The project’s principal investigator was Dr. Ruth Trocolli; the Project Archaeologist was Charles Leedecker, formerly of The Louis Berger Group; I, Mia Carey, acted as the Project Field Director; and Chardè Reid, the Assistant City Archaeologist, acted as the Crew Chief and field director once I returned to graduate school in Florida in August 2015. Muhammad Fraser Rahim, a Muslim doctoral candidate in the Department of History at Howard University, served as the project’s Muslim history consultant. Excavations took place between June and November 2015. At the time of this writing, we are still working on task #4, thus this chapter serves as a preliminary report of the archaeological investigations.

**Project Location and Historical Development**

The project site is located at 3324 Dent Place, N.W. in Upper Georgetown (see Figure 5-3), which is an historic neighborhood, commercial, and entertainment district
along the Potomac River. Its history began in 1621 when Henry Fleet, an English colonist from Jamestown, sailed up the Potomac River with a party of men in search of corn. Fleet and his men were captured by the Anacostan Indians at the village of Tohoga and held captive for several years; Fleet was eventually ransomed after other members of his party were killed. Fleet returned to the area that would become Georgetown in 1632 because of the fertile soil, moderate climate, abundant wildlife, and good transportation along the waterways. Other colonists soon followed and as their numbers grew, a series of land grants were issued, determining the future development of Georgetown. In 1703, Ninian Beall, a Scottish immigrant, purchased a land grant and named it the “Rock of Dumbarton”. Later, another Scotsman, George Gordon, purchased a large land grant in 1743, which he named Knave’s Disappointment; Knave’s was later renamed Rock Creek Plantation and accounts for most of the land on which Georgetown would rest (National Park Service 1967).

Georgetown, named in honor of King George II, was founded in 1751 after the Maryland Assembly authorized a town to be built on 60 acres of land belonging to George Beall and George Gordon (National Park Service n.d.a). The land was divided into 80 lots which were sold (National Park Service 1967). The town flourished as a tobacco port and shipping center; during the Revolutionary War, the port city served as a depot for military supplies. After the town was incorporated in 1789, a textile mill, paper factory, and additional flourmills were established (National Park Service n.d.a). By the turn of the century, Georgetown’s population grew from 3,000 in 1800 to nearly 5,000 in 1810. In 1825, Congress granted a charter to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to build a canal from the tidewater to the Cumberland; however, these efforts
to revitalize Georgetown’s failing economy never materialized as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reached the Cumberland before the canal could be completed. Instead, new flour mills and open coal fields replaced the tobacco and grocery warehouses by the 1820s, as well as the influx of Irish immigrants to the western part of Georgetown. In 1871, Georgetown was incorporated into the Federal City. By this time, freed slaves had begun to migrate into the city, until the town was more than 50 percent African American. After World War I, Georgetown was known as one of Washington’s worst slums, a trend which continued until the 1930s (National Park Service 1967). Today, Georgetown is an enclave for the affluent and political. It was designated as a National Historic Landmark in May 1967.

**Purpose and Goals**

The initial purpose of the project was to conduct public outreach, promote education, and to give a voice to the voiceless. Our goals were to identify and interpret material remains of Mamout’s occupation, such as his house, outbuildings, refuse deposits, etc.; to determine whether Peale’s claim that Mamout was buried on the property was accurate; and to a lesser extent understand the use of the domestic landscape over the course of the 200 years since Mamout’s occupation. As the project progressed, we added an additional goal: community involvement and engagement. By opening the project up to the community, we were able to better engage the local African-American Muslim community and those who were open and interested in learning about the history and legacy of African Islam in the nation’s capital.

**Fundraising and Volunteers**

From the beginning, the project had limited resources. The D.C. Historic Preservation Office had never undertaken a public project such as this, and as a result,
raising funds and gathering the equipment on short notice was initially difficult. While I gathered estimates for the large mechanical equipment we would need, I also worked to secure permits from the D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, District Department of Environment, and the District Department of Transportation. Word of our financial situation spread and several citizens decided to help. Kate Whitmore and Jim Johnston set up a donation account through the D.C. Preservation League, who managed the funds for the project. Between June and November 2015, 34 people donated to the project. Donors included members of the local Advisory Neighborhood Council, the Association of the Oldest Inhabitants of D.C., Georgetown neighbors, and members of the Yaro Collective, a young, multi-group network that seeks to create a community without walls. Most donors gave $50 (11 people) or $100 (8 people), but four donors gave $500 apiece. In total, $4,213.85 was raised over the course of the project. The donations were primarily used to pay for the mini-backhoe rental and operation, but were also used to ship the artifacts from D.C. to Florida for analysis and pay for minor supplies. What was not purchased was donated by various groups and individuals, cultural resource management firms, the National Park Service, Archaeology in the Community, and Washington Parks and People.

Initially due to severe time constraints, project volunteers were limited to professional archaeologists or those with previous excavation experience. However, as time progressed and word spread about the project, more people expressed interest in volunteering. Over the course of the project, we had over 60 volunteers of varying ages, ethnicities, and degrees archaeological experience. Volunteers were allowed to
participate on weekends starting in late July 2015. On some Saturday excavations, there were over 20 volunteers at a time.

**Methodology and Results**

Archival research and subsequent occupation and development of the lot over the course of 250 years, suggested that the lot would be heavily disturbed. Demolition of the southernmost dwelling, the addition of detached shed behind the house, the construction of chicken coups along the southern boundary of the lot, and the excavation of an in-ground pool in the 20th century limited the areas with greatest potential for intact-cultural deposits to the southernmost portion of the property, measuring approximately 30 x 35 feet. Overall, the results of the shovel testing, geoarchaeological testing, ground penetrating radar, and mechanical testing support severe soil disturbance, particularly in the 75 ft. x 35 ft. area to the north of the extant in-ground pool. Results of the documentary research and excavations will be reviewed here. See Figure 5-4 for a site map.

**Documentary Research**

Between 2013 and 2015, District Leadership Program Interns, Jarrett Smith and Kevin Bradley, conducted background research of the property through the use of historic maps, photographs, documents, and archaeological reports on investigations conducted in the vicinity of the property obtained from the D.C. HPO.

No documentary evidence has been found, yet, identifying the location of Mamout’s house on the property through tax records indicate that it was a wood-frame
building. Nor is it clear at this time whether or not a structure was present at the time of purchase or whether one was constructed later. The 1861 Boschke is the earliest map depicting structures along Dent Place (then 6th Street) (see Figure 5-5 and 5-6). Figure 5-5 shows that by the mid to late 19th century most of the Beatty and Hawkins' 1769 addition to Georgetown was populated. When Yarrow Mamout first purchased the property in 1800, the area was still largely underdeveloped and was still considered to be part of a colonial plantation.

Although a complete chain of property ownership has not been established, following Yarrow Mamout's death in 1823 and the bank acquiring the property in 1834, there were a succession of households. Documentary research conducted by Mark Herlong indicates that by the 1870s, John King, a white foundry worker, lived on the property until sometime between 1912 and 1916 (Mark Herlong, personal communication). The 1887 Hopkins (see Figure 5-7) identifies two wood-frame structures present on the lot, one of which is a fuel shed built in 1886. Both buildings are present on the 1903 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (see Figure 5-8) and were identified as two-story wood-frame dwellings with a one-story attachment.

The southernmost structure is missing from the 1911 Baist Map (see Figure 5-9). By 1924, a brick addition was added to be back of the two-story frame house, which remained until the house was demolished in 2013. Two outbuildings, including a shed and a large chicken coup in the back of the lot, were added sometime by the first quarter of the 20th century (see Figure 5-10), but disappeared by the 1950s as they

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were not present on the surveyor’s map (see Figure 5-11). The last major landscape developments that occurred on the property were the excavation of the extant in-ground pool shown on the builder’s permit in Figure 5-12, terracing, and the addition of a fountain, statuary, and outdoor lighting.

Field Methods

The proposed undertaking was to be conducted prior to any new construction on the rectangular lot which measures 150 feet (on the North and South) by 35 feet (on the East and West), and was to focus on areas within the property not disturbed by demolition of the previous house and the extant in-ground pool (Bradley 2014, see Figure 5-12). Due to the heavily disturbed nature of the property, the southernmost portion (south of the pool) was thought to possess the highest likelihood for intact cultural deposits. Topographic maps indicated a high degree of residential development after Mamout’s occupation, specifically the levelling of the rear property with fill that could have potentially preserved buried living surfaces. The archaeological excavations included the manual excavation of 35 shovel test pits (s.t.p.s); geoarchaeological analysis, ground penetrating radar, mechanical testing, and the manual excavation of 20 test units.

Shovel Testing

It was proposed that a number of s.t.p.s be systematically excavated across the property to determine the level of disturbance and identify potential cultural features. Shovel test pits were placed at 10 ft. intervals plotted on a grid to provide a reliable sample of the soils and potential cultural material contained within (Bradley 2014, see Figure 5-13). The grid had three transects, labelled A, B, and C, with A on the west side of the property and C along the east side of the property, which were placed outside the
footprints of the former 1850s house and extant pool. S.t.p.s were numbered according to their corresponding transect and placement along the grid, for example the fifth s.t.p. on transect A is numbered A5. Due to the heavily disturbed nature of the eastern side of the property because of the demolition of the 1850s house, shovel test pits in rows 3 through 7 on transects B and C were not initially excavated. Once s.t.p.s A4 was excavated, it was discovered that the grid needed to be shifted five feet to the left to reflect the grid first proposed in the archaeological work plan. Three additional s.t.p.s were placed on the western side of the pool after it was determined that mechanical testing was not feasible due to a mere two foot, five-inch clearance; these units were labeled 9-11 on transect A, and were also placed at 10 ft. intervals. Due to the presence of a large tree in the southwestern corner of the property, two additional s.t.p.s, labelled D13 and D14, were excavated south of the garden wall. Shovel testing was completed manually with the aid of a spade shovel and trowel. Excavation depths were extended 4 inches into culturally sterile subsoils and were halted if soils were impenetrable at any depth. The resulting soils were dry-screened on site using ¼ inch hardware mesh screens.

A total of 35 s.t.p.s were excavated. As expected, the s.t.p.s north of the extant in-ground pool encountered debris related to the demolition of the northernmost wood-frame structure. In the course of excavating the s.t.p.s just south of the extant in-ground pool, a buried living surface began uniformly appearing between 24 and 27 inches below ground surface (bgs). These results guided the mechanical stripping of 2-3 feet of fill from a 25 ft. by 23 ft. section of the area south of the pool. The results of these excavations are provided in Tables 5-1 through 5-4.
Geoarchaeological Testing

Following the excavation of the s.t.p.s, geoarchaeological hand-auger testing was provided pro-bono by Dr. Dan Wagner of GeoSci, LLC on July, 23, 2015. Three soil borings were excavated and were placed near open s.t.p.s B13 and B15, and where C7 would have been placed. The goal of these borings were to determine if intact, original, ground surfaces still existed below the modern surface. The soils were laid out in column form as a means of examining soil color and texture, measuring depths, and estimating age. Borings B13 and B15 were excavated vertically, while C7 was excavated diagonally to avoid encountering demolition debris.

Boring B13

According to Dr. Wagner, the soils in this boring were severely degraded, filled upland backslope position, and were deeply truncated, two to three feet, subsequent to grading and three fill episodes. He identified seven soil horizons. Dr. Wagner’s notes indicate that unless the deep grading observed in B15 and C7 was done at the time of Mamout’s occupation, cultural material from this period is unlikely to still exist at the location of this borings (see Figure 5-14).

Boring B15

This boring was also in a filled upland backslope position. The 3Apb horizon, which was 2.5- 3.2 feet below the ground surface, was interpreted by Dr. Wagner as the surface of a soil that was agriculturally deflated prior initial occupation of the property. This 3Apb horizon had the greatest potential for containing materials dating to the Mamout occupation.
**Boring C7**

Boring C7 was also graded, filled upland backslope position, and truncated two feet. Fill was distributed between three stacked A horizons with little differentiation; these horizons extended 2.2 feet below the ground surface and were interpreted by Dr. Wagner was having been relatively recent in origin. Dr. Wagner notes that unless the grading observed in this boring was done at the time of Mamout’s occupation, cultural material from his occupation is unlikely to still exist at this location.

**Ground Penetrating Radar**

Elizabeth Wilson of Tomb Geophysics, LLC provided pro-bono ground penetrating radar services on August 27th, 2015. The goal was to determine the presence of any subsurface anomalies that could indicate the location of Mamout’s house footprint, a burial shaft, or any other features of interest.

Due to interference with metal and the mechanical stripping of the southernmost portion of the lot, the ground penetrating radar survey area was limited to the area north of the extant in-ground pool. Results indicated a tremendous amount of surface disturbance (see Figure 5-15). There was one circular anomaly in the northwestern corner of the property that sparked interest, however it turned out to not be significant. At a further depth, Dr. Wilson found a concentration of historic debris or fill. Subsequent mechanical testing and manual excavation confirmed a high degree of surface disturbance, though did not reveal any significant sub-surface features.

**Mechanical Testing**

Following the completion of s.t.p.s excavations, the excavation of T.U.s A and B, and geoarchaeological testing, a mini-backhoe was brought in to strip out 2-3 feet of fill possibly deposited from the installation of the extant pool in order to reach the Buried A
Horizon which uniformly appeared in the shovel test pits south of the pool between 24 and 27 inches. Due to space limitations and concerns about soil erosion, a 25 x 23 ft. section of the 30 x 35 ft. rear of the property was stripped. Using existing small gardening brick retaining walls, the back dirt was stockpiled on the western side of the property to allow a buffer zone for the safety of the crew and visitors. After completion of this stripping in the rear of the lot, a 40 ft., 4 ft. deep trench was excavated on the western side of the property in the front half of the lot. The goal of this trench was to observe soil sequences to determine whether intact, buried land surfaces were present beneath the debris from the demolished house.

In the course of excavating the 40-ft. trench on the eastern side of the property, we encountered three coal ash deposits. At the current time, we have not been able to explain these deposits (see Figures 5.16-5.18). These were not present in the excavations of the s.t.p.s in transect A.

**Manual Excavation of Test Units**

Placement of the test units were dependent on limitations posed by the site itself. Based on data provided by documentary research and the excavation of the s.t.p.s, T.U. A was placed between s.t.p.s A10 and A11 on the western side of the property. Test unit B was placed in the southeastern corner of the property between s.t.p.s B14 and B15. T.U.s C-F were initially laid out in a checkerboard pattern in the area that was mechanically stripped; T.U.s G-R were opened as features were chased (see Figure 5-19). T.U.s S-U were placed in the area north of the pool to fully explore areas of interest. Manual test unit excavation was completed with the aid of a flat-nose shovel and trowel, where appropriate. Excavation depths were extended 4 inches into culturally
sterile subsoils and were halted if soils were impenetrable at any depth. The resulting soils were dry-screened on site using ¼ inch hardware mesh screens.

A total of 20 T.U.s were excavated over the course of the excavations. Each T.U was assigned a letter upon initial layout and opening. The results are summarized in Table 5-5.

**Feature Summary**

A total of 35 features were recovered during archaeological investigations; they are summarized by type in Table 5-6. At least two of the features are likely soil stains related to the excavations of s.t.p.s south of the pool. Of these features, the most intriguing are the trash pit (Feature 9) and the possible wooden box (Feature 10), pictured in Figure 5.20. Unfortunately, no subsurface features indicating a possible burial or possible house foundation related to Mamout’s occupation of the site were found during either ground penetrating radar or archaeological investigations.

Feature 9 is a trash pit that was found in T.U.s E and H. A total of 453 artifacts were recovered (see Table 5-7). In order to date the feature, I conducted a mean ceramic date. Using the decal decorated porcelain; stoneware; pearlware; undecorated whiteware; Pankhurst ceramics; blue underglaze printed pearlware; Shenango hotel china; Albany slip stoneware; open sponge; blue shell edged pearlware; and creamware, I calculated a mean date of 1858. Based on this date, the feature is likely not associated with the occupation of Mamout, though the date is likely skewed due to the date range of some of the ceramic types.

Feature 10 was discovered in T.U. D on August 14, 2015, the day of the Islamic Funeral Prayer (discussed further in Chapter Six). Initial impressions, led us to believe
that it could possibly be the end of a coffin. Excavations were suspended and T.U. J was opened west of T.U. D taking into consideration the possibility of a coffin. In the process of excavating T.U. J, it was noted that the soil changes observed in the excavation of T.U. D. were not present. Once T.U. J was level with T.U. D it was determined that Feature 10 was not a coffin imprint, but rather a small square wooden box. Once the lid was removed, mixed soils and artifacts, such as coal ash, metal, shell, bone, nail, brick, and ceramics, were recovered. No evidence of a bottom or a west side of the box were found. Within the box four ceramic sherds were recovered, including one sherd of creamware, two sherds of pearlware, and one sherd of whiteware. Since the feature was sealed beneath the Buried A Horizon, a mean ceramic date was used to date the box, which was determined to be 1826. Other artifacts recovered from this feature include charcoal (n=70), fauna (n=2), glass (n=3), unknown metal (n=4), and rocks (n=13).

**Laboratory Methods**

Artifact processing was conducted by me at the University of Florida between October 2015 and April 2016 with the help of several undergraduate anthropology students. All artifacts were processed, catalogued, and placed in archival-stable containers. Following this initial processing, each artifact was described by material type and other diagnostic characteristics. Following tabulation, any temporally or functionally determinant attributes were recorded. The catalog and provenience information were entered into an electronic spreadsheet using Microsoft Excel software. The artifact classification system and definitions of specific artifact types used in this project for both prehistoric and historic artifacts are detailed below.
To better serve the needs of the project, the functional typology grouping selected for this project was based on Orser's (1988) revision of South's (1977) artifact classification. This revised artifact functional typology (see Table 5-7) classified artifacts into the following general categories: Foodways, Personal, Household/Structural, Information, Industry/Work, Natural, Prehistoric, and Unknown. These categories were then further broken down into specific categories.

To help establish a site chronology, a mean ceramic date (MCD) was calculated by depositional units for the colonial plowzone Dr. Wagner said has the most potential for Mamout era deposits (see Figure 5-21). Dates were derived from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) (2006) database and the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory (MAC Lab) database (Samford and Miller 2012). The formula used to calculate the MCD is as follows:

\[ \text{MCD}: \frac{\sum (x_i f_i)}{\sum f_i} \]

Where

\( X_i \) = median date of type \( i \)

\( f_i \) = number of artifacts of type \( i \), and

\( \sum f_i = n \) = total number of artifacts

**Artifact Analysis**

The archaeological investigations yielded 16,922 total artifacts. Foodway artifacts, such as ceramics (\( n=3,504 \)) and glass (\( n=6,825 \)); household/structural related artifacts, such as brick (\( n=1,142 \)), nails (\( n=326 \)), and window glass (\( n=1,079 \)); and unknown metal (\( n=2,414 \)) were the most dominant categories. There was also a significant of recreational personal items, such as marbles (\( n=30 \)) and pipe stems.
(n=27) and pipe bowl (n=4). Though faunal remains accounted for 3 percent (n=616) of the assemblage, most the remains were poorly preserved due to acidity of the soil and could primarily only be identified as unidentified small or medium mammal. A complete analysis of the assemblage has not been completed at the time of this writing, and thus will not be thoroughly reviewed here. A site report is forthcoming.

To help build a site chronology, I accepted a 2016 Gloria S. King Research Fellowship in Archaeology at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory (MAC Lab) in St. Leonard, Maryland to analyze the ceramic assemblage. Under the direction of Patricia Samford, Director of the MAC Lab, we identified roughly 2,919 ceramic sherds. Identifications for ceramics in the s.t.p.s, Test Unit A, and the General Surface Finds were not completed during the fellowship. Using this information, I calculated a mean ceramic date for five test units, C, H, E, K, and I by depositional unit.

Curation

All artifacts were processed and prepared for curation in accordance with the Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in the District of Columbia (DC Preservation League 1998). Upon completion of the project, all associated artifacts and documentation were turned over to the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office for final curation.

Interpretation and Summary

Documentary evidence indicates that 3324 Dent Place, N.W. has been continuously occupied since Mamout first purchased the property in 1800. Since Mamout's occupation, site occupants have graded and filled the land to make a level living surface, which is evident from the significant amount of fill present on the site. The
natural stratigraphy of the site slopes from the northwest to the northeast, south towards the Potomac River. Analysis of topographic data suggests that during the mid-18th century, the elevation of Mamout’s property dropped 15 feet from front to back (north to south). Between 1751 and 1880, an additional two to three feet of soil was lost from the landscape due to soil erosion. The construction of a cellar to the northernmost frame structure on the property added fill soil to the area around the cellar. By the late 20th century, the construction of the swimming pool and terracing resulted in a major cut-and-fill event that raised the landscape in the rear of the lot. More documentary research is suggested to determine a complete chain of ownership following 1834 when the bank seized control of the property following Aquilla’s death and to help us better understand how the site developed over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The archaeological investigation of the property through shovel testing, geoarchaeological testing, ground penetrating radar, mechanical testing, and the manual excavation of test units, supports the continuous occupation indicated by the documentary evidence and the heavily disturbed nature of the property. A total of 35 shovel test pits were excavated over the 150 ft. x 35 ft. property in 10 ft. intervals in order to determine the level of disturbance and identify cultural deposits. The s.t.p.s encountered a significant amount of debris in the front half of the property, north of the pool, associated with the demolition of the 1850s house. In the southern half of the property, south of the pool, following approximately 2-3 ft. of fill, two buried A horizons were found; the presence of these buried living surfaces helped guide the removal of the fill by a small backhoe. In the front half of the property, the backhoe was used to conduct mechanical testing in the form of trenches. In one such trench on the western
side of the property, below the demolition debris, we observed three separate coal ash deposits. At this time, we are unable to identify the source of the deposits. The results of the ground penetrating radar indicated no sub-surface features which again supports the archaeological findings that no burial feature, midden, housing footprint, and/or any other subsurface anomalies were present on the property. Following guidance by the results of the s.t.p.s, we removed 2-3 feet of fill with a small backhoe from a 25 ft. x 23 ft. area south of the pool, which we believed would have the greatest potential for intact cultural deposits related to Mamout’s occupation of the site. Of the twenty test units we excavated during the investigations, 16 of them were south of the pool; 14 test units were placed in the 25 ft. x 23 ft. area.

Since one of our main goals for the project was to identify and interpret the material remains of Mamout’s occupation of the property, I began analysis of the ceramic assemblage to gain better insight into the site’s chronology. I note here again that a full analysis of the artifact assemblage has not been completed, so these findings are tentative. In 2016, I accepted a two-week research fellowship at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory in order identify the ceramic assemblage. Of the 3,504 ceramic sherds recovered, I took 2,919 sherds (roughly 83 percent of the ceramic assemblage), from the test units and features, to the MAC lab to be analyzed. Using this information, I focused on five test units and examined the ceramic assemblages in depositional contexts to gain in sense of whether Mamout era deposits were still present on the property. Analysis of the soils by Dr. Wagner indicated that the second buried A horizon, which he calls a colonial plowzone, would likely have the greatest potential for intact deposits. I selected T.U.s C, H, E, K, and I because they
captured the natural stratigraphy of the property and they contained two features (9 and 10) that we were most interested in establishing a date for. Feature 9 was a trash pit that spanned T.U.s E and H. A MCD was calculated, using DAACS (2006) and Samford and Miller (2012) dates, and for the ceramic assemblage container therein and was determined to be 1858. Though this post-dates Mamout’s occupation of the site and his death, I am unable to determine whether it could have been associated with Mamout’s occupation due to the date ranges of some of the ceramics which could have skewed the date. Further analysis of the other ceramics contained within the feature is warranted to help gain a better sense of the feature’s date. Feature 10 is a small wooden box that contained 114 artifacts. A MCD was calculated and was determined to be 1826. Though this date also post-dates Mamout’s occupation of the site and his death, it is likely to be associated with his occupation of the site because the date ranges of the ceramics could have skewed the data. Further analysis of the ceramics of this feature is unlikely to provide any conclusive data to help determine a more accurate date. At this time, we are unable to determine the purpose of the box. The analysis of the ceramic assemblage recovered in each of these five units from the second buried A horizon range in date from 1840-1885. These dates are likely skewed because of the long date ranges from ceramics such as whiteware. Further analysis of the other artifacts is suggested to help provide a better understanding of the date ranges for the A2 horizon.

Though a full analysis of the artifact assemblage has not been completed yet, the results of the documentary and archaeological record, appear to indicate that if any material remains of Mamout’s occupation, such as his house, outbuildings, refuse
deposits, were present on the site, subsequent development of the property likely destroyed any evidence of their presence within the archaeological record. While further analysis is forthcoming, currently I cannot say that we found definitive evidence of Mamout’s occupation of the site using archaeological evidence.

**Conclusion**

Richard Boisvert, the state archaeologist for New Hampshire, once said “If we knew what was there, we wouldn’t have to dig” (Society for American Archaeology n.d.). In the case of the 2015 Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project, we had a pretty good idea that the site would be heavily disturbed as it had been continuously occupied over the last 250 years. Archival research and subsequent archaeological investigations indicated that if intact cultural deposits related to Mamout’s occupation of the site were still present in the archaeological record, they would have been buried beneath a significant amount of fill. Though one feature was could date to Mamout’s occupation of the site, it sheds little clues about his daily life.

Our findings demonstrate the issue of negative data and the difficulty in locating, identifying, and interpreting intact cultural deposits, particularly in an urban setting. Binford (1968:22-23) maintained that “data relevant to most, if not, all the components of past sociocultural systems are preserved in the archaeological record.” Furthermore, he argued that any gaps in the material record, could be circumvented by devising models that turned to other, nonperishable, remains (Binford 1968:19). Stone (1981) suggests that there are three situations that can lead to gaps in the archaeological record: 1) Condition I- the unobserved archaeological phenomenon never did occur; 2) Condition II- the unobserved archaeological phenomenon did occur, but has since been rendered undetectable; and 3) Condition III- the unobserved archaeological
phenomenon did and does occur but the data collection program was not competent to observe it. This would nullify Stone’s (1981) first condition. The archaeological investigations were exhaustive, and very little of the 150 ft. x 35 ft. property went unexplored. This would also nullify Stone’s (1981) third condition, leaving only Condition II.

Throughout the project, one of the most asked questions from visitors, was did we find Yarrow Mamout. Despite being unable to say that we definitively found evidence of Mamout’s occupation of the site, the answer to that question is still yes. We found Yarrow Mamout in a much broader sense through the public component of the archaeological excavations. By engaging the public at the site or through one of the many public outreach events, we were able to use the attractiveness and mystery of archaeology to identify and interpret the history and legacy of enslaved African Muslims. Having representation through the archaeological record would have offered concrete evidence of not only Mamout’s occupation of 3324 Dent Place, N.W., but the preserved presence of the life of enslaved African Muslims, a previously unexplored area within African-American diaspora archaeology. However, the public aspect of the project, preserves Mamout’s memory in a more real and meaningful way by impacting the minds and hearts of people living 194 years after his death. In the Chapter Six, I examine the
need for archaeologists to move past a primary focus on materiality and explore the potentials of the process of archaeology itself as a cultural product.

Figure 5-1. Blighted 1850s House at 3324 Dent Place (McClain 2015).
Figure 5-2. Demolished 1850s House, November 2013 (Photo used by permission from Mary Belcher).
Figure 5-3. Aerial View of Excavations Site Location (Bradley 2014)
Figure 5-5. Boschke (1861) Map depicting Beatty and Hawkins addition to Georgetown.

Figure 5-6. Boschke (1861) Map depicting site location.
Figure 5-7. Hopkins (1887) Map in (Bradley 2014).
Figure 5-8. Sanborn (1903) Fire Insurance Map, Volume 1, Plate 63 showing 3324 Dent Place, NW, Washington, D.C.
Figure 5-9. Baist (1911) Real Estate Map.
Figure 5-10. D.C Surveyor's Office (1924) Map.
Figure 5-11. D.C. Surveyor’s Office (1950) Map.
Figure 5-12. 1981 Builder’s Permit (D.C. HPO, personal communication).
Table 5-1. Transect A S.T.P. Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.T.P. Number</th>
<th>Depth</th>
<th># of Artifacts</th>
<th>Artifact Types</th>
<th>Features (Y/N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 in.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Glass, wire, brick</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>37 in.</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Brick, charcoal, glass, metal, ceramics, oysters, marble, button, nylon strap, lead weight</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30 in.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ceramic sewer pipe, ceramics, glass, tobacco pipe, coal, marble, faunal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26 in.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ceramics, oyster, shell, glass, faunal, plastic, rocks</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>36+ in.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, coal, iron fragments, window glass, tile, faunal</td>
<td>Y (#3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>28 in.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ceramics, faunal, window glass, bolt</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>28 in.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, nails, window glass, flower pot, plastic</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>31 in.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, button, nails, window glass, flower pot, unknown, metal, plastic, rocks, brick, mortar</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Glass, ceramics</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ceramics, porcelain knob, glass, window glass, nail, unknown, faunal, seed, coal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Glass, ceramics, faunal, doll legs, doll face leather, nail, horseshoe, wood, coal, rocks, unknown, quartz</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>36 in.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, nails, window glass, unknown metal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>38 in</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Glass, ceramics, nail, charcoal, slate, brick</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>37 in</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Glass, ceramic, medicine bottle, gutter spike, tile, metal button, radio knob, plastic</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>42 in.</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, window glass, rocks, brick, mortar, charcoal, bathroom tile, unknown metal, wire, fauna, zipper, comb</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total # of Artifacts: 946
Table 5-2. Transect B S.T.P. Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.T.P. Number</th>
<th>Depth</th>
<th># of Artifacts</th>
<th>Artifact Types</th>
<th>Features (Y/N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>19 in.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Stoneware, glass, rocks, plastic, brick, slate, coal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>34 in.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Faunal, ceramics, glass, metal, button, tile, mortar, plastic, modified wood</td>
<td>Y (#1, #2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28 in.</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Glass, ceramics, faunal, window glass, flower pot, metal, brick, mortar</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>36 in.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Glass, metal, ceramics, faunal, tile</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>40 in.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, window glass, nails</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>37 in.</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, spoon, marble, nails, unknown metal, brick, coal, plastic, rocks, wood, button, garden stone, window glass, fauna</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>36 in.</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>Ceramics, fauna, glass, nails, window glass, flower pot, unknown metal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Artifacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>651</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-3. Transect C Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.T.P. Number</th>
<th>Depth</th>
<th># of Artifacts</th>
<th>Artifact Types</th>
<th>Features (Y/N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>31 in</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Milk bottle, glass, ceramics, faunal, slate pencil, window glass, nails, stone, tile</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29 in</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Glass, washer</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>31 in</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, nail, window glass, flower pot, unknown metal, coal, rocks, faunal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>21 in</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, tile, window glass, flower pot, electrical wire, unknown, bricks</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>19 in</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, faunal, flower pot, tile, unknown, mortar, brick, plastic, rocks</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>38 in</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ceramics, faunal, glass, unknown, flower pot, window glass, brick, mortar, quartz</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>35 in</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, window glass, rocks, brick</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>38 in</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, window glass, rocks, brick, charcoal, pipe stem, flower pot</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>36 in</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, nails, rock, brick, dog tag, charcoal, slate, faunal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>44 in</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, flower pot, window glass, nails, slate, charcoal, fauna, floral, plastic</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>40 in</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>Ceramic, glass, tile, flower pot, nails, rocks, quartz, brick, fauna, WWI button, charcoal</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total # of Artifacts: 797
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.T.P. Number</th>
<th>Depth</th>
<th># of Artifacts</th>
<th>Artifact Types</th>
<th>Features (Y/N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>30 in.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, toy, charcoal, tile, window glass, flower pot, unknown metal, fauna</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>31 in.</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Ceramics, glass, window glass, brick, slate, comb, bullet, fauna</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Artifacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>141</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5-13. Location of Shovel Test Pits.
Figure 5-14. Soil Boring B13 (Photo courtesy of author).
Figure 5-15. GPR Results, (Elizabeth Wilson, personal communication, 2015).
Figure 5-16. Excavation of Mechanical Trench # 1 (Photo used with permission from Jim Johnston, 2015).
Figure 5-17. Coal Ash Deposits within Mechanical Trench #1 (Photo courtesy of author).
Figure 5-18. Coal Ash Deposits in Profile View (Duser, personal communication, 2017).
Table 5-5. Test Unit Excavation Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Unit (T.U.)</th>
<th>Size (ft.)</th>
<th># of Artifacts Recovered</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 4 and 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>5x5</td>
<td>3222</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 10 and 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>3 (Feat. 6, 7, 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>4 (Feat. 9, 15, 16, 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 12, 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>6x3</td>
<td>1138</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 10, 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 17, 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 11, 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>3x3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>2.93x3.04</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>3.75x3</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>3.75x3</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3.9x3</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>2 (Feat. 11, 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>2x2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>6x2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3 (Feat. 31, 32, 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>2.5x3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1 (Feat. 35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total T.U.s: 20
Total Artifacts: 14,133
Total Features: 23
Table 5-6. Feature Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature Type</th>
<th>Feature Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wall/Foundation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trench</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builder’s Trench</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Concentration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden box (?)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.7. Feature 9 Artifacts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sherd Type</th>
<th>Sherd Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unknown ceramic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albany slip stoneware</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banned yellowware</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceramic tile</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charcoal</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coarse pink bodied earthenware with colorless glaze</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continental hard paste porcelain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creamware</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower pot</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garden ornament</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glass</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open sponged whiteware</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyster</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pankhurst ceramics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pearlware, no visible decoration</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pearlware, shell edged, blue</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipe stem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porcelain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porcelain, decal decorated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red bodied coarse earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenango hotel china</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoneware</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underglazed printed pearware</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underglazed stoneware</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown metal</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White ironstone</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, undecorated</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>window glass</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>450</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-8. Artifact Typology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General</th>
<th>Specific</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Procurement</td>
<td>ammunition, fishhooks, fishing weights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>cooking vessels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>flatware, tableware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>bottles, jars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remains</td>
<td>fauna, flora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>fasteners (i.e. buttons, snaps)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>Soles, uppers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>hairbrushes, combs, perfume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetic</td>
<td>medicine bottle, droppers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative</td>
<td>jewelry, hairpins, beads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicinal</td>
<td>children's toys, pipes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>clothes hangers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural</td>
<td>nails, window glass, spikes, mortar, bricks, slate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>hinges, tack, bolts, hooks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>furniture pieces, flower pots, door knobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating</td>
<td>stove parts, coal and its by products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>lamp parts, lightbulbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing</td>
<td>chamber pot, pipes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>wire, insulators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>modified wood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>telephone parts, mailbox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>coins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>pens, pencils, inkwells,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>barbed wire, blades, plows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>machines, pig iron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>needles, pins, scissors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>hammer, saw, plane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms/Weapons</td>
<td>gun part, gun flint</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing Gear</td>
<td>rod, reel, hooks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>non-food container</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>wire, adhesives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorized</td>
<td>car parts, gas containers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal powered</td>
<td>animal shoes, harness pieces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Powered</td>
<td>bicycle parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>boat parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inorganic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prehistoric/Native American</td>
<td>flake, flint, pottery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only raw material is known (i.e. glass, plastic, stone)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>historic period artifact of unknown function and material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5-19. Test Units C-Q Layout South of Pool.
Figure 5-20. Feature 10 (Photo courtesy of D.C. HP0).
Figure 5-21. East Wall Depositional Contexts for T.U.s I, K, E, H, C (Duser, personal communication, 2017).
Table 5-9. T.U. C A2 Mean Ceramic Date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic Type</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>xi</th>
<th>fi</th>
<th>xi*fi/xi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whiteware, undecorated</td>
<td>1820-1900</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>11460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pearlware</td>
<td>1775-1830</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1802.5</td>
<td>3605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creamware</td>
<td>1762-1820</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banned yellowware</td>
<td>1840-1930</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone china</td>
<td>1797-1820</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1808.5</td>
<td>1808.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue shell edge pearlware</td>
<td>1800-1830</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early poly chrome palette, olive green</td>
<td>1795-1830</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1812.5</td>
<td>3625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td>1840-1860</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>printed whiteware</td>
<td>1820-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red bodied coarse earthenware with black glaze</td>
<td>1700-1900</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>3600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18  1853
### Table 5-10. T.U. H A2 Mean Ceramic Date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic Type</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>xi</th>
<th>fi</th>
<th>xi*fi/fi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whiteware</td>
<td>1820-2000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>51570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continental European hard paste</td>
<td>1820-2000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>9550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotel china, semi-porcelain</td>
<td>1905-1936</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1920.5</td>
<td>1920.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pearlware</td>
<td>1775-1830</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1802.5</td>
<td>7210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE McNicol</td>
<td>1829-1929</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badly stained decal decorated</td>
<td>1890-1950</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellowware</td>
<td>1840-1930</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>3770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rockingham</td>
<td>1840-1900</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>royal coat of arms</td>
<td>1808-1910</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decal decorated</td>
<td>1890-1950</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purple printed whiteware</td>
<td>1828-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative printed pearlware</td>
<td>1821-1840</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1830.5</td>
<td>1830.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canton</td>
<td>1785-1853</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>1819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sponged or printed blue whiteware</td>
<td>1820-1930</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shell edged pearlware</td>
<td>1800-1830</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redware</td>
<td>1700-1900</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creamware</td>
<td>1762-1820</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>3582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north American blue and grey</td>
<td>1750-1920</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American brown</td>
<td>1750-1920</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5-11. T.U. E A2 Mean Ceramic Date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic Type</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>xi</th>
<th>fi</th>
<th>xi*fi/xi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>decal decorated</td>
<td>1890-1950</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>printed flow?</td>
<td>1840-1860</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial dipped ware</td>
<td>1830-1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creamware</td>
<td>1762-1820</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>3582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scalloped edge whiteware</td>
<td>1820-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yelloware</td>
<td>1840-1930</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium blue printed whiteware</td>
<td>1820-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purple printed whiteware</td>
<td>1820-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut sponge</td>
<td>1840-1870</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possibly negative possibly flow</td>
<td>1821-1860</td>
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CHAPTER 6
RETHINKING PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY AS A CULTURAL PRODUCT

Invisibility is a dangerous and painful condition... When those who have power to name and to socially construct reality choose to not see you or hear you... when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing. Yet you know you exist and others like you, that this is a game with mirrors.
— Adrienne Rich
Invisibility in Academe

If we had recovered blue beads or cowrie shells at 3324 Dent Place, N.W. would it have mattered more to contemporary African-American Muslims or to historical archaeologists? Speaking not as an archaeologist, but as an African American, my educated guess is the latter. When African Americans have lost their lives while breathing, standing, sleeping, driving, and playing at the hands of the people who are supposed to protect them, what good can blue beads or cowrie shells do in addressing issues of institutionalized and systematic racism? Within African-American archaeology, research has been dominated by the search for Africanisms as archaeologists have traditionally tended to shy away from issues of race and racism (see Gosden 2006; Orser 1998, 1999). As our role as social scientists is scrutinized, archaeologists have increasingly had to question their role in and contribution to society (see Rockman and Flatman 2012). Whether we want to acknowledge it or not, our work is inherently political and has real implications for the people and aspects of history that we study. If the recovery of blue beads and cowrie shells could somehow make African Americans feel safe, feel respected, feel like their experiences with institutionalized and systemic racism were not imagined, there would be no reason that archaeologists would have to question what contributions we make to society. Unfortunately, this is not the case. As an African American who happens to be an archaeologist, I know that archaeology
needs to do more than recover material evidence that may or may not reflect that African Americans retained some of their African roots.

In Chapter Five, I explored our attempt to find definitive evidence of Yarrow Mamout’s occupation in the archaeological record. Though we were unsuccessful in this regard, we were able to find Yarrow Mamout in a much broader and more meaningful way through the public aspect of the project. Though Mamout was the focus of the archaeological investigations, by attempting to place him into the broader context of American slavery, we were able to trace the legacy of enslaved African Americans to issues currently faced by contemporary African-American Muslims, an endeavor that de-essentializes and demonstrates the diversity of the African diaspora and of their experiences. In this sense, material remains are much less significant in puncturing silences within the historical and archaeological record when compared to the ability of public archaeology to make the invisible, visible, and most importantly to acknowledge the structures through which invisibility, erasure, and silencing have been produced. The true contribution of the project is its ability to acknowledge the power and function of racism in producing silences, confronting it, and challenging it. Thus the purpose of this chapter is to make the argument that if historical archaeology is to be relevant in today’s society, it needs to move beyond a strict focus on material remains and focus more on the process of archaeology itself as a cultural product through which we can strive to know the world, critique the world, and make change in the world. To understand how our work may have affected the public, I designed and distributed a 32 question survey in late January 2017, with the help of Carol Ellick, an applied anthropologist who specializes in public outreach and education. The survey consisted
of five sections: 1) provides basic demographic data; 2) provides information about the overall experience with the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project as or related public outreach events; 3) provides information about the historical significance of the property; 4) provides information about feasibility of using Yarrow Mamout’s story to promote education about his life, the lives of other enslaved African Muslims, and of Islam and Muslims in general; and 5) provides information about perceptions of Islam and Islamophobia. Though 32 people started the survey, only 28 people finished the survey in varying degrees. For a full report of the survey results, please refer to Appendix A.

**Sometimes a bead is just a bead: Reassessing Our Purpose**

In the late 1990s, Franklin (1997b) critiqued the field, saying that historical archaeologists should critically consider why and how their research affects black Americans today and argued that it was necessary for us to question our own positions as guardians of the past. She argues that “those who remain unwilling to reflect upon the social and political implications of their work will only escalate further alienation of archaeologists from the public” (Franklin 1997b:36). Furthermore, Franklin (1997b:38) argues that to be “critical, responsible, and accountable” historical archaeology must actively engage with members of the African-American communities they claim to serve in their research.” Franklin’s critique follows the rediscovery of the African Burial Ground in Lower Manhattan in 1991. The burial ground, which is one of the largest and earliest sites associated with 18th century slavery in the United States, is a 6.6 acre plot of land that was used for the burial of an estimated 20,000 enslaved and free individuals between the 1690s and 1794. The burial ground was forgotten until its rediscovery by the General Services Administration during a Section 106 compliance mitigation, during
which several skeletal remains were discovered. The following year nearly 400 burials were removed, with an additional 200 slated to be removed (New York Preservation Archive Project n.d.). Concerned about the preservation of the cemetery and the skeletal analysis being conducted by Lehman College, the local African American community and preservationists stepped up and through their combined effort were able to halt the excavations, take moral responsibility, and seize intellectual power (LaRoche and Blakey 1997). The excavations were resumed by John Milner and Associates and the physical remains sent to Howard University, where analysis was conducted under direction of Dr. Michael Blakey (NYPAP n.d.). While significant for its contributions to the forgotten history of enslaved African in colonial and federal New York City and to our understandings of the conditions faced by Africans and their descendants under slavery, the involvement of the African American community, locally, nationally, and globally, marked a crucial turning point for African American archaeology because of their desire to seize intellectual control over the project (LaRoche and Blakey 1997).

A year before the discovery of the African Burial Ground, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed, which provides a process for museums and federal agencies to return certain Native American cultural items to lineal descendants and culturally affiliated tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations (National Park Service n.d.c). The passage of the act signaled an explicit effort at decolonizing the legacy of destructions and disrespect perpetrated by the U.S. government against Native American tribes (McDavid and McGhee 2016:485). Unfortunately, no such attempt has been made on the behalf of African Americans. Though slavery ended 150 years ago after 265 years, African Americans have only
been “free” since 1964. I use quotations here because despite the strides that the Civil Rights Movement made in gaining basic civil rights for African Americans, we are still battling institutionalized and systematic racism. For this reason it is important to critically consider, as Franklin (1997b) has suggested, why and how our research affects the communities in which we work, and understand that the needs of the communities, rather than our own self desires, should guide our research.

The Study of African American Life and Culture

When Fairbanks began archaeological investigations of Kingsley Plantation in 1968 to discover the material remnants of African culture, or Africanisms, there was no precedent for excavating post-contact North American sites, especially ones associated with ordinary people and everyday life (Agbe-Davies 2007). His work at Kingsley in search for Africanisms was firmly rooted in the study of the whole-culture concept—their presence in the New World would offer proof that the slaves retained elements of their traditional cultures (Orser 2004). Thus for a time the search for Africanisms was paramount as historical archaeologists attempted to prove that they could make valuable contributions to anthropological scholarship as their anthropological training taught them to examine the study of African Americans as displaced cultures (Orser 1998). Though Fairbanks never returned to Kingsley after a disappointing two-week field season, during which he was unable to locate what he could recognize as Africanisms, he would set the stage for others to grow the field for the next several years. Following Fairbanks, veteran archaeologists Robert Ascher (1971) and James Deetz (1977) were among the first to provide the earliest examples of scholarship that approached sites with what Singleton (1999) referred to as a moral mission to tell the stories of those who had been forgotten in the archaeological record. Other early work
on the search for Africanisms includes Ferguson’s (1980, 1992, 1999) work on colonoware ceramics; Baker (1980) and Otto’s (1980) work with foodways; and Wheaton and Garrow’s (1985) work on African architecture. Fifty years after Fairbank’s initial search, the search for material items of African origin has continued. In the 1970s, Africanisms tentatively identified through archaeology became associated with religious and spiritual belief systems, particularly in mortuary contexts and domestic spaces (Davidson and McElroy 2012). Examples of this work include Brown and Cooper 1990; Davidson 2004a, 2004b, 2010; Fennell 2000, 2003, 2007; Galke 2000; Leone and Fry 1999, 2001; Orser 1994; Russell 1997; Samford 2007; Stine et al. 1996; Wilkie 1995, 1997; and Young 1996). Most of this research has focused on mundane objects, such as a blue bead, a horseshoe, a coin, or broken ceramics.

Though this research has produced a great body of work that not only contributes to our field and to our knowledge of enslaved life, Perry and Paynter (1999) argue that establishing an African presence through the identification of Africans is not necessary because given the reality of forced African labor in the European colonial enterprise, an African cultural presence is likely to be more widespread than the demographic distribution of its people. Furthermore, Perry and Paynter (1999:309) argue that “objects, social relations, even bodies take on different meanings and participate in different structures, depending on one’s temporal, spatial, and social position in the societal formation of the Western Hemisphere”. In this sense, sometimes a bead could just be a bead, and by our own methods, we could assume that mundane objects had more meaning than they actually do. A more promising avenue of research, in terms of its importance to and for contemporary issues faced by African Americans, and one that

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archaeologists have tended to shy away from, is understanding the power and malleability of racial oppression under white supremacy, and by extension white privilege. The study of Africanisms as retentions of African culture points to the resiliency of power African Americans have developed in resistance to oppression, but very little about the actual structures in which this resistance developed to combat. It does very little to alleviate contemporary issues on either side; in fact, by choosing to ignore the power structures at play, historical archaeologists can perpetuate the silencing caused by white privilege. I suggest that historical archaeologists working with African American communities should continue to critically consider reassessing their purpose in researching the life and culture of the African diaspora if it has no significance to contemporary African American communities.

**Rethinking Our Cultural Product**

In June 2016, I stepped into an elevator with several other people after I had finished giving a talk at the Georgetown Public Library on updates for the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project, roughly a year after we began excavating the former property of Yarrow Mamout. As the five of us crowded together, Amir Muhammad, curator and CEO of the America's Islamic Heritage Museum and Cultural Center, turned to me and asked “Why are you doing this research?” I silently panicked, thinking this is the moment I have been waiting for—for a Muslim to challenge me on my research and for doing this research and not being Muslim. Collecting myself, I simply stated, “I love black people.” I heard him smile before he said “That’s an honest answer.” This was not the first time I had met Amir Muhammad. This was not the first time I had been asked why I was doing the research. It was the first time I had to really take a moment and think about what my answer meant for a community that I was not a part of. The whole
reason I decided to focus on African-American archaeology was because I felt like I did not have the place or authority to speak for those who did not look like me, who did not share similar experiences. And yet, I found myself in a position to speak on the behalf of a subset of the African diaspora that I had previously never had a substantial interaction with.

When it became apparent that we had found no definitive evidence of Mamout’s `occupation on the site, I struggled to reconcile my desire to shed light on his life with trying to find a way to find meaning and significance in the work that I had been doing. So I changed my focus. The research question I initially wanted to ask was how archaeology could contribute to the understudied presence of enslaved African Muslims. In hindsight, this was selfish of me. If we had found evidence of Mamout’s occupation, this chapter and the next likely would not exist. I would have likely followed Chapter Five with a thorough examination of artifacts and a discussion of identity and Africanisms. However, because I was faced with the challenge of how to deal with negative evidence, I was able to look beyond artifacts, and truly examine what is it that I wanted this work do to: challenge stereotypes about what it means to be a Muslim in America and confront race, racism, and Islamophobia. How could I accomplish this by interpreting artifacts? How would these artifacts help contemporary African-American Muslims in any substantial way, other than perhaps offering yet another line of evidence documenting the existence of Islam in early America? I found my answer by considering what it is archaeologists actually do and what we produce.

Invisibility and erasure have been a common theme throughout this work. The history enslaved African Muslims has been silenced in historical texts, the experiences
and narratives of contemporary African-American Muslims has been overlooked in contemporary discussions of race, racism, and Islamophobia, and the one opportunity we had, as archaeologists, to identify and interpret the material remains of Yarrow Mamout was unsuccessful because of severe ground disturbance. How could we make a case for our ability to contribute to society if the one thing we relied on, artifacts, was noticeably absent from the time period we were interested in. The answer is simple. We have to look beyond artifacts, data, and our reports to understand that the process and results of archaeology can be an archaeological product itself. Shanks and McGuire (1996:75, 83) suggests that archaeology can be considered a mode of cultural production, a unified method practiced by archaeologist, “client public”, and contemporary society, and that there is not correct route to the final production—the archaeological work. In a similar vein, McDavid (2010:37) argues that by critically and reflexively examining what archaeology does, we can, in our case, challenge preconceived notions and use the archaeology as a medium through which to promote education. Like that interaction between the two women in the museum, the public aspect of the project allowed us to create a neutral space for people to truly see once another, which undoubtedly is just the first step in being able to truly confront race, racism, and Islamophobia.

**An Opportunity Arises: The Islamic Funeral Prayer**

On August 14, 2015, the D.C. Historic Preservation Office (D.C. HPO) participated in a *Ṣalāt al-Janāzah*, a ceremonial funeral prayer conducted by members of the Islamic faith seek to pardon for the deceased. Coordinated by the Masjid Muhammad, the Nation’s Mosque, the ceremony was attended by nearly 100 people of various ethnic, religious, class, and educational backgrounds and included as speakers
Imam Tablib Shareef, of the Nation’s Mosque; Amir Muhammad; Rev. Donald Isaacs, Director of the D.C. Office of Religious Affairs; Deborah Tulani Salahu-Din, from the National Museum of African American History and Culture; Dr. Sulyaman Naway, a professor at Howard University; Abdul Akbar Muhammad, an International Representative of the Nation of Islam; Ebrahim Rasool, a former South African Ambassador who is currently a scholar in residence at Georgetown University, and founder of the World for All Foundation; and Imam Papa Mboup, a Senegalese imam with the Zaqiya of the Greater Washington area. The ceremony was moderated by Muhammad Fraser Abdur Rahim, a Ph.D. Candidate at Howard University who worked closely with the archaeological team.

Before the traditional prayer, Imam Papa Mboup gave a special supplication prayer. He told the Muslim Journal (2015) that “We prayed for [Yarrow] but first we prayed for the whole community. May Allah shower His blessings upon him, in his greatness grant him paradise and remove his sins, have mercy on him. May Allah remove all of our obstacles and may we like him die in Islam.” Speaking of the ceremony itself, Nihad Awad, the head of the Council of the American Islamic Relations (CAIR), stated,

It was very inspiring for me as a Muslim who defends civil rights for American Muslims. It’s very important for us to look at the origins of Islam in America. This brother, may God bless his legacy and bless his soul, has contributed so much not only to the making of Islam in America, but to the making of America itself and citizenship. We’re so blessed to be 200 years later on the grounds where his house stood, to celebrate his legacy, his sincerity, his decision, and determination to uphold his faith (The Muslim Journal 2015).

Amir Muhammad, who had been trying for years to make the legacy of Mamout known, said,
This is humbling. Allah says out of darkness comes light and through time and patience surely man gets what he strives for. I remember 10 years ago walking around here. I remember there was a Muslim who owned this house who refused to even allow anyone to look at it or investigate it. If it wasn’t for Jim Johnston last year pushing the city to start and explore this, that’s when it started. With time and perseverance, the story gets told (The Muslim Journal 2015).

Ebrahim Rassol told Frederick Kunkle (2015), of the Washington Post, that:

The site should be considered a shrine to honor the millions of Africans who endured slavery and to inspire others to carry on the fight for human rights...what we are doing today is a most important claiming of memory: That our identity will not be shaken...that we have survived slavery...And we owe Yarrow Mamout that debt- to finish the process that he started and keep the dignity he established when he brought his property as a freed slave.

Amongst the covered test units and beneath a waning sun, African-American Muslims were able to connect to Mamout’s story, in spite of the absence of artifacts and structures related to Mamout’s occupation of the site. By physically being on the property where Mamout once walked and recited his daily prayers, African Americans were able to see how far they had come and how important it is to honor the legacy of those who came before them. Speaking of the celebration of slave ancestry that take place in his homeland, Rasool told The Muslim Journal (2015) that:

You can only be proud of what you have embraced. If you have not embraced your ancestors, if you have not embraced the way you came to American, if you have no embraced the hardships, the humiliation, the degradation and genocide that was done to your ancestors, you will never be comfortable in your own skin. You will always feel like you’re an imposter in history. In South Africa we not only embrace but we give active thanks to our slave ancestors because they kept the lineage alive, they’ve kept our faith alive, they’ve kept our identity alive and the fragments of memory that they’ve kept forward have kept us believing and kept us hopeful. Despite the best efforts by colonialism, by segregation and by slavery and by apartheid in South Africa transmitted from one generation to the other a set of values that made us an ally in the defeat of apartheid.
In the United States, racist structures have prevented African Americans, both Muslim and non-Muslim, the opportunity to connect with the past. In this sense, public archaeology was able to puncture through silence created by gaps in the historical and archaeological record, to help make the invisible stories of so many other enslaved African Muslims visible to the people whose legacy matters the most.

The significance of the Islamic funeral prayer is that it demonstrated that sometimes the story, however fractured, transcends the recovery of artifacts. The physical act of doing archaeology, rather than our data, reports, etc., had a profound impact on the African-American community by giving them an opportunity and a space to connect with the past. The funeral prayer, for those who attended, humbled a lot of people, in my opinion. Having the ceremony on the exact site where Mamout walked in a very affluent, predominantly white neighborhood showed a very different side of Islam than what the majority of us ever experienced. It took me months to realize how significant the prayer was, but once I did it made me think about what impact the experience of visiting and/or participating in the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project had on others, particularly how being in that space affected their views on topics like Islam, Muslims, archaeology, preservation, and education. Though the archaeological investigations concluded over a year ago, the public aspect of the project is thriving. People are still interesting and waiting to hear what we had found. Their continued interest in the project, despite knowing at this point that we had not found definitive proof of Mamout’s occupation of the site, led me to develop a survey to assess our impact.

Assessing Our Impact: The Follow-Up Survey

With the help of Carol Ellick, I designed a 32 question survey, through Qualtrics, to understand, if, when presented with information that is, perhaps, different from what a
person had been previously exposed, how it would have affected them. The survey consisted of five sections:

- **Section 1**: provides basic demographic data
- **Section 2**: provides information about overall experience with the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology project or related public outreach events
- **Section 3**: provides information about the historical significance of Yarrow Mamout’s property
- **Section 4**: provides information about the feasibility of using Yarrow Mamout’s story to promote education about his life, the lives of other enslaved African Muslims, and of Islam and Muslims in general
- **Section 5**: provides information about perceptions of Islam and Islamophobia

The questions were a mix of open-ended, Likert scale, multiple choice. I distributed the survey via e-mail and social media to over 200 people who had visiting the site, participated in the investigations, attended one of the public outreach events, or who followed the project on social media. The survey was released on January 28, 2017 and closed on February 12, 2017. Thirty-two people started the survey, but only 28 people completed it.

To help focus the discussion, I will select questions out of their respective sections and out of their respective orders. For a full report of the survey responses please refer to Appendix B. I begin with questions about perceptions of Islam and of Muslims. My goal in with these questions were to assess the participant’s general feelings toward and about Islam and Muslims. Following this set of questions, I examine the participants’ interest in the project and what, if anything, that they learned from visiting and/or participating in the project. The next set of questions examine the historical
significance of the property, particularly the power of the place. The last set of questions examine the educational value of the project.

**Question 32:** What do you believe has had the most impact on your perceptions of “Islam” and “Muslims”? With 1 having the lowest impact and 4 having the highest impact. Each number can only be used once.

![Question 32 Responses](image)

Figure 6-1. Question 32 Responses.
**Question 33:** How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Islam and Muslims?

![Question 33 Responses](image)

**Figure 6-2.** Question 33 Responses.
**Question 34:** The Council for American-Islamic Relations defines Islamophobia as the “closed-minded prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims.” To what extent do you think Islamophobia is a problem in the United States?

![Question 34 Responses](image)

**Figure 6-3.** Question 34 Responses.
**Question 36:** If you think Islamophobia is unjustified in the United States, in what ways can we work to combat Islamophobia? (Check all that apply).

![Question 36 Responses](image)

**Figure 6-4. Question 36 Responses.**

Other, please specify:
- Impeach trump
- Meet-a-Muslim event. Take the fear of the unknown away
- Mainstream conversation in media. Leaders speak out
- “Ambassador voyages” to parts of the country who do not know about Islam

**Question 12:** What interested you about Yarrow Mamout’s story? (randomly select responses)

- What initially interested me about Yarrow Mamout was that he was manumitted pretty early on in this country’s history, and was driven. Following his manumission, he sought out work opportunities, saved, bought property. He was educated and a devout Muslim.

- As far as Yarrow the person goes, his sheer resilience - making a life in a new country as a formerly enslaved individual, and establishing a home for himself after losing his savings not once but twice. More broadly, I think his story exemplifies the overlooked (whether willfully or not) diversity of the early American experience, especially in terms of Africans and African Americans and enslaved people, who are often seen as homogenous.
• His rise from slavery to freedom. His courage and dedication to the Muslim's faith...

• That when he came here as a slave he was educated and used his education later to become a successful free man. Also, I never thought about the fact that a lot of Africans who came here might be Muslims.

• His significance in DC and US history, especially since the story of Muslims are underrepresented.

• Yarrow is only a tip of the iceberg - he is a known individual among thousands-hundreds of thousands of former slaves who had no voice and never entered the documentary record in any substantive way. We can study him and perhaps inform on the lives of some of the others.

Quesiton 13: What, if anything, did you learn from visiting the site during excavations and/or participating in the excavations? (randomly selected responses)

• This is tough to put a finger on for some reason. I think it was, for me, a tangible reminder of my above point about early American diversity, which I understood intellectually, but for which I had never seen such a specific and concrete example. Not to get to esoteric, but I believe that making something hands-on actually uses a different part of the brain, and helps information get encoded more firmly. Or maybe that's just me. What I'm trying to get at is my Yarrow experience made it more "natural" for me question the validity of dominant narratives in American history, because I have an example of a story that's often left out, and I had a personal experience with it. I hope that made at least some vague sense!

• This excavation was thrilling, exciting and heart wrenching because I was standing on the home site of a prosperous African-American Muslim former slave. I could not wait to go to the site to participate in researching the life of Yarrow Mamout.

• Of course I learned about the history of Yarrow Mamout and the changing landscape of the neighborhood. I also learned how much local interest there was in the project and what elements (volunteer days, fence talks, other outreach) make for a successful public archaeology program

• Finding the past can be difficult! ;-)

• That I know so little about the aftermath of slavery, enslaved Muslims, and the important roles enslaved African played in literally building the foundations of American democracy.
On a general level, I gained a sense of Georgetown as it was then and what the surrounding landscape, now vastly terraformed, had looked like in Mamout's day. As an archaeologist, I learned how complicated and mixed up the stratigraphy and sequence of deposition was in this area, and how hard it was to date even the postholes of what appeared to be an earlier shed structure to a particular time period—the range was so vast, it was difficult to interpret. I also learned a great deal from the site tours and fence talks I witnessed, about Yarrow's life and about early D.C.

How difficult it was to find and learn from the artifacts that might be found. How surprising it was to find the site around the corner from where my daughter's in-laws live.

Question 22: Did visiting the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project evoke a historic sense of the past related to Yarrow Mamout's life on the property? If so, please explain.

(randomly selected responses)

That would be a tough sell for me. The density of the surrounding residential area made it tough to imagine Yarrow's little house and garden plot, as did other factors like the chain link fence and swimming pool. I'm not the most visually imaginative person, so these things really got in the way for me.

Yes, it made white people aware that Georgetown was inhabited by prosperous African-American slaves long before they arrived.

Yes. Georgetown has changed so much since WWII that any reminders of its black past are evocative. Yarrow draws Georgetown into an international story.

Yes, but mainly through the interpretation and background information. When I visited, I didn't see any features or artifacts that specifically spoke to Yarrow Mamout or his time. That is more a factor of when I visited than the site itself, I think.

Yes. Visiting the site supported my belief that there are many stories about African-American slavery that have not been told.

Yes. I think that the diversity of the past is something that needs to be addressed more.

Not to me. It is difficult to understand integrity or to evoke a sense of history from excavation pits and fragments pulled from the ground. It will have more meaning for me after the fragments have been assessed and a story can be told.

The fact that there are no structures on the property help give a feeling for the place, but, frankly, there is nothing left and what is left is mostly artificial fill. The
“emptiness” of the setting in relation to the other houses is evocative, but the strengths of this place are in its location and association.

**Question 23:** In the absence of a structure and/or definitive material remains associated with Mamout’s occupation of the site, how can the feeling integrity aspect be used to make an argument for the property’s historical significance? (selected responses)

- I think we have to look at the broader context of the property. Though obviously Georgetown has evolved since Yarrow's time, from what I understand the layout is much the same, as is the topography (I may be mistaken). Despite my above point about my lack of visual imagination, I can imagine Yarrow walking up and down the Georgetown hills, around the gridded streets, and down to the waterfront. I think the answer may lie in weaving Yarrow's story into the fabric of Georgetown, and I think you guys are working to do just that.

- Can its absence be used for an argument? That this is a vital historic district a state search for links is becoming increasingly difficult?

- Yarrow Mamout's house it part of a hidden geography of Georgetown, and illustrates the difficulty of preserving urban histories of minority and lower class people

- focus on Yarrow Mamout's story

- Under Criterion d, it can be argued that a site is significant according to what it contributes to our knowledge of history or prehistory. Although evidence of the structure may no longer remain, the property can be strongly argued under Association and Location. Feeling is ephemeral. However, there is a sense of Yarrow’s presence on the property through the scholars searching for material remains of his past. [In Fairfax County, sites that do not meet the eligibility criteria for the National Register, but that are of considerable interest and concern to county residents, are considered to have “public significance.” The Heritage Resource Management Plan states: “It is therefore important to evaluate county resources, especially those that don’t meet the criteria for National Register eligibility, from the viewpoint of public values. For example, a remnant of a Civil War earthwork that has been subjected to relic-hunter activity retains little archaeological integrity and would probably not meet National Register criteria. The local community, however, may care very strongly for its 'own piece of history'.”

- It's about the story. Artifacts and features enhance and support the story.
Yarrow's story is unique enough that an argument can certainly be made for the property's historic significance. African Americans played a large part in Georgetown's past -- and that story should continue to be told. The involvement of Muslims is an even more interesting story.

That is difficult. However, the feeling that you are at a ground zero of history is important, as is the notion, still not disproved as far as I know, that somewhere underneath those layers might be Mamout himself. The very emptiness of the place in the midst of houses conjures up his presence. I am not sure that thought alone will prevail against development, however, especially as the plot has been developed and seriously altered in the past.

Question 24: Since 3324 Den Place, N.W. is privately owned and slated for development, what are some alternative ways Yarrow Mamout’s story can be preserved for future generations?

- Perhaps planting a small garden in his name- somewhere in the vicinity. Or, an annual Day of Prayer in his name, at a local Mosque- if that is appropriate.

- I haven't kept up like I should with the processing of the artifacts, but as an archaeologist I'm biased towards those. I think a single or a series of travelling exhibits might be cool, if logistically challenging (too bad there's not a mega-hit TV show with similar material culture, a la Outlander, ha ha). I also really admire the project's effort to connect with the Muslim community in D.C., and I think it's important that early Muslim presence in the U.S. be known and acknowledged on a national level. Don't really have a practical suggestion for that one, though.

- Walking tour More public outreach especially to local teachers

- Tell his story...partner with youth led organizations to further preserve and spread his legacy.

- Interpretative signs in the street- like the ones around Tenleytown; add to walking tour pamphlets/apps of the area; exhibits in museums; lesson plans for teachers, especially for teachers in the neighborhood schools (public AND private);

- A commemorative plaque should definitely be placed at the property, telling Yarrow's story. the Georgetown neighbors can lobby to see that this is done. The Georgetown library has already focused on Yarrow and Johnson’s book tells the whole story, but you could publish your research to spread the story more widely. A movie about Yarrow could be made and distributed. I think Yarrow's story would be of particular interest to Muslims all over this country.

- Signage/marker/memorial; preparation of educational materials for use in schools of various level and for Scouts; books and articles aimed at a variety of
One way might be to work with the developers to incorporate something of his legacy in the design and presentation of whatever they build there. A house with African design accents might be something new owners would relish—something harking back to Yarrow’s original African roots in Guinea or his heritage as a Fulani. A plaque at a minimum might be good. Many neighborhoods in DC do walking tours. Surely, Georgetown has one and you could appeal to whoever does that. One discreet way to highlight houses without interfering with the current residents is to have small plaques, all similar, that show off important places on the tour. Many towns do this, so if Georgetown doesn’t already, it might consider doing so. It should be relatively easy to raise money for plaques AND to get residents to affix them, though probably not without some controversy. Another idea that could be used in conjunction with the other ideas above or instead of a plaque would be a small poster on the light fixture in front of the house, which belongs to the city, I would think, so could be used to tell his story. The biggest suggestion I would have, though, is to work with the community: it will be messy and contradictory and frustrating, but in the end everyone will be better satisfied. Part of that community should include the developers of the property. See what they think. It could be a win-win situation: they get an even more marketable house and we get a great commemoration.

Question 27: Please read all of the following statements, which are true.

1. The Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project is the first time archaeologists have excavated a property that has been definitively associated with an enslaved African Muslim through historical records.

2. The property at 3324 Dent Place, N.W. is privately owned and slated to be developed in the near future.

3. As of 1/27/2017, the archaeologists have found no material remains that can be definitively associated with Yarrow Mamout’s occupation of the site.

4. Historians estimate that between 10 and 40 percent of the enslaved population were Muslim.

5. Though enslaved African Muslims left behind no self-sustaining communities, there is a strong ideological link between enslaved African Muslims and contemporary African-American Muslims.

6. In the United States, 30 percent of the Muslim population identifies as white, 23 percent identifies as black, 21 percent identifies as Asian, 19 percent identify as Other/Mixed, and 6 percent identify as Hispanic.
7. The largest population of Muslims in the world is found in Indonesia.

Which of the above true statements surprised you the most, and why?

- Statement 1. This is Georgetown and the white folks who live there and don't want to be reminded of the atrocities that slaves endured from their white masters.

- Number 4 - I knew the proportion of Muslims in the enslaved population was significant, but I didn't know some historians put it as high as 40 percent. I don't think I've ever come across a mainstream source (textbook, popular article, etc.) that even acknowledged Muslims as among enslaved people in the Americas, to be honest.

- Number 4 - I knew the proportion of Muslims in the enslaved population was significant, but I didn't know some historians put it as high as 40 percent. I don't think I've ever come across a mainstream source (textbook, popular article, etc.) that even acknowledged Muslims as among enslaved people in the Americas, to be honest.

- It has been a long time since the enslaved peoples arrived and I find it surprising that there is an ideological link.

- I've never heard this before -- it should be given much more publicity #6 - I would have thought more of them would identify as Asian, given the number of Muslims in that part of the world

- Number 3. I just assumed that the excavations would yield something that could be chronologically related to Mamout's time on the property. Number 7 because I'm ignorant.

- #4. I had no idea that so many enslaved Africans brought to US were Muslim. It just seems to have been "overlooked" when teaching about slavery at every level of education.

Question 29: Does the educational potential of Yarrow Mamout's story outweigh the preservation of the property's historical significance and the identification of material evidence that can be definitively associated with his occupation of the site? Why or why not?

- I love artifacts as much as the next archaeologist, but if the definitive material evidence isn't there, it isn't there, and while all collections should be open to interpretation, interpretation is not speculation; interpretation should have a solid foundation. Are you asking if the lack of material evidence tied directly to Yarrow and the impending development of Dent Place negates the educational
potential? No, absolutely not. The fallibility of material evidence is why we have to rely on documentary evidence like newspaper articles and property records to guide interpretation. I think that, using all lines of evidence, you can still put together educational materials that will teach every single person who comes across them something that they didn't know before. (I feel like I'm talking myself in circles, sorry. My critical archaeology muscles haven't been flexed in a while.

- I don't fully understand what you're asking here. Even though archaeologists haven't found material culture tied directly to Yarrow Mamout, the site AND the story still are hugely significant. Documentary evidence ties him to the location, right? With a story this unusual and significant (both in its own time and in the present), that should be enough. It's also a good opportunity to talk about erasure in terms of history and in terms of physical evidence through time (whatever the motivations for the erasure, it still shows there's more to a spot's history than we know)

- Yes. The past can be very murky regarding specifics. But the overall story and history is very valuable and should be told.

- I think that the two go hand in hand. Whether or not material evidence was found, a lot of evidence points to the accuracy of the location and the public records of the parcel of land. Other aspects of his story are known in significant detail, thanks to the efforts of author James Johnston and others whose research is less specific.

- It's about the story, not the place.

- The educational potential outweighs preservation of something that does not exist materially. Even if a structure were present, education is the important thing, not just preservation for preservation's sake. The context and meaning have to be elucidated and communicated for preservation to have meaning.

**Question 49:** In your opinion, what is the educational value of the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project?

- Helping people be open-minded! Everyone loves archaeology, right? If we can take that Spielberg-cultivated fascination and use it to broaden people's perception of the past AND as importantly if not more so, help them get to know the people in their community and nation today, then we're all winners. I think archaeology is a wonderful gateway drug into all kinds of perception-altering experiences.

- That African Americans and people of color have been here since the very beginning. Actually much, much longer that most immigrant groups.
• The Yarrow project can educate the public about slavery and the presence of free African Americans in Georgetown and the Middle Atlantic region. It can illustrate that a significant number of enslaved Africans were Muslims. I think it can promote a better understanding of the Islamic religion and cultural and can indirectly help promote a better understanding of contemporary culture and reduce Islamophobia.

• All of the above listed. The rarity of this window on his life alone as a very common person--most of whose stories are no longer retrievable is invaluable. People should not only know about slavery in a generic way, but about the individual stories of the people, and in YM's case, one whose achievements were a remarkable testament to persistence and steadiness of character.

• It's important for people to know that many African Americans (slaves and free) who came to this country were (and are) Muslim. Although I don't think Islamophobia is as widespread in this country as some people do, I think it is important to keep spreading the word that many, many African Americans were (and are) Muslim, successful and involved citizens.

• There are some wonderful things the YMAP can teach us. First of all, its value is tremendous in the local area, where we like to gloss over the fact that early DC was slave-holding. Its value is enhanced because the Mamout property, as I understand it, has links to at least one other property in MD where his descendants lived. That makes it an appealing focus for local school kids and school trips--in other words, there's lots of places to tell the story and lots of ways schools could use it. It is also a significant story to use to combat racism, which, to my mind, is THE cancer undermining this country. First, we need to face up to the facts of slavery, and where to do it better than close to the home of the central government? Second, it can be difficult for European Americans to understand their culpability in terms of privilege in relation to African Americans. You can practically hear people think, even if they don't say it, "well, MY ancestors were poor and came over after the Civil War, so why am I being made responsible for this misery?" Thinking of the enslaved is hard, because no one, unless you're a neo-Nazi, condones that kind of treatment. It's hard dealing with victims, though, because, just like victims of murder or fatal fires, what can you say besides "I'm sorry. I'm so very sorry for you"? Telling a story that emphasizes the absolute TRIUMPH of African Americans in the New World has all kinds of things that people can relate to and can then get them thinking about how they continue to perpetuate their own privilege at the expense of people of color. The story that still needs to be shouted from every rooftop is of how very AMERICAN Mamout and other early African Americans are: they came with nothing, against their will, like many immigrants chased or forced out of their countries, and build an amazing new culture and life for themselves. This is a triumphant story of the human spirit over the very worst kinds of odds, because no forced immigrant had it as bad as a slave. But it is the kind of story that resonates with all groups. And it has the advantage of showing everyone, not only those in the DC area, that life in the past was not a simple collage of the usual things we get from history.
books, but rich, complex, and difficult. So, too, is life today. Finally, at this particular moment in time it is simply great that we have a story to tell that celebrates the time depth of Muslims in this country. They are not newcomers in any sense and I think that’s an important part of the message here.

- The intersection of race religion and social status is something that needs to be talked about in the US right now. The history of slavery is taught using gross numbers and lumping individuals into groups but the story of Yarrow focuses on one person and his story.

**Conclusion**

I purposely did not interpret the open-ended responses from the survey, because like with artifacts or past people’s emotions I did not want to project my own biases or feelings., however, I will say this. I agree with many of the responses that Yarrow’s story needs to be told, that there is value in it apart from the recovery of artifacts, that the story speaks to the great diversity of the African American experience in America. From these responses, I do believe that we were able to demonstrate how the public component of the project emerged as a more significant product of our research and that by its very nature impacted people.

However, I do not believe that Mamout should be made into a token, a rare example of how the enslaved emerged from slavery, not as victims, but as productive members of society. The final question of the survey, not included in the body of this chapter, asked if the survey participants had any final thoughts, comments, or suggestions for us. Among the responses thanking us for our work and saying how important it was, there was one comment that struck a chord with me. The survey participant said: “I did not see this exploration as related to Islam. Was surprised originally to learn that he was a Muslim.” I read this several times, not understanding how the participant could not see the connection between Mamout’s story and Islam. To me, it would be similar to me saying that I did not see the connection between Mamout’s
story and slavery because by the time he purchased the property at 3324 Dent Place, N.W. he was a free man. The free man that we know and acknowledge Mamout as, is because of his devotion to his religion. Islam helped to sustain Mamout mentally, physically, and emotionally throughout his life. This is not to project my opinions or biases on him. From what we understand through his story, Islam was the only consistent factor in his life. He never took on a Christian name or succumbed to temptation, such as alcohol.

I want Mamout’s story to be a starting point. The beginning of a conversation that challenges and confronts race, racism, and Islamophobia. A conversation that challenges that it means to be black and Muslim, to be Muslim and American. A conversation that challenges the homogenization of slavery and the experiences of African Americans. I believe that the proper place to start this conversation is the classroom. This is where students are taught about what it means to be a citizen in a culturally diverse, democratic society. When this project ultimately begins to fade from the minds of those who follow and know the story, I want the ability of archaeology to contribute to this conversation to live on. In Chapter Seven, I examine the dangers of color blind racism, that is the ideology that posits the best way to end racism and discrimination is to treat people as equally as possible. From Mamout’s story we can understand that people and their experiences are not the same, especially who look similar to one other. By seeing Mamout not as a slave, but as an individual, we can start to see others in the same light, to see how their experiences are different and real. In Chapter Seven I argue that by adopting a culturally relevant pedagogy aided by archaeology, social science educators, who are the stewards of the next generation, will
be better prepared to understand and acknowledge the narratives and experiences of their students, who each year are becoming more diverse.
CHAPTER 7
“I DON'T SEE COLOR, BUT I SEE YOUR HIJAB”: HOW PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY CAN HELP SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATORS CONFRONT RACE, RACISM, AND ISLAMOPHOBIA

Black and Third World people are expected to educate white people as to our humanity. Women are expected to educate men. Lesbians and gay men are expected to educate the heterosexual world. The oppressors maintain their position and evade their responsibility for their own actions. There is a constant drain of energy which might be better used in redefining ourselves and devising realistic scenarios for altering the present and constructing the future.

– Audre Lorde

In the wee hours of the morning on November 10, 2016, Donald J. Trump was declared to be the projected winner of the 2016 Presidential Election. Almost immediately, the effects of his election were heard and felt in classrooms around the country as African American, Hispanic, Muslim, Jewish, and immigrant students were bullied and taunted. By the following Monday, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) had collected over 400 allegations of election-related intimidation and harassment incidents, 160 of which occurred in K-12 classrooms and universities (Rios 2016). This sudden rise in classroom bullying has been dubbed the “Trump Effect” by the SPLC. On November 28th, the SPLC (2016) released a study entitled, “The Trump Effect: The Impact of the 2016 Presidential Election on Our Nation’s Schools”. The study surveyed over 25,000 teachers, counselors, administrations, and others who work in schools and found that 90 percent of educators reported that the election had a profoundly negative impact on schools and students. The highlights of the SPLC (2016) study are as follows:

- Ninety percent of educators reported that the election had a negative impact on students’ moods and behavior following the election; most of the students expressed concern about the continuing impact throughout the remainder of the year.
Eighty percent of educators reported heightened anxiety among marginalized students, including immigrants, Muslims, African Americans, and LGBTQ+ students.

Forty percent of educators reported having heard derogatory language directed at marginalized students.

Fifty percent of educators reports that students were targeting each other based on which candidate they’d supported.

Forty percent of administers believed that their schools did not have action plans in place to respond to incidents of hate and bias.

Fifty percent of teachers were hesitant to discuss the election in class; some principals told teachers to refrain from discussing or addressing the election in any way.

On January 20, 2017, Trump became the 45th President of the United States of America, and there is now widespread fear that the anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, anti-women, anti-LGBT+, anti-African American rhetoric he used during his campaign will continue to negatively impact schools. Klein (2016) reported that teachers like Josh Brown, a middle school civics teacher from Iowa, had begun working with students who have developed mental health issues that arose during the campaign; while others like Katelyn, a social studies teacher from Connecticut, drew criticism from parents and was accused of supporting the Black Lives Matter movement after sending home an article about professional athletes protesting the national anthem. How educators and administrators deal with the “Trump effect” in their classrooms throughout his presidency is important. These are the people who are entrusted with teaching our future leaders to be civically engaged, democratic citizens.

Part of this challenge is going to be dealing with their own inherent biases and changing classroom demographics. In this chapter, I explore the dangers of colorblind racism. As the teaching force increasingly becomes more white and more female
dominated, it is important for teachers to understand the role that color-blind racism plays in perpetuating stereotypes and placing blame on minorities and people of color for their “failures,” rather than examining the institutions that have functioned to maintain the status quo. I argue that by adopting a culturally relevant pedagogy that is aided by archaeology, young, white millennial teachers can not only become more effective teachers to students who do not look like them, but that they will have the ability to end the cycle of discrimination and the perpetuation of stereotypes that begin in the classroom. For the purposes of this endeavor, I focus primarily on social studies education, which is the vehicle that guides and prepares students to become citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society.

**The Dangers of Colorblind Racism**

In the introduction to *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2014:2) posits the question: “How is it possible to have this tremendous degree of racial inequality in a country where most whites claim that race is no longer relevant?” Islamophobia, which I argue is a form of racism in Chapter Four, has been at the forefront of national discussions since the murder of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman in 2012. No matter how an individual felt about that particular case or any of the other ones that preceded or followed it, the fact remains that color-blind racism, which began gaining cohesiveness and dominance in the late 1960s, explains contemporary racial inequality as the outcome of non-racial dynamics (Bonilla-Silva 2014:2). According to Williams

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1 Though there are not precise dates for when this cohort begins or ends, the term Millennial, which was coined by Howe and Strauss (1991), is typically defined as the demographic group consisting of individuals born between 1982 and 2004.
(2011), color-blind racism, defined as “the racial ideology that posits the best way to end discrimination is by treating individuals as equally as possible, without regard to race, culture, or ethnicity”, is a response to avoid uncomfortable discussions about race and racism. Millennials, the so-called most racially progressive generation, are the primary users of this ideology.

Bonilla-Silva (2014:3) argues that color-blind racism began gaining dominance as a racial ideology when the mechanisms and practices for keeping blacks and other racial minorities “at the bottom of the well” changed. Rather than the overt policies and tactics that characterized the Jim Crow era, users of color-blind racism attempt to subscribe to Martin Luther King Jr.’s call to judge people on the content of their character rather than the color of their skin. In doing so, racial inequality is reproduced through subtle, intentional, and “nonracial” practices (Bonilla-Silva 2014:3). Despite the “I don’t see color” mentality of millennials, their colorblind racism functions as a form of racism, and it is no less effective than slavery and the overt tactics of the Jim Crow era in maintaining the status quo. There are five main elements of this new ideology, according to Bonilla-Silva (2003:272): 1) the nature of racial discourse and practices have taken on an increasingly covert nature; 2) avoidance of racial terminology and the claim by whites that they have experienced “reverse racism”; 3) the invisibility of most mechanism to reproduce racial inequality; 4) the incorporation of “safe minorities”, also called “Uncle Toms”, such as Clarence Thomas, Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, and Harold Ford, to signify the non-racialism of the polity; and 5) the re-articulation of some racial practices that are characteristics of the Jim Crow era of race relations. Smith (2015) does not place the blame entirely on Millennials—he argues that they are
products of a failed lesson on colorblindness, a lesson which was taught to them by Gen-Xers and Baby Boomers who believed that racism was a matter of personal bigotry rather than institutional discrimination and exploitation. As a result, Millennials who subscribe to this color-blind ideology are more likely to point out that the election of President Barack Obama signifies that we are in a post-racial society and that institutional, systematic racism cannot explain the racial inequalities that plague minority communities since it is not the central factor in determining a person's life chances (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011; Lybarger and Monteith 2011).

In 2014, MTV (2014) partnered with David Binder Research as part of its multi-year public affairs campaign to address bias, and more specifically to help millennials deal with prejudice and discrimination in their lives. The research was conducted between December 4th and December 10th, 2013 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Denver, Colorado, and Memphis, Tennessee. Eight in person focus groups, with a diverse selection of 8 people between 18 and 24 years of age, were held in each city. Additionally, there were two online discussions panels conducted with participants across the country in February 2014; panels consisted of a diverse selection of 20 to 25 young people between 18 and 24 years of age. The key findings of the study were:

- Millennials were raised to believe that they should treat everyone the same and should not acknowledge racial differences-84 percent said these values were taught by their families, 91% believed in equality

- The majority of Millennials believed their generation is post-racial- 72% believed that that their generation believes in equality more than older people, 62% (58% People of color (POC) and 64% white) believed that having a black president demonstrated that racial minorities have the same opportunities as white people, and despite this 67% agree that America is still deeply divided despite having a black president

- Millennials feel that colorblindness is something to strive for yet also support celebrating diversity- 73% believed that never considering race would improve
society; 63% believe focusing on race prevents society from becoming colorblind; and 81% believe that embracing diversity and celebrating differences between races would improve society.

- Despite the universal belief in equality, Millennials real-world experiences differ greatly, especially as it pertains to their race being represented in the media, questions about their ethnic background and place of origin, how they are treated by teachers, and their experiences with microaggressions.

One of the most interesting findings of this study was that 48 percent of white millennials stated that discrimination against whites is as big a problem as discrimination against minorities—this fits into the ‘reverse racism argument’. An earlier 2012 poll by the Public Religion Research Institute (2014) found that 58 percent of white millennials felt this way. Nearly a decade earlier, Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) examined white racial attitudes through survey-based research in 1997 using undergraduate students at four universities. The purpose of the survey was to examine the extent to which racial attitudes on surveys systematically underestimated the extent of prejudice among white students. Seven hundred thirty-two students completed the survey during a class period; there were 541 white participants, 73 Asian participants, 61 black participants, 34 Latino participants, 6 Native American participants, and 14 participants who identified as other. The study found that white participants appeared to be more prejudiced in interviews than in the survey, used a new race-talk to avoid appearing ‘racist’, and that the themes and arguments they touched on were congruent with what other analysts have labelled as color-blind racism or competitive racism. Race-talk is defined by Morrison (1993:57) as the “explicit insertion into everyday life of racial signs and symbols that have no meaning other than pressing African Americans to the lowest level of the racial hierarchy.” An example of this would include: “I’m not a racist, but blacks are lazy or I’m not a racist, but Hispanics are clean”.

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The true problem with color-blind racism is white millennials, who describe themselves as being racially progressive, typically lack awareness or understanding of discrimination and racism; and they use their colorblindness as a way of coping with fear and ignorance. Their colorblindness serves to invalidate the identities and experiences of minorities, while equating color with something negative. This leaves white millennials ill-equipped to deal with changing classroom demographics and the knowledge and experiences that minorities bring to the classroom. Part of this problem stems from the fact that white millennials who have attended predominantly white schools have never interacted with minorities or those who lack the understanding of white experiences. An important component of the lack of interracial interaction is white students grow up to be adults who lack understanding of their own roles as racial actors; in other words, they do not acknowledge the benefits that are associated with their white privilege. To effectively confront race, racism, and Islamophobia, the conversation needs to begin in the classroom for the benefit of both students and teachers. As Lewis (2001) argues:

Schools are arguably one of the central institutions involved in the drawing and redrawing of racial lines. Not only are many lessons learned and taught in the actual curriculum, but schools (and school personnel) also serve as a source of racial information, a location (and means) for interracial interaction, and/or a means of both affirmations of and challenge to previous racial attitudes and understandings.

The dangers of colorblind racism become even more apparent when one considers the challenges posed by changing classroom demographics.

**New Faces, New Challenges: Impact of Changing Classroom Demographics**

The demographic transformation currently taking place in American classrooms is unprecedented in American history, and is a direct result of changing demographics
within American society. On one end of the spectrum, the aging adult population is increasingly white, while on the other end, children and young adults are increasingly representing more nationalities and ethnicities who bring more cultural traditions and languages into the classroom than ever before. Part of this change is a result of immigration laws that date back to the 1960s, which helped increase the flow of immigrants into the United States. As I demonstrated in Chapter Five, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished national-origins quotas, creating a massive influx of immigrants. Following this act, there were several other key pieces of legislation that opened the doors for changing classroom demographics, including the Refugee Act of 1980, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, and the Immigration Act of 1990. The Refugee Act of 1980: 1) created a new definition of refugee based on the one created at the UN Convention and Protocol on the Status of Refugees; 2) raised the admitted refugee limitation from 17,400 to 50,000 for each fiscal year; 3) establish emergency procedures for when that number exceeds 50,000; and 4) to establish the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee (Office of Refugee Resettlement 2012). The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was passed in order to control and deter illegal immigration to the United States; however, its main provisions offered legalization to undocumented aliens who had been continuously unlawful since 1982 and to certain agricultural workers (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2016b). The Immigration Act of 1990 increased the number of legal immigrants that could enter the United States and introduced a lottery system which assigned visas to immigrants randomly; the main reason for the introduction of the lottery system was to change previous immigration laws that prohibited the granting of visas to immigrants from
certain countries (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2016a). A second factor, which particularly impacted southern schools, was the return of African Americans and their families to the south in the 1980s and the increased birthrate among Latino and African Americans (Viadero 2010). An increase in interracial marriages is another contributing factor. According to the Pew Research Center (2013b), in 2010, 15.1 percent of new marriages were between spouses of a different race or ethnicity and overall interracial or interethnic marriages reached an all-time high of 8.4 percent, which is an increase from 1980 when interracial or interethnic marriages accounted for only 3 percent of all marriages. By bringing new faces into the classroom, there are new, unique challenges that public schools in particular have never faced before. In the following two sections, I address changes within the teaching profession as a whole and then focus on changes within the student population.

**Teachers**

Public school teaching, which represents the largest occupation in the United States (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011), is a profession in transition. It is no secret that teachers are overworked, underpaid, and under-appreciated. For a moment, though, we can take out the changing demographics of the student population and challenges to curricula, both which will be explored in later sections, in order to examine seven trends that characterize the teaching force. Ingersoll and Merrill (2014) based the following trends on data retrieved from the Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS), the largest and most comprehensive source of data on teachers, and its supplement the Teacher Follow-Up Survey (TFS), which are both collected by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). The first trend Ingersoll and Merrill (2014:2) identify is the teaching force has been increasing in size since the mid-1980s, and has outpaced
the rate of increase for students. Though the numbers have remained consistent since 2008, Ingersoll and Merrill (2014:4) attribute the increase in the teaching force to the reduction of workloads—class sizes, hours worked, or classes taught per day—the growth of special education, and the greater emphasis on math and science instruction, which necessitated more teachers. Second, that while though the data confirms that the teaching force has indeed gotten older and retirements have steadily increased, further analysis by Ingersoll and Merrill (2014:9) demonstrate that this trend is largely over and has been replaced (trend 3). Haedden (2014:3) argues that the new trend, which has severe implications for students, schools, and the nation, is the teaching force has become increasingly younger and less experienced than the previous generation. Furthermore, Haedden (2014:3) states that the main reason for this trends is teachers are simply not sticking around; “from 1988 to 2008 the annual teacher attrition rose by 41 percent, and now nearly a third of teachers leave the profession within the first three years of their careers.” The fourth trend Ingersoll and Merrill (2014:14) identify is while teaching has always been a predominantly female occupation, the teaching force in recent decades has become even more female, which may seem odd since the number of males entering the profession has increased by 22 percent. The fifth trend Ingersoll and Merrill’s data demonstrates is while teaching does remain a primarily white female workforce, there were over 660,000 minority teachers in the United States by the 2011-2012 school year. Though shortages of minority teachers remain a problem, recruitment alone is not the problem—the problem is the gap between the minority teacher-to-minority student ratio is a result of the increasing number of minority students in public school classrooms. Ingersoll and Merrill’s (2014:19) data seems to confirm that the
“best and brightest” college students find PreK-12 teaching less attractive than other career and job options, which is the sixth trend they identify. They argue, that while the number of women going into the profession has increased, the academic quality of those women has declined. The final trend is PreK-12 teaching has had relatively high rates of annual departures of teachers from schools and from teaching all together (Ingersoll and Merrill 2014:22; see Lortie 1975, Tyack 1974). Haedden (2014) argues that the primary driver of teachers leaving is not money, or the lack of it, but rather that lack of administrative and professional support. Others, according to Haedden (2014), leave because they do not view teaching as a long term profession, but rather as a stepping stone into other entrepreneurial enterprises in the field. The problems with these trends is the overwhelmingly young, white, female workforce is ill-equipped to deal with changing classroom demographics of their students, and those teachers who are effective in the classroom do not stay around long enough to gain experience and make change in the classroom.

Students

In the early 90s demographers predicted that by 2020 46 percent of the nation’s school-age youths would be of color (Banks and Banks 1993:xiii,169); this drastic increase of students of color and of language minority students in the U.S. is one of the most significant developments in education in the last two decades. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2015), students of color actually comprised 49 percent of enrollment in public schools in 2012, with Hispanics comprising 24 percent, African Americans comprising 16 percent, and Asian/Pacific Islander/American Indian/Alaska Native/Other comprising a combined 9 percent. A closer look at the changing religious composition is even more revealing. According to the Pew Research
Center (2015), there will be a significant shift in the religious composition of the U.S. by 2050: Christians will drop from 78 percent of the population in 2010 to 66.4 percent; the Unaffiliated population will rise from 16.4 percent in 2010 to 25.6 percent; the Jewish population will drop slightly from 1.8 percent to 1.4 percent, and the Muslim population will double from 0.9 to 2.1 percent. Understanding the implications of this new religious pluralism is important, especially as Islam’s contribution to changes in American culture and society could be profound. As Muslims join mainstream American society they bring with them their religious values of social justice and of racial and ethnic equality to civil rights and human rights struggles (Haddad 2002:vii).

The Center for Public Education (2012) argues that public schools bear the major responsibility to address these demographic changes, both student and teacher, in the classroom, and that the main challenges public schools face are: 1) recruiting highly qualified bilingual teachers and teachers of English language learners (ELL); 2) creating high-quality pre-school programs, especially for children whose first language is not English; 3) addressing the gaps in areas such as dropout rates, test scores, high school completion and college entrance rates; 4) reaching out to Hispanic and immigrant parents and older citizens; and 5) addressing the issues of equity in resources among schools. While these challenges may be great, Howard (2007) sees “welcome-to-America” schools, where the global community is represented in classrooms across the country, as places of vibrant opportunity. While some teachers, parents, and administrators view the changing classroom demographics of student populations as a problem, rather than an opportunity, diversity is inevitable and so is responding to that diversity by creating diversity within the workforce and the curriculum to better facilitate
classroom discussions, cross-cultural understanding, and academic achievement. While archaeology may, or may not, be useful for all of these challenges, it can be useful in preparing both students and teachers to meet the challenges that they face in the classroom, particularly when it comes to social studies education.

Social Studies: Preparing Students for a Culturally Diverse, Democratic Society

According to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) (n.d.), social studies is defined as “… the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence” and as a multi-disciplinary approach draws on anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world. Standards for social studies programs in grades K-12 are organized around ten themes:

1. Culture – students are expected to understand how humans create, learn, share, and adapt to culture, and appreciate the role of culture in shaping their lives and society

2. Time, continuity and change- students are expected to examine the institutions, values, and beliefs of people in the past, acquire skills in historical inquiry and interpretation, and gain an understanding of how important historical events and developments have shaped the modern word

3. People, places, and environments- students are expected to develop spatial views and perspectives of the world, to understand where people, places, and resources are located and why they are there, and to explore the relationship between human beings and the environment

4. Individual development and identity- students are expected to examine the factors that influence an individual’s personal identity, development, and actions

5. Individuals, groups, and institutions- students are expected to understand how institutions are formed, maintained, and changed, and to examine their influence
6. Power authority and governance - students are supposed to become familiar with the purposes and functions of government, the scope and limits of authority, and the differences between democratic and non-democratic political systems

7. Production, distribution, and consumption - students are expected to understand how people organized the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, and understand domestics and global economic issues

8. Science, technology, and society - students are expected to understand past and present advances in science and technology and their impact

9. Global connections - students are expected to understand issues arising from globalization and the increasing importance of global connections

10. Civic ideals and practices - students are expected to understand the rights and responsibilities of a democracy and the importance of active citizenship (NCSS n.d.).

While recent scholarship has raised questions about the true origins of social science curriculum, it is generally accepted that social studies was added to school curricula following the publication of the Social Studies in Secondary Education in 1916, which was the final report of the Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association’s (NEA) Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools. Before then the first time the term social studies was used to refer to school subjects was in an article by Thomas Jesse Jones’ (1905) *Southern Workman*, which he expanded into *Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum* (Tabachnick 1991:75). Since its formal introduction into the schools, social studies education has been an ideological battleground as debates over its nature, purpose, and content have taken place over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Ross 2006:2). In the following section, I examine the challenges to social science curriculum posed by the culture wars and the standards movement.
Challenges to Curricula: Culture Wars and the Standards Movement

In 1995, the U.S. senate passed a non-binding resolution condemning the *National Standards for History* for being un-American by ignoring glorious Americans such as George Washington and the Wright brothers, and praising marginal figures such as Harriet Tubman (Wilentz 1997). This resolution represented the culmination of a nearly century’s long debate over the teaching of history in the United States that had been waged between progressive and conservative factions (Symcox 2002:2). Wayne (1996) argues that debate over social studies curriculum has been heavily influenced by a small number of conservative groups, including the American Enterprise Institute and the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, who have worked toward creating a national identity that preserved European American dominant culture. Since the federal government is limited in its involvement in education due to a reserve clause in the Constitution, national policy-making for education has been left in the hands of private interest groups (see Symcox 2002). Social studies curriculum lies at the heart of the debate on education and how we view American history, thus the culture wars have been fought over various topics such as social reform at the turn of the 20th century, its emphasis on economic justice in the 1920s, as being communist in the 1950s, and over American history and memory in the 1960s. The current battle simmering today is over multi-culturalism—whether the curricula should aim at assimilation or the celebration of cultural diversity, including religious issues (see Zimmerman 2009). At the center of these debates is the concern that history standards that seek to undermine the European dominant culture by providing students with a more comprehensive, challenging, and thought-provoking education would become official knowledge, requiring new textbooks and teacher lesson plans (Nash and Dunn 1995).
While being at the center of these culture wars, social studies education is also under attack by the standards movement. In 1983, David P. Gardner, published, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, a report whose purpose was to define the problems afflicting American education and to provide solutions to those problems (U.S. Department of Education 1983). This document compared the urgency of addressing K-12 elementary education with that of a virtual state of war. Since then educational reform in the United States has been concerned with establishing academic standards for what students should know at each grade level, establishing content standards that describe the body of education knowledge all students should know, and establishing performance standards that describe what grade level performance is acceptable for students (Phelan n.d.). Initially envisioned as a tool for promoting equal opportunity in education, the standards movement, with its time-absorbing emphasis on testing, proves to be detrimental to both students and teachers by marginalizing minority history and making teachers unprepared to deal with changing classroom demographics (Howard 2003; Manzo 2004). Jeppson (2010:77) argues that “the battle against social studies is part of a broader movement attempting to counter the multi-cultural historical picture.” As educators, as archaeologists, as parents, we must remain vigilant in ensuring that our students, our future, do not perpetuate the mistakes that have been made in the past. Rather than offering them a “traditional” account of history that recognizes the dominance, and by extension oppression, of Western civilization, social studies educators can, and should, embrace a culturally relevant pedagogy.

**Going Beyond the Curriculum: Embracing a Culturally Relevant Pedagogy**

As classroom demographics continue to change, there is an overwhelming need for teachers to embrace a culturally relevant pedagogy, which goes beyond making
changes within the curriculum, but also is incorporated into teacher development programs to better prepare young teachers for the classroom. First coined by Gloria Ladson-Billings in 1992, culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) describes a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural references to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Ladson-Billings 1992:17-18, 1994). A culturally relevant pedagogy is important according to Gay (2000:29) for its “ability to use cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of culturally diverse students to make learning more relevant to and effective. . . It teaches to and through strengths of these students. It is culturally validating and affirming.” A culturally relevant pedagogy is not simply beneficial to the students, for non-minority teachers the self-examination required to seriously analyze and change their cultural biases can help them unpack their own ethnicity and understanding of themselves as racial and cultural beings (Gay and Howard 2000). Furthermore, participating in culturally relevant teaching helps teachers build a bridge between student’s home and school lives, while still meeting the expectations of the district and state curricular requirements (Coffey 2008). Ambrosio (2003:37) argues that teaching is a process of slowly integrating knowledge into practice and that the most important aspect of teaching is developing the habit of reflecting on instructional practice according to what works best for students. He continues that the usage of a multicultural theory and practice offers teachers the reflective space and the necessary cultural insight to intelligently address pedagogical issues as they arise (Ambrosio 2003:37). There are three criteria for CRP: 1) students must experience academic success; 2) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and 3)
students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order (Ladson-Billings 1995).

Embracing a culturally relevant pedagogy is important given that most of the nation’s teachers remain white and middle class (Fuller 1992; Howard 2003; Morell 2010). It is imperative that teachers develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are needed to effectively engage with students from diverse racial, ethnic, socio-economic, and language groups. This is particularly important as classroom demographics change as a result of immigration trends and members of economically poor and minority groups continue to lag behind their white, middle-class, standard English-speaking peers (Villegas and Lucas 2002:xii). Increased demands on teachers through the standards movement, namely the expectation to prepare all students for higher order thinking and performance skills, requires teacher development programs prepare teachers for these changing classroom conditions by providing the skills necessary to go beyond the curriculum in order to meet the needs of students with different learning styles and backgrounds (Borko 2004; Darling-Hammond, Bransford, and LePage 2007:2). This means preparing teachers how to respond to the experiences and knowledge that all students bring to the classroom (Morell 2010). In reviewing studies on the preparation of teachers for historically underserved, multicultural student populations, Sleeter (2001:95 -96) found that as a whole white student teachers brought little cross-cultural background knowledge and experience to the classrooms, and that they also held negative stereotypical beliefs about urban children, lacked awareness or understanding of discrimination and racism, and used colorblindness as a way of coping with fear and ignorance. Thus in order to respond to changing classroom demographics,
teacher development programs should do more than prepare teachers to learn a subject they intend to teach and how to refine their technique and personal style (Larke and Larke 2009). Instead, teacher development programs should design meaningful development activities that require critical self-reflection and challenge the status quo of the current social order.

Multi-cultural education or a culturally relevant pedagogy does not have to be at odds with the social studies standards or impart an extra burden on educators. As Ladson-Billings (1995) states “it is just good teaching.” The importance and benefits of a culturally relevant pedagogy cannot be underestimated. Gay (2006:365-366) states:

U.S. society is becoming increasingly diverse, and that diversity is reflected in its classrooms. Creating a respectful, productive classroom environment is always a challenge; this challenge is even greater when students and teachers come from different cultural backgrounds, or when students differ in terms of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, cultural and linguistic background, sexual orientation, ableness, and academic aptitude. Unless teachers have the knowledge, skills, and disposition to effectively guide diverse groups of children, they are likely to face classes characterized by disrespect and alienation, name-calling and bullying, disorder and chaos.

By embracing a culturally relevant pedagogy, educators can honor the diversity that their students bring to the classroom and avoid promoting homogenous, Western perspective as universal beliefs (Oran 2009).

Beyond the Field: The Educational Benefit of Archaeology

Social Studies education would benefit tremendously from a culturally relevant pedagogy aided by archaeology. George Brauer, the creator of Baltimore County’s nationally recognized Center for Archaeology, argues his 40 year career as a teacher archaeologist has shown that by incorporating archaeology into the curriculum students are provided individual and cooperative learning strategies, exposure to culturally
sensitive subjects and the consequences of human decision making, the ability to develop mechanisms for critical analysis, historical consciousness, and an increased awareness of their responsibility for the stewardship for the world’s non-renewable cultural resources (Jeppson and Brauer 2007:232). Additionally, through the use of sites and artifacts, archaeological research, as a whole, can be used to promote education, community cohesion, entertainment, and economic development (Little 2002:3). Historical archaeology in particular can offer a more democratic understanding of the past by bringing attention to the parts of past daily life that have traditionally been overlooked or ignored in traditional historical documents (Jeppson 2010:72). By exploring the lives of women, children, and the otherwise marginalized, historical archaeology has provided data and resources that a culturally relevant social studies education can utilize in both teacher development programs and curriculum development. Public archaeology builds on this foundation by ensuring that this knowledge is disseminated to the communities in which they serve. Public archaeology, also called community archaeology in some places, is defined by the Society for American Archaeology (2010) as the “passing along of information discovered in academic archaeology to people outside the profession, whether that information is passed along via the Internet, or books, television programs, lectures, pamphlets, museum displays, archaeology fairs, or by opening excavations to the public." Exposing students and teachers to the past through archaeological sites, for example, is important and provides the benefit of demonstrating “the universal role that the material cultural environment plays in providing cultural continuity and perspective, and hence linking past, present, and future within the experience of any given human generation”
(Lipe 1984:2). In the final sections, I explore how archaeology 1) functions to authenticate the past and give a voice to the voiceless and 2) can be used to enliven history by giving students an opportunity to experience history first hand through interactive lesson plans and access to historic sites.

**Authenticating the Past**

James W. Lowen (1995) published, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Book Got Wrong*, which critically examines twelve American history textbooks and concludes that those twelve books were an embarrassing, inaccurate, Eurocentric and mythologized source of information about American history. Little has changed since then, and as Metcalf (2002:167) argues much of social studies curriculum is made of up myths, lies, and inaccurate video tapes. Inaccuracies in textbooks was a subject one concerned mother brought to the national news. Coby Burren, a fifteen-year-old freshman at a Texas high school sent a picture of his textbook, referring to African Americans as workers instead of slaves, to his mother Roni Dean-Burren in October 2015. The textbook from McGraw-Hill was not the first time Texas had been the center of controversy—as one of the largest supplies of textbooks, Texas has been criticized for the conservative spin that has been put on history, science, politics, and other subjects as a result of the Texas Board of Education promoting Republican values and accomplishments (Fernandex and Hauser 2015). To combat the standards movement and curriculum wars from limiting and distorting history, Metcalf (2002:173) argues that archaeologists and those in allied fields can infiltrate and enhance social studies curriculum development by providing teachers with knowledge and lessons that require very little preparation.

The National Standards for History suggests that:
Today’s students, more than ever before, need also a comprehensive understanding of the history of the world, and of the peoples of many different cultures and civilizations who have developed ideas, institutions, and ways of life different from the students’ own. From a balanced and inclusive world history student may gain an appreciation both of the world’s many cultures and of their shared humanity and common problems... Especially important, an understanding of the history of the world's many cultures can contribute to fostering the kind of mutual patience, respect, and civic courage required in our increasingly pluralistic society and our increasingly interdependent world (National Center for History in the Schools 1996:1).

Archaeology allows students to authentically experience the rich history and daily life experiences of people in the past, of past events, and historical processes. McManamon (2002:32) argues that knowing about these places and having a sense of what happened at them provide an important temporal context for modern life—much like the funeral prayer did for visitors to the Yarrow Mamout Archaeological Site in 2015 (see Chapter Six). If teachers truly want to embrace a culturally relevant pedagogy, using archaeology is just good teaching, and there are plenty of resources available to facilitate that process. Both the Society for American Archaeology and the Society for Historical Archaeology have ethics statements on education and provide resources for teachers and the general public for including archaeology in their curriculum on their respective websites. Archaeology in the Community, a D.C. based non-profit founded by Dr. Alexandra Jones, an educator and archaeologist, partners with educational institutions, cultural establishments, and community organization to increase community awareness about the benefits of archaeology and history through public events and provide inner youth and the families the opportunity to experience archaeology. The National Park Service offers several youth programs such as Urban Archaeology Corp, which allows students to experience archaeology first hand. The Bureau of Land
Management’s National Heritage Education Program offers Project Archaeology, which prepares educators to teach archaeology in their instructional settings (Moe 2002:178).

**Teaching with Historic Places**

On October 15, 1966 the United States Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act which did several things, including: 1) setting the federal policy for preserving our nation’s heritage; 2) establishing a federal-state and federal-tribal partnership; 3) establishing the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Programs; 4) mandating the selection of qualified State Historic Preservation Officers; and 5) establishing the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The purpose of the act was to acknowledge the importance of preserving and protecting the nation’s heritage from rampant federal development (National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers n.d.) The National Park Service is responsible for expanding and maintaining the NRHP, which is the most accessible source of information about the variety of cultural resources, including archaeological sites, available in the United States. As part of their initiatives the National Park Services’ Cultural Resources Office of Interpretation and Education offers a Teaching with Historic Places program that uses properties to “enliven history, social studies, geography, civic and other subjects” through the creation of a “variety of products and activities that help teachers bring historic places into the classroom (National Park Service n.d.b). Through partnerships with teachers, historians, archaeologists, and site interpreters, the National Park Service allows students and teachers to visit sites across the country, without ever having to leave the classroom. There are over 160 classroom-ready lesson plans that use historic sites listed on the National Register and which cover a range of subjects such as African-American history, American Indian History,
Conservation, Education, Health and Medicine, Latino American History, Philanthropy/Humanitarianism, Politics and Government, Science and Technology, and Women’s History. For a more comprehensive list of subjects and lesson plans by location/state please visit: https://www.nps.gov/subjects/teachingwithhistoricplaces/lesson-plans.htm. Though only a seven percent of these lesson plans cover archaeological sites specifically, the lesson plans examine the real stories of real people. Of the lessons plans that do focus on archaeological sites, many of the sites are open and accessible to the public. For the lesson plans that do not cover a specific archaeological sites, archaeological research can be used to supplement and enhance the lesson plans and activities. If the Yarrow Mamout Archaeological Site was ever to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, an example of a Teaching with Historic Places lesson plan is included in the appendix.

Conclusion

Millennials, who have been charged as the most racially progressive generation in American history, have used color-blind racism as a way to avert their eyes away from the subtle means through which racial injustice is reproduced and works to disadvantage minorities. Instead of judging people by the content of their character, those who subscribe to a color-blind ideology blame people of color for whatever “race problem” there is instead of understanding the ways in which white privilege, and institutionalized, and systematic racism works to keep people of color in their place. If millennials, and/or anyone who subscribes to this mentality, can look past color, the question is whether or not they can look past a woman wearing a hijab on a plane or brown skinned “Middle Eastern” looking man with a beard. For the last decade and a
half, American Muslims have been crucified in the media for “looking like terrorists.” Violence against them has remained stable since the 9/11 attacks and has even increased following every major event where a Muslim has been a perpetrator. Fear and ignorance drive the perpetuation of stereotypes. Stereotypes can only change if people are willing to acknowledge race, racism, and Islamophobia head on and confront their own privileges and inherent biases.

Embracing a culturally relevant pedagogy, aided by archaeology, can help white, millennial social science educators with this endeavor. Through a critical examination of how color-blind racism works to silence the voices, experiences, and knowledge that minority students bring to the classroom and pairing that with the stories that historical and/or public archaeology reveals, teachers can better effectively deal with changing classroom demographics and become better equipped to prepare their students, our future, for a culturally diverse, democratic society.
CHAPTER 8
HOW RELIGION PRESERVED THE MAN

We are going to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery because whilst others might free the body, none but ourselves can free our minds.

- Marcus Garvey
Nova Scotia 1937

In the fall of 2015, I read Christopher Tilley’s (1989) article, “Archaeology as Socio-Political Action in the Present”, while I was struggling to come up with a proposal for this work. Part of me wanted to believe that preliminary analysis of the artifact assemblage would reveal that we had found the material remains of Mamout’s occupation, despite our doubts in the field, because it would be simple and uncomplicated. When it became apparent that we still had no definitive proof, I began to worry, recognizing that the project’s archaeological results would require me to address the project’s public aspect. The other part of me was petrified of what this would mean. No other work like this existed in the field to my knowledge, and any topics regarding Muslims and Islam would undoubtedly bring negative connotations. I was not interested in making a political statement or trying to involve myself with a particularly controversial contemporary situation. Then I read McGuire’s (2008) Archaeology as Political Action and realized that despite my reservations there was no escaping the political nature of archaeology. By this time, I had begun thinking about why I came to graduate school to pursue a doctorate in the first place and I pulled out my application essay to the University of Florida. I began the essay with another quote by Marcus Garvey: “A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin, and culture is like a tree without roots.” Being a student at Howard University taught me the importance of knowing your history, origin, and culture. It also taught me that during my primary and
secondary education I was only taught that African American history began with slavery and culminated with the Civil Rights Movement. My experience at Howard and with my education before then drove me to tell the stories that were not written in text books or taught in primary or secondary schools. That desire is what lead me to produce this work which acknowledges the role that white privilege plays in producing silence surrounding the history and legacy of the African diaspora.

The 2015 Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project offered a me rare opportunity to investigate the property of an emancipated African Muslim in the early 19th century and to challenge the dominant narrative white privilege has so carefully constructed. In 2012, James H. Johnston approached the City Archaeologist for the District of Columbia, concerned that the historical integrity of 3324 Dent Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. was at risk of being destroyed to private and/or commercial development pursuits. Though no ground breaking activities would occur for another three years, Johnston and a concerned community convinced the D.C. Historic Preservation Office that the property was historically significant and should be explored archaeologically. In 1800, the property was purchased by Yarrow Mamout, an African Muslim who had been enslaved by the Beall family for nearly 45 years. Mamout gained notoriety after sitting for a formal portrait by Charles Wilson Peale in 1819 and James Alexander Simpson in 1822. When he died, Peale wrote his obituary, in which he described Mamout’s honest, moral, and industrious nature and that he was never known to consume alcohol or pork. After receiving written permission from the property owner, the D.C. HPO conducted an archaeological investigation of the property between June and November 2015. The investigation included the excavation of 35 shovel test pits, geoarchaeological testing,
ground penetrating radar, mechanical testing, and the manual excavation of 20 test units. Documentary and archaeological evidence indicate that the property has been continuously occupied for 200 years. Due to the property’s continuous occupation and subsequent development, the potential for intact deposits was restricted to a 25 ft. x 23. ft. area of the 150 ft. x 35 ft. property south of the extant in-ground pool. Preliminary analysis of the nearly 17,000 artifacts recovered from the investigations indicate that we have no definitive evidence, thus far, of Mamout’s occupation of the site within the archaeological record. As a result of this negative data, I was left to determine how to interpret the significance of the project.

By expanding our archaeological product beyond our artifacts and reports, I was able to see how the public component of the project met our original purpose and contributed to the bigger picture. The 2015 Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project was the first of its kind, both in terms of investigating the home of an emancipated African Muslim and being conducted by the D.C. HPO. As such, it sets the tone and bar for any research which follows it. Placing Yarrow Mamout into the bigger picture demanded that the history and legacy of African Islam be re(introduced), especially since there is a widely held belief among Americans that immigrant Muslims and their children are the true representations of a religion with over 1 billion adherents and that it is commonplace among Americans to associate Islam with Middle Eastern, radical, violent terrorists, because of the portrayal of Muslims in the media and by our politicians. As the American Muslim population continues to grow, it is important that we, as Americans, understand that Islam is not “foreign”. As the second largest and fastest growing religion in the United States and one of the most racially and ethnically diverse
groups in the world, it is important to understand the variability within and between these groups. Like the rest of the population, the Muslim community is divided along lines of race, class, and ethnicity, and because of their different life experiences, often know very little of one another. This work significant in that it offers an opportunity to challenge what it means to be both Muslim and American. Following 9/11, American Muslims were thrust into the spotlight as non-Muslims sought out information, explanations, and responses to their fears and incomprehension from Muslim scholars, religious figures, and other believers. As a result, it was revealed that Islam was not a recent arrival in America, but has been a part of the American fabric since the very beginning. The first Muslims in America were forcibly removed from their homelands and were brought over on cargo ships from Africa. These men, women, and children were largely literate; able to maintain their faith in spite of a hostile Christian environment; and spoke two or more languages.

Despite leaving behind no self-sustaining communities, which Diouf (2013) argues is because the Islam that enslaved African Muslims brought over failed to be transmitted to the children and to convert the unbelievers, African Islam endures. The legacy of enslaved African Muslims is not in self-sustaining communities, but rather their ideological perseverance to retain their beliefs and practices despite being separated from their communities and forced to work in a strange land. Their legacy, which black leaders such as Alexander Crommell, Martin Delany, and Marcus Garvey built upon in the latter half of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th century, lies in their self-determination, resistance, and education. This legacy forms the core values of what Vincent Franklin has said characterizes African American culture from slavery to the
present (Turner 2003:45). Together, the history and legacy of African Islam in the United States documents the desire of a group of people to define themselves in an environment that historically has left them oppressed, disenfranchised, and virtually hidden in plain sight. While history has told the American public that the black Islamic movements of the 20th century were radical, violent, and posed threats to public safety, the reality is that these movements challenged the social reality that white privilege constructed through racial oppression.

Grounding this work in critical race theory provided the basis through I was able to examine how white privilege serves to silence the history and legacy of enslaved African Muslims and contributes to the silencing of the narrative and experiences of contemporary African American Muslims. Critical race theory is important because it helps elucidate white privilege, which is everywhere and seemingly nowhere at all, as an on-going historical process. By tracing the history and legacy of African Islam, I was able to demonstrate how deeply embedded white privilege, and by extension white supremacy from which it is derived, is. Thus through the careful study of the world in which we live, where white privilege is created and sustained through law, we are forced to abandon traditional approaches to combat race, racism, and Islamophobia. Using praxis grounded in critical theory, this work suggests that in order to prepare students, who are our future leaders, doctors, nurse, law enforcement, teachers, social workers, etc., to live in a culturally diverse, democratic society, that we need to provide the tools necessary in order to help them achieve in the classroom by building bridges between the students and the people who teach them. A culturally relevant pedagogy aided by archaeology, particularly public project such as the Yarrow Mamout Archaeological
Project, can help end the cycle of silence caused by white privilege and allows teachers to weave the excluded past into the national narrative.

None of this would have been possible without the public component of the project. Due to initial time constraints, we restricted participation in the archaeological investigations to professional archaeologists, however, as interest in the project grew and time began winding down, we opened the project to the public. In doing so, we were better able to engage the local African American Muslim community. On August 14th, 2015, the Nation’s Mosque held an Islamic funeral prayer for Mamout. It was during this event that I understood how powerful the place was in puncturing silences caused by white privilege, by allowing people to see that the Muslim community more diverse that initially expected. To measure whether we were impacted the public, I designed and distributed a 32 question survey in late January 2017, with the help of Carol Ellick, an applied anthropologist. The survey revealed that despite a lack of a physical environment and artifacts related to Mamout’s occupation of the site, visitors were able to see the importance of telling Mamout’s story, that there is value in it apart from the recovery of artifacts, that the story speaks to the great diversity of the African American experience in America.

In closing, Tilley (1989:105) argues, “archaeology should not primarily be concerned with the past for its own sake and as a means of escape from the socio-political reality of the present, but with using the past as a basis for strategic intervention in the present.” As I hope to have demonstrated through this work, emancipating ourselves from our own fears and reservations can allow us, archaeologists, as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society, to free our minds as see that our
contributions to society lie far beyond analyzing thousands of artifacts and producing piles of reports. Though we may not be able to save the world, our work does impact the communities in which we work in real and meaningful ways. White privilege may have silenced the history and legacy of African Islam through our textbooks and classroom instruction, African Islam has endured for 400 years. It is more than a path to salvation; it is a means through which a people have resisted racial oppression while preserving their minds and bodies. It is how, despite scant records, Yarrow Mamout’s story lives on. This is the story of how religion preserved the man.
Consent Script:
Greetings Participants:

My name is Mia Carey. I am a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida. I served as field director for the 2015 Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project, which is the current focus of my dissertation research.

The goal of the field project was to identity and interpret the material remains of Mamout's occupation, while the public aspect of the project focused on educating the public about Yarrow Mamout's life. Though the project was based on the life of one individual, it has potential to address broader issues.

Our public outreach effort held at the Yarrow Mamout site during excavations and other special events exposed people to information that is, perhaps, different than what they had been exposed to before. Because of this, we want to gain a sense of how the experience may have affected you. Thus the purpose of this survey is to understand how the project and/or public outreach events may have affected you.

The survey has four sections, containing a total of 32 questions. Section 1 provides basic demographic data. Section 2 provides information about your overall experience with the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project or related public outreach events. Section 3 provides information about the historical significance of Yarrow Mamout. Section 4 provides information about the feasibility of using Yarrow Mamout's story to promote education about his life, the lives of other enslaved African Muslims, and of Islam and Muslims in general. Section 5 provides information about perceptions of Islam and Islamophobia.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and compensation will not be provided. To my knowledge there are no physical or emotional risks associated with participation in this survey. You are not likely to have any direct benefit from being in this research study. If you agree to take the following survey, please click yes to proceed.
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Q8 - Where do you live?

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Other

Other

California
Q11 - What brought you to the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project?

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<td>Attended a fence talk</td>
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<td>Took an official site tour</td>
<td>37.04%</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Participated as volunteer</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Participated as part of the archaeology core team (e.g., P.I., Project Archaeologist, Crew Chief, Consultant)</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
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Q13 - What, if anything, did you learn from visiting the site during excavations and/or participating in the excavations?

What, if anything, did you learn from visiting the site during excavations?

Please see above.

Process of conducting archaeology in DC.

This is tough to put a finger on for some reason. I think it was, for me, a tangible reminder of my above point about early American diversity, which I understood intellectually, but for which I had never seen such a specific and concrete example. Not to get to esoteric, but I believe that making something hands-on actually uses a different part of the brain, and helps information get encoded more firmly. Or maybe that's just me. What I'm trying to get at is my Yarrow experience made it more "natural" for me question the validity of dominant narratives in American history, because I have an example of a story that's often left out, and I had a personal experience with it. I hope that made at least some vague sense!

Learned about the site in the context of the historical period.

I learned more about archeological practice.

This excavation was thrilling, exciting and heart wrenching because I was standing on the home site of a prosperous African-American Muslim former slave. I could not wait to go to the site to participate in researching the life of Yarrow Mamout.

I learned about the way archaeologists evaluate material remains

Please see link:http://www.isawdcfilm.org/ I was working on a documentary project focusing on the five years of the I SAW DC youth led program. After meeting Ms. Whitmore and Mr. Johnston, and learning more about Yarrow Mamout's life I participated in the excavation. The experience made such an impact that I decided to highlight the excavation in my video, as a project that uncovered the important earlier contributions of African Americans to the fabric of our nation.

How extensive and precise one must be in locating and identifying possible artifacts.

Of course I learned about the history of Yarrow Mamout and the changing landscape of the neighborhood. I also learned how much local interest there was in the project and what elements (volunteer days, fence talks, other outreach) make for a successful public archaeology program.

Just how close the past is to the present and the community diversity of the 18th and 19th centuries in this region.

further exposure to in-the-field archaeological practices

Learned more about his actual living conditions.

I am friends with the archaeologists on the core team, so was getting regular updates. I initially was just going to visit and ended up volunteering.
I learned about the challenges to doing archaeology on an urban site that has experienced subsequent development, that is about to be developed so that the window of time is very short for the dig, and it was amazing to see the community coalesce around the dig as an expression of interest in an extraordinary but common person in US and DC history.

Finding the past can be difficult! ;-)  

I learned all about Yarrow's story. I was also intrigued by the interest and involvement of the neighbors group in Georgetown. And, as usual, I thoroughly enjoyed participating in the dig, mainly through screening and washing.

I learned about the Yarrow's story, and the history of the area.

I realized excavations are difficult, but to see one close up made me realize how challenging the really are.

That I know so little about the aftermath of slavery, enslaved Muslims, and the important roles enslaved African played in literally building the foundations of American democracy.

Something about archeology and about the history of the site.

On a general level, I gained a sense of Georgetown as it was then and what the surrounding landscape, now vastly terraformed, had looked like in Mamout's day. As an archaeologist, I learned how complicated and mixed up the stratigraphy and sequence of deposition was in this area, and how hard it was to date even the postholes of what appeared to be an earlier shed structure to a particular time period--the range was so vast, it was difficult to interpret. I also learned a great deal from the site tours and fence talks I witnessed, about Yarrow's life and about early D.C.

How difficult it was to find and learn from the artifacts that might be found. How surprising it was to find the site around the corner from where my daughter's in-laws live.

This was my first excavation and the crew was intelligent and helpful. I learned basic skills in field work.

Data source misconfigured for this visualization
Q14 - Did you attend any of these public outreach events? (Check all that apply)

- Day of Archaeology, July 18, 2015
- Islamic Funeral Prayer, August, 2010
- Atlas Obscura, October 10, 2015
- "The Search for Yarrow", Dumbarton House, August 19, 2015
- Georgetown University teachers event, September 26, 2010
- America’s Islamic Heritage Museum project update, September 26, 2016
- Farewell Yarrow @ Georgetown Public Library, June 25, 2016
- Other
- Did not attend any public outreach events
Q15 - How pleased were you with the following?

- Site Tour
- Fence Talk
- Knowledge of Crew members and/or volunteers giving tour or fence talk
- Experience participating in the excavations
- Experience at public outreach events
Q16 - How did you hear about the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project?

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Other

GU

Dr. Gibbs suggested I contact Mia Carey because she might need volunteers.

City of Alexandria archaeology

through Georgetown academics

Ruth Trocolli

Ruth
Ruth and her "gang" are delightful and very good at getting the word out

Georgetown University

Project team

Visit to the Peabody room

American University professor
Q12 - What interested you about Yarrow Mamout's story?

What interested you about Yarrow Mamout's story?

What initially interested me about Yarrow Mamout was that he was manumitted pretty early on in this country's history, and was driven. Following his manumission, he sought out work opportunities, saved, bought property. He was educated and a devout Muslim.

Interest in Atlantic history and how to make Atlantic history more inclusive of African stories.

As far as Yarrow the person goes, his sheer resilience - making a life in a new country as a formerly enslaved individual, and establishing a home for himself after losing his savings not once but twice. More broadly, I think his story exemplifies the overlooked (whether willfully or not) diversity of the early American experience, especially in terms of Africans and African Americans and enslaved people, who are often seen as homogenous.

Yarrow Mamout's story is unique for his time.

I study Atlantic History

I was researching burial rituals of African slaves and I was discussing my research with Dr. Gibbs a well-known historian and he suggested that I contact Mia Carey because she was investigating Yarrow Mamout as a Doctoral Project.

I study Atlantic History

I am a youth researcher for projects documenting the early history of African Americans in DC, with a youth led program called I SAW! DC. Please see link: http://www.isawdcfilm.org/interview-trailer

His rise from slavery to freedom. His courage and dedication to the Muslim's faith... everything!

Extraordinary local history story.

former slave who obtained his freedom through his own skills and determination and who became a respected member of the community

I was aware of Mamout's story and wanted more information.

I worked as an archaeological consultant for years in DC. I did much of my work in Georgetown. I was familiar with Yarrow Mamout, through his portraits (one of which was displayed in the Georgetown Library). He was a fascinating person. I am interested in and have done some research on African-American archaeology.

I have known about Yarrow Mamout's history for years, and while it was not a question listed above, I organized the event around the dig for educators and the public in Sept 2015 that was attended by more than 120 people, at Georgetown University, where the author of the book on YM spoke along with historians from GU and Howard University.
He seemed like a very interesting person, given his place and time.

There is so much history in Washington DC but this appealed because Yarrow Mamout's story is not widely known and it shed new light on the Georgetown area for me.

He was a slave who became a landowner.

Freed slave to property owner

That when he came here as a slave he was educated and used his education later to become a successful free man. Also, I never thought about the fact that a lot of Africans who came here might be Muslims.

I was interested in him as a part of US history, his experience as an enslaved and freed African Muslim, and his appearance in portraits by Simpson and Peale.

His significance in DC and US history, especially since the story of Muslims are underrepresented.

Yarrow is only a tip of the iceberg - he is a known individual among thousands- hundreds of thousands of former slaves who had no voice and never entered the documentary record in any substantive way. We can study him and perhaps inform on the lives of some of the others.

We live in Georgetown and not too far from the site. Are very interested in Georgetown's early history, but also in the lives of freed slaves. This was like a mystery unfolding. We have passed the site once the house collapsed and was removed and before the story came out. A young African-American male was searching for an address, which in retrospect was the Mamout site.

His extraordinary achievements inspired me. Formerly enslaved, he was able to become a man of standing in his community--so much so, his portrait was painted twice, not something you see often during that time period. I was curious about how and where he lived and wanted to know, too, if archaeology would uncover his final resting place, which had been assumed to be on the property.

I participated in the Georgetown University Saturday presentation on Yarrow Mamout. A part of that presentation was going to the site.

It gives a different perspective of what was happening in DC/Georgetown during this time. Having this much documentation of a former slave is rare and continuing on with an archaeology project is extremely interesting.
Q17 - Would you like to be contacted by the D.C. Historic Preservation Office about future public projects and/or volunteer archaeology opportunities? Please provide e-mail address if you would like to hear about future projects and/or volunteer opportunities.

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Q30 - In the next section of the survey, I ask questions related to your perceptions of Islam, Muslims, and Islamophobia. The Council for American-Islamic Relations defines Islamophobia as the "closed-minded prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims." The purpose of this section is to understand: 1) what influences your perceptions of Islam and Muslims; 2) your knowledge of Islam and Muslims; 3) if you believe Islamophobia is a problem and why; and 4) whether visiting and/or participating in the project had any impact on your perceptions of Islam and Muslims. These questions may elicit an emotional response. If you wish to answer these questions, please click yes to proceed to the next section. If you do not wish to answer these questions, please click no to skip to the end of the survey.

![Yes vs No Bar Chart]

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Q31 - After reading the following question, please enter the first thing that comes into your mind. Be as honest as possible. Question: What names, images, places, events, ideas, objects, etc. enter your mind when you see or hear the words "Islam" and "Muslim"?

After reading the following question, please enter the first thing that comes into your mind. Be as honest as possible. Question: What names, images, places, events, ideas, objects, etc. enter your mind when you see or hear the words "Islam" and "Muslim"?

During the EU Open House, a couple years ago, the Islamic Center on Massachusetts Ave held an open house as well. I got to go in the mosque, and eat some delicious food. Honestly, now, that's what I tend to think out. Otherwise, beautiful architecture and music. Also, sometimes, the first Muslim person I'm pretty sure I ever met, an Afghan guy in my math class when I was in 6th grade (2001).

I think of the religion and political empires.

Wisdom, educated, scholars, world travelers

Universities, tile work, Koran

Submission to Allah

religion, peace, mosque, Qu’ran, Osman (a 19th century Maroon), Lamu (I was there during Ramadan one year), Singapore/Malaysia,

A religion

Religion

Egypt, mosques, minarets, Cairo, desert, architecture, learning, mathematics, Mohammed, Mecca, "Guests of the Sheik" (an ethnography by Elizabeth Warnock Fernea), villages, call to prayer, prayer rugs,

Ramadan, Minaret, Hagia Sofia

racism

Mohammed Prophet Koran minaret mosque burka

Muhammad Ali, Algebra, Astronomy, Moors,

Unfortunately, now I think of Donald Trump's travel ban and Islamophobia. I think of a diverse community that has been stereotyped and mislabeled.

Mecca, Allah, Muhammed, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Blue Mosque, Arabic numerals, Moors, Spain, Moorish Architecture, Morocco, Indonesia, desert, Silk Road, Muhammad Ali, Nation of Islam, Sunni, Shia, Iran, Iraq, Palestine, pilgrimage, jihad, Afghanistan

long history; isolation from the intellectual development in the west.

Mosques, imams, regular prayer, sobriety, intelligence--in terms of deep learning, philosophy, etc.

Mosques, minarets, Andalusia and the flourishing of culture in the Muslim world in the Middle Ages and earlier.

Q32 - What do you believe has had the most impact on your perceptions of "Islam" and "Muslims"? With 1 having the lowest impact and 4 having the highest impact. Each number can only be used once.

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<td>27.78%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Q33 - How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Islam and Muslims?

- Islam teaches its followers to oppress women
- Muslims are trying to impose shariah/Islamic law in the United States
- Islam teaches its followers to be violent and aggressive
- Muslims are accurately portrayed as Arab or Middle Eastern
- Muslims hate Jews and Christians
- Muslims do not support the LGBT+ community
- Islam supports groups like Al Qaeda and ISIS
- Islam is an American religion, like Christianity or Judaism
- Islam is misunderstood
- Muslim rights should be protected
- Muslims should not have to carry a registry card
- Muslims should be allowed to immigrate to the United States
Q34 - The Council for American-Islamic Relations defines Islamophobia as the "closed-minded prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims." To what extent do you think Islamophobia is a problem in the United States?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>9.52%</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q35 - How strongly do you agree or disagree that Islamophobia is justified in the United States?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>85.71%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q36 - If you think Islamophobia is unjustified in the United States, in what ways can we work to combat Islamophobia? (Check all that apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Public Outreach</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Raise awareness of Islamophobia</td>
<td>84.21%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pass anti-Islamophobia legislation</td>
<td>52.63%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Other, please specify</td>
<td>31.58%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, please specify

- Impeach Trump
- Meet-a-Muslim event. Take the fear of the unknown away.
- mainstream conversations in media, leaders speak our
- "Ambassador voyages" to parts of the country that do not know about Islam--I guess this is like public outreach, but more specific
Q37 - To what extent did visiting and/or hearing about the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project:
Q38 - How else were your perceptions changed beyond the categories listed above?

If so, how were your perceptions changed?

- my perceptions were not changed.

Thinking about the role of Islam as an African-American religion during the founding of the United States

***Side Note: There is no distinct religion that is "American", the constitution explicitly states that there should be clear line of separation between church and state. However, the constitution upholds freedom of religion, the ability to worship and to not worship.

The project has made me think more about diversity of the enslaved African population and keep an eye out for hints that the people I encounter in my research may have practiced Islam or otherwise maintained some connection to a Muslim heritage.

I am an African-American Muslim

I knew a considerable amount about Islam prior to this project to this project.

- It was impressive to have knowledge of him as a person and as an example of the way institutions affected people's lives, and how in spite of the strength of slavery as an institution, YM overcame the limits imposed on him.

People - including Muslims and non-Muslims - were hungering for stories about the past that are not being told elsewhere. The pursuit of such stories archaeology made them more receptive even they made comments that could be construed as biased against Muslims. Archaeologist can help tell stories about disenfranchised groups even to conservative or close-minded audiences. People really want to learn, and they will support projects when they feel the information generated is valuable and when they see the passion and commitment of the archaeologists in telling the story. Those were surprising outcomes.

That Muslims in Africa were educated and part of the group of slaves that came to the US. One has to wonder how they practices their religion after they were here

Nothing comes to mind.
Q28 - To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree or Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Yarrow Mamout's story should be used to educate the public about the dangers of negative stereotypes
- Yarrow Mamout's story should be used to educate the public about archaeology
- Yarrow Mamout's story should be used to educate the public about contemporary American slavery in general
- Yarrow Mamout's story should be used to educate the public about contemporary African American Muslims
- Yarrow Mamout's story should be used to educate the public about Islamophobia
- Yarrow Mamout's story should be used to educate the public about enslaved African Muslims
Q20 - Of these seven aspects, which of the following can be used to make an argument for the historical significance of the Yarrow Mamout property? (Check all that apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>11.54%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>30.77%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>15.38%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Workmanship</td>
<td>19.23%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Feeling</td>
<td>53.85%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Association</td>
<td>84.62%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q22 - Did visiting the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project evoke a historic sense of the past related to Yarrow Mamout’s life on the property? If so, please explain.

What feelings or emotions did you experience while visiting the Yarrow Mamout...

Yes. Despite the physical changes to the lot and its improvements over the years, learning how Yarrow interacted with his property on a daily basis—such as praying in his garden—was evocative.

That would be a tough sell for me. The density of the surrounding residential area made it tough to imagine Yarrow’s little house and garden plot, as did other factors like the chain link fence and swimming pool. I’m not the most visually imaginative person, so these things really got in the way for me. A bit due to the excellent explanations of the house design and landscaping of the time.

Yes. Georgetown has changed so much since WWII that any reminders of its black past are evocative. Yarrow draws Georgetown into an international story. Yes, it made white people aware that Georgetown was inhabited by prosperous African-American slaves long before they arrived. Yes, Georgetown has changed so much since WWII that thinking about Georgetown’s black history in a space that we know was part of that history is very powerful.

This project invoked a deep retrospective on the past and present.

Yes, but mainly through the interpretation and background information. When I visited, I didn’t see any features or artifacts that specifically spoke to Yarrow Mamout or his time. That is more a factor of when I visited than the site itself, I think.

Yes because of the historical houses and streets in the area and Yarrow Mamout’s story.

Yes. Visiting the site supported my belief that there are many stories about African American slavery that have not been told.

The archaeological project was taking place on property that had been owned by Yarrow. The archaeologists and other scholars involved were well-versed in the history.

Knowing about the events and life of Yarrow Mamout in historic Georgetown, it was exciting to see the place where he purchased a house and lived, and where his portrait was likely painted in that house.

Yes. Although there was no evidence there, it was interesting to see the location and to get a sense of the past by visiting.

Yes. I think that the diversity of the past is something that needs to be addressed more.

It expanded my sense of history of the Georgetown area.

Yes.

Yes, I think visiting or working at the property evoked a sense of the past— but once a new building stands on the site, I think this feeling will pretty much disappear.
Not to me. It is difficult to understand integrity or to evoke a sense of history from excavation pits and fragments pulled from the ground. It will have more meaning for me after the fragments have been assessed and a story can be told.

Somewhat. When I went to visit, they had not found much

Yes, but not because of the surrounding buildings which all post-date his occupation. It was because of the story woven together by the archaeologists.

This has been a vacant site with no sense of it evolution. We live in a house (around the corner from site) that has walls that are purportedly 19th century brick. A 1956 house was build around these walls that had been homes built for Af Americans worked for the big houses north of our site. This is according to oral history, but from someone who lived across from the site before 1956. We only recently wondered if Mamout might have provided those bricks.

The fact that there are no structures on the property help give a feeling for the place, but, frankly, there is nothing left and what is left is mostly artificial fill. The "emptiness" of the setting in relation to the other houses is evocative, but the strengths of this place are in its location and association.

I would have never learned the life of Yarrow and the fact that a former Muslim slave lived in Georgetown. This is something really special to DC and US history.
Q9 - Do you have any prior experience in the following? (Check all that apply)

<table>
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<th>#</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Professional Archaeology Experience</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Volunteer Archaeology Experience</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Serving on a historic preservation board or group</td>
<td>25.93%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Education/Teaching Experience</td>
<td>70.37%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>27</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Q21 - Of these seven aspects, which one is the most important to preserving the authenticity of the property? Authenticity is defined as the "quality of being genuine or original, being actually what is claimed rather than imitative." With 1 being the most important and 7 being the least important. Ranks can only be used once.
In the absence of a structure and/or other definitive material remains associated with Mamout's occupation of the site, how can the feeling integrity aspect be used to make an argument for the property's historical significance?

How Yarrow interacted with his property and, more broadly, his Georgetown community, preserve his life and spirit. Yarrow was a well-known member of his community, had made a life for himself, lived by a particular faith, kept devote to a particular faith and, while captured in written accounts, these instances provide a powerful feeling of Yarrow and his past as well as any material remains. The fact that his lot remains relatively similar in dimension, and despite property improvements in and around the lot, further provides a controlled space of feeling.

I think we have to look at the broader context of the property. Though obviously Georgetown has evolved since Yarrow's time, from what I understand the layout is much the same, as is the topography (I may be mistaken). Despite my above point about my lack of visual imagination, I can imagine Yarrow walking up and down the Georgetown hills, around the gridded streets, and down to the waterfront. I think the answer may lie in weaving Yarrow's story into the fabric of Georgetown, and I think you guys are working to do just that.

This is done through the official records.

Can its absence be used for an argument? That this is a vital historic district a state search for links is becoming increasingly difficult?

There are very little historical facts written about the occupation of Georgetown by African-American slaves. Since it has been documented that Yarrow Mamout owned property in Georgetown there should be a memorial erected in his honor.

Yarrow Mamout's house it part of a hidden geography of Georgetown, and illustrates the difficulty of preserving urban histories of minority and lower class people.

I believe that the it is important to preserve the historical structure, since it is no longer standing I think that a reconstruction of the previous existing structure (Yarrow's House) would be the best course of action.

The landscape (social and physical) of the neighborhood has changed over time but this lot is still traceable directly to Yarrow Mamout. His story adds important depth to understanding what appears now to be a fairly homogenous (socially and economically) area.

focus on Yarrow Mamout's story

Not sure

Under Criterion d, it can be argued that a site is significant according to what it contributes to our knowledge of history or prehistory. Although evidence of the structure may no longer remain, the property can be strongly argued under Association and Location. Feeling is ephemeral. However, there is a sense of Yarrow's presence on the property through the scholars searching for material remains of his past. [In Fairfax County, sites that do not meet the eligibility criteria for the National Register, but that are of considerable interest and concern to county
residents, are considered to have "public significance." The Heritage Resource Management Plan states: "It is therefore important to evaluate county resources, especially those that don't meet the criteria for National Register eligibility, from the viewpoint of public values. For example, a remnant of a Civil War earthwork that has been subjected to relic-hunter activity retains little archaeological integrity and would probably not meet National Register criteria. The local community, however, may care very strongly for its 'own piece of history'."

The location of his house in Georgetown, a marker at least indicating the place or places where he lived and worked, and especially, the hardships and setbacks he endured in working, saving and losing money to buy the land. The fact that the famous portrait was painted in that house, with the lighting invoking the house, and the fact that the painter had written an obituary stating his knowledge/belief that YM was buried on that plot, in the place where he used to pray.

No sure.

It's about the story. Artifacts and features enhance and support the story.

Thru the stories and associated objects.

Yarrow's story is unique enough that an argument can certainly be made for the property's historic significance. African Americans played a large part in Georgetown's past -- and that story should continue to be told. The involvement of Muslims is an even more interesting story.

See above. I can't even evaluate the integrity without a structure or some material remains that I understand.

A place evokes a feeling because of the meaning we imbue it with, and so telling the story about Yarrow's life there, how he came to buy the property, his trials and travails, his perseverance in the face of adversity, and his continued faith throughout need to be told.

Isn't this too late? I see that digging has begun for a new house, so assumed that the archeological exploration was over.

That is difficult. However, the feeling that you are at a ground zero of history is important, as is the notion, still not disproved as far as I know, that somewhere underneath those layers might be Mamout himself. The very emptiness of the place in the midst of houses conjures up his presence. I am not sure that thought alone will prevail against development, however, especially as the plot has been developed and seriously altered in the past.

As stated above
Q24 - Since 3324 Dent Place, N.W. is privately owned and slated for development, what are some alternative ways Yarrow Mamout's story can be preserved for future generations?

Since 3324 Dent Place, N.W. is privately owned and slated for development,

- Perhaps planting a small garden in his name- somewhere in the vicinity. Or, an annual Day of Prayer in his name, at a local Mosque- if that is appropriate.
- I haven't kept up like I should with the processing of the artifacts, but as an archaeologist I'm biased towards those. I think a single or a series of travelling exhibits might be cool, if logistically challenging (too bad there's not a mega-hit TV show with similar material culture, a la Outlander, ha ha). I also really admire the project's effort to connect with the Muslim community in D.C., and I think it's important that early Muslim presence in the U.S. be known and acknowledged on a national level. Don't really have a practical suggestion for that one, though.
- Ensuring that the public has access to the materials (texts and objects) at another site such as a library, museum, historic preservation office.
- Walking tour More public outreach especially to local teachers
- A permanent memorial should be erected on the property.

Walking Tours Additional Public Events

- Tell his story...partner with youth led organizations to further preserve and spread his legacy.
- Designate said address with a plague and/or some other kind of marker
- Interpretative signs in the street- like the ones around Tenleytown; add to walking tour pamphlets/apps of the area; exhibits in museums; lesson plans for teachers, especially for teachers in the neighborhood schools (public AND private);
- A plaque at the site and references to Mamout at DC libraries, historical societies, archives and school and community programs. Also African American history events.
- Not sure
- Interpretive signage can be developed. Brochures can be prepared. A website can be developed. An app can be developed for a walking tour. A blog can be written. A Facebook page can be maintained. A "Friends of Yarrow" could be established (a 501C3). Displays could be prepared. A partnership could be established with a library or school to have exhibits. Lectures could be given. A symposium could be developed. A curriculum could be developed.
- A plaque in Georgetown locations where he lived and worked, in connection with the portraits of YM in DC and Philadelphia, and by publicizing the results of the archaeological dig, and through DC public libraries and the office of historic preservation. At least!
- Place a historical marker or locate on a historic preservation map.
- Documentation on-site, memorial plaque, renaming the street, booklets, material for the local park or schools.
Some tangible memorial that ensures that the history isn't lost.

A commemorative plaque should definitely be placed at the property, telling Yarrow's story. The Georgetown neighbors can lobby to see that this is done. The Georgetown library has already focused on Yarrow and Johnson's book tells the whole story, but you could publish your research to spread the story more widely. A movie about Yarrow could be made and distributed. I think Yarrow's story would be of particular interest to Muslims all over this country.

Book or article, plaque at the new development.

some sort of historical marker and walking tour

Signage/marker/memorial; preparation of educational materials for use in schools of various level and for Scouts; books and articles aimed at a variety of demographics including academics, undergrads, high school, elementary schools, and kids. A well-researched book on Yarrow's life is needed. Museum exhibit. TV or media program

More research, more connections and certainly more information provided at the site of its history, perhaps with a plaque similar to the ones around town on the old fire station posts.

One way might be to work with the developers to incorporate something of his legacy in the design and presentation of whatever they build there. A house with African design accents might be something new owners would relish--something harking back to Yarrow's original African roots in Guinea or his heritage as a Fulani. A plaque at a minimum might be good. Many neighborhoods in DC do walking tours. Surely, Georgetown has one and you could appeal to whoever does that. One discreet way to highlight houses without interfering with the current residents is to have small plaques, all similar, that show off important places on the tour. Many towns do this, so if Georgetown doesn't already, it might consider doing so. It should be relatively easy to raise money for plaques AND to get residents to affix them, though probably not without some controversy. Another idea that could be used in conjunction with the other ideas above or instead of a plaque would be a small poster on the light fixture in front of the house, which belongs to the city, I would think, so could be used to tell his story. The biggest suggestion I would have, though, is to work with the community: it will be messy and contradictory and frustrating, but in the end everyone will be better satisfied. Part of that community should include the developers of the property. See what they think. It could be a win-win situation: they get an even more marketable house and we get a great commemoration.

Video, photography, book.

Georgetown University or perhaps the new African-American museum could be used as platforms to tell the story of Yarrow and the recent excavation.
Q27 - Which of the above true statements surprised you the most, and why?

Which of the above true statements surprised you the most, and why?

Number 4 - I knew the proportion of Muslims in the enslaved population was significant, but I didn't know some historians put it as high as 40 percent. I don't think I've ever come across a mainstream source (textbook, popular article, etc.) that even acknowledged Muslims as among enslaved people in the Americas, to be honest. Number 4 because I did not know the percentage range of the population.

Statement 1. This is Georgetown and the white folks who live there and don’t want to be reminded of the atrocities that slaves endured from their white masters.

1. So many enslaved Africans were Muslim, and they left so few written documents, I did not realize how underrepresented they are in the existing archaeological sources

None

#1. It's probably that archaeology of enslavement in the US has been so caught up in spirit bundles and subfloor caches that evidence of Islamic practices has been overlooked and/or misunderstood. The ‘through historical records' part doesn't surprise me since the documentary record is so sketchy when it comes to enslaved Africans. But, I've seen in records plenty of names often associated with Muslim population (how does one say that appropriately?) ...so why has the connection not been made elsewhere?

statement 4. The percent of Muslim is higher than I thought.

3

I was probably most surprised that the largest population of Muslims was in Indonesia, because it would have seemed more likely in the Middle East.

3. I would have thought something would be found, if there had been more time to conduct the dig, it might have had a better chance.

#5. It has been a long time since the enslaved peoples arrived and I find it surprising that there is an ideological link.

4. 40 percent is huge! The difference between the estimations shows that there needs to much more research done.

Nothing surprises me of these statements

Nothing surprises me.

#4 - I've never heard this before -- it should be given much more publicity #6 - I would have thought more of them would identify as Asian, given the number of Muslims in that part of the world

Number 3. I just assumed that the excavations would yield something that could be chronologically related to Mamout's time on the property. Number 7 because I'm ignorant.

1. I assumed that there would have been many sites associated with African Muslims and that some of them would have been excavated.
Number 3--I had hoped they would have found some remains.

#4. I had no idea that so many enslaved Africans brought to US were Muslim. It just seems to have been "overlooked" when teaching about slavery at every level of education.

#4

No. 4 surprises me, mostly because I had not really thought about the religion of the enslaved who were brought here through the Middle Passage. It makes perfect sense that a significant percentage were Muslim, though, given the part of Africa most came from.

Number 1. This illustrates for me the lack of interest in African-American history in general

1 and 3. His story is so unique yet many African slaves were Muslim. It's interesting how there hasn't been more excavation. With as much information as we know about Yarrow it's strange that no material remains have been found.
Q29 - Does the educational potential of Yarrow Mamout's story outweigh the preservation of the property's historical significance and the identification of material evidence that can be definitively associated with his occupation of the site? Why or not?

I love artifacts as much as the next archaeologist, but if the definitive material evidence isn't there, it isn't there, and while all collections should be open to interpretation, interpretation is not speculation; interpretation should have a solid foundation. Are you asking if the lack of material evidence tied directly to Yarrow and the impending development of Dent Place negates the educational potential? No, absolutely not. The fallibility of material evidence is why we have to rely on documentary evidence like newspaper articles and property records to guide interpretation. I think that, using all lines of evidence, you can still put together educational materials that will teach every single person who comes across them something that they didn't know before. (I feel like I'm talking myself in circles, sorry. My critical archaeology muscles haven't been flexed in a while.)

Both the property and educational value are of importance without one outweighing the other. The material evidence may not be definitively association with Yarrow Mamout but the materials illustrate the time period.

No nothing can outweigh the historical preservation of Yarrow Mamout presence in Georgetown. I would like to see a research proposal written to incorporate Yarrow Mamout into DCPS school curriculum.

I think so? I'm not sure why these things seem to be mutually exclusive in the question

I don't fully understand what you're asking here. Even though archaeologists haven't found material culture tied directly to Yarrow Mamout, the site AND the story still are hugely significant. Documentary evidence ties him to the location, right? With a story this unusual and significant (both in its own time and in the present), that should be enough. It's also a good opportunity to talk about erasure in terms of history and in terms of physical evidence through time (whatever the motivations for the erasure, it still shows there's more to a spot's history than we know)

Yes. The past can be very murky regarding specifics. But the overall story and history is very valuable and should be told.

yes, because no material evidence was found

I think both the historical preservation and education value of Yarrow Mamout's story are equally valuable.

Since there is no definitive material remains associated with Yarrow, it would seem that the educational potential of the property is higher than the preservation aspect.

I think that the two go hand in hand. Whether or not material evidence was found, a lot of evidence points to the accuracy of the location and the public records of the parcel of land. Other aspects of his story are known in significant detail, thanks to the efforts of author James Johnston and others whose research is less specific.
Physical evidence would have been great, but in the lack of that, his story is fascinating and could reach many more people.

I don’t believe so. The story and documentation are good. That there is no definitive physical is a consequence of time. It’s part of the sequence and the overarching story of place. I think there is educational potential.

It’s about the story, not the place.

Since so little material evidence was found at the site, the educational potential definitely outweighs the preservation of the property.

I think it does outweigh physical preservation of the site. I’m not sure what you mean about identification of material evidence. You’ve already said there was no such evidence.

I don’t understand the question.

The educational potential outweighs preservation of something that does not exist materially. Even if a structure were present, education is the important thing, not just preservation for preservation’s sake. The context and meaning have to be elucidated and communicated for preservation to have meaning.

I don’t know enough about archeology to know whether further exploration will yield more information.

Yes, it does, simply because there is little to no material evidence—in fact there is nothing definitive.

This is a tough question because education of race, religion and history is so important to speak about especially right now in America. I hope there can be more work done on this site in the future but since it is private property the chances are very slim and focusing on education could be the best way to tell his story.
Q49 - In your opinion, what is the educational value of the Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project?

Helping people be open-minded! Everyone loves archaeology, right? If we can take that Spielberg-cultivated fascination and use it to broaden people’s perception of the past AND as importantly if not more so, help them get to know the people in their community and nation today, then we’re all winners. I think archaeology is a wonderful gateway drug into all kinds of perception-altering experiences.

It provides evidence of his home.

It was the first excavation of an African-American slave property owner in DC. Why isn’t this information shared throughout the DMV.

The Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project illustrates how difficult recovering evidence of the past is. It is also important to understanding the history of DC and could be useful for the ongoing conversations related the history of Georgetown University and slavery.

That African Americans and people of color have been here since the very beginning. Actually much, much longer that most immigrant groups.

Yarrow Mamout’s story provides perspective on slavery in general and on enslaved African-American Muslims.

It is important story is American history, the history of the District of Columbia (or Maryland) that is almost never told.

The Yarrow project can educate the public about slavery and the presence of free African Americans in Georgetown and the Middle Atlantic region. It can illustrate that a significant number of enslaved Africans were Muslims. I think it can promote a better understanding of the Islamic religion and cultural and can indirectly help promote a better understanding of contemporary culture and reduce Islamophobia.

All of the above listed. The rarity of this window on his life alone as a very common person--most of whose stories are no longer retrievable is invaluable. People should not only know about slavery in a generic way, but about the individual stories of the people, and in YM’s case, one whose achievements were a remarkable testament to persistence and steadiness of character.

It puts a human face on slavery and an individual who was painted by Charles Wilson Peale. A story of perseverance in the face of great odds.

It represents a positive story of what one man was able to achieve, from slave to property owner. He had his portrait painted, not once but twice. I could see a documentary built upon his story.

If it can be incorporated into materials that the public has access to, then it has great potential.

It’s important for people to know that many African Americans (slaves and free) who came to this country were (and are) Muslim. Although I don’t think Islamophobia is as widespread in this country as some people do, I think it is important to keep spreading the word that many, many African Americans were (and are) Muslim, successful and involved citizens.
Bringing interest to and educating the public about archaeology, African American history, African Muslim enslaved persons.

For me, it was the fact that he lived in DC and his life was extremely interesting.

Gives a voice to people in the past that had no way to enter the documentary record. It provides an avenue for understanding past lifeways in an objective and systematic fashion. It provides a rich sense of the past to the public that is hungering for stories about the pasts of all people, not just their "own" past.

Our early history and lead to other revelations of the early day of Georgetown and of the lives of freed slaves. Little has been done to connect these various histories of slaves (freed and not) to the history of Georgetown, i.e. Mt Zion church, the underground railroad, the escape on the Pearl, other freed slaves, the black cemetery on Q street.

There are some wonderful things the YMAP can teach us. First of all, its value is tremendous in the local area, where we like to gloss over the fact that early DC was slave-holding. Its value is enhanced because the Mamout property, as I understand it, has links to at least one other property in MD where his descendants lived. That makes it an appealing focus for local school kids and school trips--in other words, there's lots of places to tell the story and lots of ways schools could use it. It is also a significant story to use to combat racism, which, to my mind, is THE cancer undermining this country. First, we need to face up to the facts of slavery, and where to do it better than close to the home of the central government? Second, it can be difficult for European Americans to understand their culpability in terms of privilege in relation to African Americans. You can practically hear people think, even if they don't say it, "well, MY ancestors were poor and came over after the Civil War, so why am I being made responsible for this misery?" Thinking of the enslaved is hard, because no one, unless you're a neo-Nazi, condones that kind of treatment. It's hard dealing with victims, though, because, just like victims of murder or fatal fires, what can you say besides "I'm sorry. I'm so very sorry for you"? Telling a story that emphasizes the absolute TRIUMPH of African Americans in the New World has all kinds of things that people can relate to and can then get them thinking about how they continue to perpetuate their own privilege at the expense of people of color. The story that still needs to be shouted from every rooftop is of how very AMERICAN Mamout and other early African Americans are: they came with nothing, against their will, like many immigrants chased or forced out of their countries, and build an amazing new culture and life for themselves. This is a triumphant story of the human spirit over the very worst kinds of odds, because no forced immigrant had it as bad as a slave. But it is the kind of story that resonates with all groups. And it has the advantage of showing everyone, not only those in the DC area, that life in the past was not a simple collage of the usual things we get from history books, but rich, complex, and difficult. So, too, is life today. Finally, at this particular moment in time it is simply great that we have a story to tell that celebrates the time depth of Muslims in this country. They are not newcomers in any sense and I think that's an important part of the message here.

Information about slavery, African Americans, history of Washington, DC and its history of diversity.
The intersection of race religion and social status is something that needs to be talked about in the US right now. The history of slavery is taught using gross numbers and lumping individuals into groups but the story of Yarrow focuses on one person and his story.

Q39 - Do you have any final thoughts, comments, or suggestions about the Yarrow Mamout Archeology Project? Would you like to elaborate further on any of the questions asked in this survey?

I'm really glad I took this survey! Sorry for the intense answers; apparently I like thinking about things. I don't have any suggestions or elaborations at the moment, but I look forward to hearing your progress!

Please encourage more excavations of African-American slaves in DC.

This was a wonderful experience!

I did not answer all the written response, while I did learn a lot from the dig I believe there should have less open responses in consideration of time (and disabilities-ADD etc.)

Thanks for all of your efforts to educate this country via this hero's life.

Congratulations to everyone involved in the project! The conference papers I've been able to attend, the media coverage, the public outreach has all been terrific, informative, and seemingly successful. You have brought to light an important story.

It is a great project. Best of luck with the continuing work.

I hope to hear much more about the outcomes of the dig.

A great opportunity to participate.

You should reach out to DC public high schools and work with the DC History teachers. I teach DC History and tried to coordinate a visit with my students but it never worked out.

You are a rock star!

I did not see this exploration as related to Islam. Was surprised originally to learn that he was a Muslim. I am sorry that it will be under private development. If we knew more, a park there would serve to educate...

This was and continues to be a significant project. Keep up the good work!
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mia LaShaye Carey was born in Charlottesville, Virginia and is the oldest child of Ronald and Gail Carey. Her love for education was innate and motivated her from the age of 5. She graduated with honors from Louisa County High School in 2008 and went on to attend Howard University. There she double-majored in anthropology and sociology and participated in the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program. Her research was published in the Ronald E. McNair Journal in 2011. Mia graduated from Howard a semester early in December 2011 with Magna Cum Laude and Phi Beta Kappa Honors. She accepted the McKnight Doctoral Fellowship to attend the University of Florida in 2012, where she obtained her M.A. in anthropology and an Interdisciplinary Certificate and Concentration in Historic Preservation in 2014. In 2014, Mia was selected as a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow. In 2016, she began interning at the National Park Service in the Culture Resources Office of Interpretation and Education. Mia graduated from the University of Florida in May 2017 having earned her doctorate in anthropology with a concentration in archaeology. Mia is currently serving as the National Coordinator for Arc 2 Equality, a servicewide community of parks, programs, and partners who are dedicated to weaving the excluded past into the national narrative.