The Routledge Companion to Black Women’s Cultural Histories

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Publication details
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Published online on: 17 Mar 2021

How to cite: Denise A. Spellberg. 17 Mar 2021, Finding “Fatima” among enslaved Muslim women in the antebellum United States from: The Routledge Companion to Black Women’s Cultural Histories Routledge
Accessed on: 13 Oct 2023

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Denise A. Spellberg

Finding “Fatima” among enslaved Muslim women in the antebellum United States

In 2008, the historian Mary Elizabeth Perry wrote: “Because we find Fatima in a single document, much of her identity remains lost to us …”1 Perry referred to a woman named Fatima in sixteenth-century Spain. A decade later, Juliane Hammer observed of American Muslim female slaves: “It speaks to the erasure of women as subjects, their lack of literacy, and the limited imagination of American society that we do not have any literary sources for the lives of African Muslim slave women.”2

When Perry wrote about Fatima in 2008, she described a woman who lived in Malaga, Spain, in 1584. The historian documented the significance of “finding” Fatima from a single piece of evidence: an Inquisition account. The Fatima she discovered claimed to be a Muslim. She had the misfortune to be charged by the Inquisition with apostasy after a supposed conversion to Christianity in which she allegedly took another name, Ana. In the only record of her existence, Fatima insisted to her Catholic clerical interrogators that even if she had converted, she had done so while ill with the plague, in an altered state of mind, which she described as “crazy and without sanity and without judgment.”3 For refusing to renounce Islam, and her Muslim name, the Inquisition decreed Fatima’s punishment: 200 lashes.4 Did she survive this possibly lethal sentence? No evidence reveals her final fate.5 Originally from North Africa, the second uncontested piece of evidence about Fatima recorded by the Inquisition is that she remained – throughout her legal ordeal – a slave.6

A decade after Perry’s attempt to “read against the grain” in recovering the significance of one enslaved Muslim woman’s life, Juliane Hammer opined about the “erasure of women as subjects,” duly noting the absence of Arabic literary documents by West African enslaved women or even contemporary English observations about their lives. Without such sources, what is the historian to do?

Hammer’s apt observation challenges historians to confront this presumed erasure of female lives. But how? Definitive evidence written by enslaved Muslim women may be found one day. Until that time, this presumed lacuna proves nothing about the state of Muslim female literacy in either Arabic or English; it merely underscores the different gendered demographic realities for enslaved Muslim men and women in North America.7 Did enslaved Muslim women leave their mark in America, even without surviving textual examples of their literacy? The short answer is yes.
What follows is a first attempt at the documentation of the lives of enslaved women, all named “Fatima,” an explicitly Islamic name, which appears repeatedly in legal documents, now preserved online in databases. Separated by the Atlantic, enslaved North American women named Fatima may be the Islamic sisters of the sixteenth-century Spanish slave with whom they share a distinctly Muslim moniker and possibly, a faith. What, if anything, about their lives may we learn from their presence in West African and North American legal documents? Unlike the Spanish Fatima, who asserted her Islamic faith in the face of Catholic legal prosecution, multiple enslaved women identified by this same name in North America share an avowedly Islamic moniker, but legal sources that record their presence as property seldom indicate their faith. Thus, while it is possible to presume that these women may be Muslim, or descendants of enslaved persons of Islamic heritage, it is also important to recognize the uncertain nature of their religious identity.

Literacy differently manifested according to gender

Islam is an American religion, but most of its earliest practitioners since the seventeenth century arrived in bondage from West Africa, and the vast majority were men. In select Islamized zones within West Africa, children, both boys and girls, were taught Arabic. They wrote and read in the sacred script, as well as memorizing Arabic passages of the Qur’an. Girls in these original learning environments were once again in the minority, their presence estimated at a mere 20 percent. Although one scholar asserts that enslaved Muslims in North America would have been visibly identified due to their “diet, clothing, names, prayer beads, and rituals,” such markers of religious identity do not support her hyperbolic insistence about their literacy: “Most Muslim women were able to read, write, and speak fluent Arabic.” (Fluency in the many spoken dialects of West African languages, certainly, but not necessarily in spoken or written Arabic.) Instead, the reduced presence of girls in West African schools that taught Arabic strongly suggests one reason why evidence of Muslim female literacy has not been attested in the antebellum United States. Moreover, the same author insists that Muslim women “also stood out because of their literacy skills.” If they did, these skills were not noted or recorded by those white enslavers who exercised complete control over the fates of enslaved Muslim women.

The single exception to date emerging in opposition to this lacuna in African American literature may be the exceptional eighteenth-century poet Phillis Wheatley (1753–84), who was abducted from West Africa at the age of five or six and sold to a couple in Boston as a girl. Scholars now advance the argument that Wheatley’s early attempt to write on walls as a child may reflect her desire to demonstrate previous Arabic literacy, learned in her West African childhood. No Arabic details, however, survive. Solid speculation about Wheatley’s possible Fulani tribal origins creates a likely link to the Senegambia region of West Africa, known for its significant Muslim population. Beyond this, the poet’s invocation of the phrase “Thou glorious king of day” in three poems, one scholar suggests, directly evokes the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Qur’an. The Arabic phrase “Malik yawm al-din” (Qur’an 1:4) found therein could be rendered literally as “King of the Day of Judgment,” but the pivotal Arabic word malik has been defined by Muslim commentators more consistently as “Owner” or “Master.” The latter term in particular denotes a singular divine omnipotence rather than mere earthly sovereignty. While suggestive, there are problems with tying Wheatley’s poetic verse to the Qur’an, for as a practitioner of Christianity, she may have found inspiration for God/Jesus enthroned on the Day of Judgment in 2 Corinthians 5:10 or in Revelation 20:11–15.

Ironically, Thomas Jefferson, who read Wheatley’s poetry, could not dismiss her literacy along with his determined disparagement of the intellects of all other enslaved Africans. Instead, he condemned Wheatley’s poetry as “below the dignity of criticism.” The attention Wheatley
Finding “Fatima”

received for her published poems, including one about the evangelical British minister George Whitefield, in London and the American colonies did not gain her immediate freedom. She was trained to write English while still enslaved, and her bondage ended only with the death of her male enslaver in 1778. After her emancipation, Wheatley married a free man of color in Boston, but her literary efforts could not support her family or protect her from the drudgery of employment as a maid. She died in poverty after six years of freedom.18

Wheatley received special attention because of her literacy and creativity in English while still a child, enslaved in an urban, relatively affluent household. She could not have done so without the knowledge and support of her enslavers. However, most enslaved girls and women had neither the leisure of time, nor material access to pen and paper, with which to demonstrate literacy. Other, non-Muslim enslaved women credited with autobiographical accounts wrote these only after their emancipation, which further narrowed the possibility of Muslim women memorializing their enslaved existence.19

In contrast, antebellum male Muslim slaves, such as Ibrahima Abd al-Rahman (d. 1829) and Omar ibn Said (d. 1863), garnered rewards for their public demonstrations of Arabic literacy. Fame for Ibrahima resulted, finally, in his emancipation, and for Omar, in better treatment but not his freedom.20 Recently identified Arabic writing, attributed to two male Muslim fugitive slaves and brought to the attention of President Thomas Jefferson in 1807, resulted in a request for their emancipation. However, the fate of the enslaved remains unknown.21 Of course, these few famed examples are exceptional by definition, for we have no extant evidence that possibly, other literate enslaved Muslim men demonstrated their Arabic skills only to elicit punishment rather than reward. However, as one analyst of antebellum Islam reminds us, “The vast majority of Muslim slaves, despite their faith, did not garner the attention their more notable counterparts attracted.”22 The dangers of focusing on “these notable slaves overlooks the distinct experiences of the anonymous masses,” including undocumented Muslim women.23

Why Fatima? Or, what’s in this name?

Without examples of Muslim women’s literacy, how do we identify them and study their presence in North America? Islamic names endured in North America throughout the antebellum period, even though they were not common. Fatima, as a moniker searched in slave databases, may be among the most frequently recorded Islamic female names for enslaved women. It represents a clear case of Arabic linguistic derivation, linked to a famed Muslim founding female figure: the Prophet Muhammad’s daughter, Fatima bint Muhammad (d. 633). She is a Muslim exemplar revered by the Sunni majority, who under the eleventh-century Almoravid dynasty based in Morocco, spread Islam into sub-Saharan West Africa as far south as Ghana.24

Not only was Fatima the only one of four daughters to survive her father’s death, albeit only by six months; her father also arranged her marriage to his closest male relative, his first cousin, Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661). Ali became the fourth caliph, or successor to the Prophet, in 656. Fatima and Ali’s union remained monogamous at the Prophet’s protective insistence. It produced two grandsons, who remain the only direct male heirs to the Prophet, none of whose sons survived him. In a patrilineal Arab tribal society, Fatima exemplifies an exceptional feminine genealogical link in an entirely masculine chain of sacred Islamic descent.25

Before Fatima became the name of a slave in sixteenth-century Spain or eighteenth- or nineteenth-century North America, it was already well known in Sunni Muslim West Africa. In Arabic, the name Fatima literally means a woman “who has weaned a young female offspring,” and it proved “generally popular” among Muslim women, whether free or enslaved, in both North and West Africa.26
Did early white Americans know Fatima as a Muslim name?

Fatima’s name appears in more than 30 English early modern books, most concerning the history of the Islamic world and the Europeans who traveled through it during the seventeenth century. Some of these texts were translated into English from French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. An additional few were fictional, plays and romances, featuring a protagonist named Fatima or “Fatyma.” However, among these printed works, only three notable tomes crossed the Atlantic to North America.

In the 1649 first English translation of The Alcoran of Mahomet, Fatima appears as “Fatione,” the Prophet’s “eldest” child, a fact Islamic sources dispute. This errant spelling would not have set a precedent for slave names. Forty-eight years later in London, the Anglican cleric Humphrey Prideaux produced a polemical biography of the Prophet, which referenced Fatima. Prideaux depicts “Mahomet” as an arch-impostor but records praise for his daughter, asserting that “Fatima,” spelled correctly, “survived” her father and that “he exceedingly loved” her. He describes her sacred maternity correctly: “From her all that pretend to be of the race of Mahomet, derive their descent.” He does emphasize, however, the Prophet’s “great commendations” of Fatima, “reckoning her among the perfectest of women.” This work became exceedingly popular in eighteenth-century America, with local editions in Philadelphia, Connecticut, and Vermont. The circulation of this tome in the northeast, however, did not extend to slave-holding southern states.

Unlike Prideaux, the Englishman George Sale offered a more informed and balanced depiction of Islam in his 1734 translation of the Qur’an, the first directly from Arabic to English. Thomas Jefferson purchased Sale’s Qur’an in 1765 while studying law in Williamsburg, Virginia. However, this version of the Qur’an was not popular in the British colonies. Whether Jefferson or any other white American enslaver equated “Fatema” with enslaved Muslims remains unknown but unlikely. However, in West Africa, the name has been frequently attested.

Fatima found in the African Names Database and the North American historical record

Women and girls named Fatima were swept up in the slave trade, but some were rescued by abolitionists and returned, against all odds, to their West African homes. The African Names Database, part of the larger Slave Voyages Database, contains the name of 91,491 souls rescued from the slave trade. Between 1808 and 1822, 39 people named Fatima are recorded as enslaved, then saved and returned to Freetown, Sierra Leone. Among these female Fatimas, three are designated as boys.

Most women named Fatima were not rescued by abolitionists; they arrived and remained enslaved in North America. Two pioneering historians, Michael Gomez and Sylviane Diouf, first located in newspapers and archives women named after the Prophet’s daughter. Gomez mentions 11 distinct Fatimas between 1786 and 1901, six on a single large plantation, most concentrated along coastal Georgia and South Carolina. Even so, he argues, “incontestably Muslim names” are “relatively infrequent” even in runaway slave advertisements. He theorizes that one Fatima born in North America may have converted or may have been “the child of at least one Muslim parent.” As late as 1901, a former slave of Sapelo Island, Georgia, described herself as the granddaughter of a Muslim father. Possibly, these enslaved Muslims influenced conversion to Islam.

No extant study of slave names focuses exclusively or systematically on Islamic monikers. However, one that analyzes slave naming patterns in both the Carolinas in the antebellum era
Finding “Fatima”

suggests that while the enslaved may have “remained nameless entities, only part of a mass of cargo, from their time of capture,” nevertheless, “as many as 15 to 20 percent of the slaves in the two Carolinas had African names.” The same study demonstrates that “African names never died out.” Of significance also is evidence about who controlled naming in the first American-born generation, when “slaves for the most part freely chose whatever names they liked for their children.” In this pivotal choice, maternal influence predominated: “The testimony of ex-slaves confirms that most were named by their mothers, with or without consultation with their fathers.” Thus, the repetition of the name Fatima may indeed be a sign of maternal agency, an assertion of the survival of Islamic heritage, as Gomez first suggested.

Finally, unlike North and West Africa, where Fatima proved a popular name for both enslaved and free Muslim women of every hue, in North America, free white women were not named Fatima by their parents. Yes, a few white enslavers may have encountered the name in a text about Islam, but such books were not commonly found in most American homes. It is therefore unlikely that whites opted for Fatima as an Orientalist naming option for the enslaved. In contrast, the survival of numerous women named Fatima among the enslaved provides evidence, at least, that “slaves continued to differ” from whites “in their naming practices.” And, at most, if the name Fatima reflects a moniker chosen by an enslaved mother for her child, then this act preserved a pivotal aspect of shared identity, whether the faith of Islam continued to be practiced or not. All these patterns may be tested with greater numbers in this study of three North American databases.

Seeing double: evidence of two Fatimas in one legal document

George Washington owned two slaves named “Fatimer” and “Little Fatimer.” Both names appear as part of a list of his more than 300 “taxable” slaves, recorded in 1774. Clearly, this is a mother–daughter duo, a vivid proof for the maternal preservation of Islamic heritage over a generation. Washington’s 1801 will manumitted 123 of his slaves. We do not know whether either Fatima found freedom by this act.

Washington’s slave list is preserved in plantation records, but the Race and Slavery Petitions Project of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, database offers additional instances of more than two slaves named Fatima on a single plantation. In Georgia in 1828, the white heirs to an estate of 200 slaves pressed for more revenue from a prior sale, which they demanded be declared “null and void.” Among saleable items, one Fatima appears, along with another Fatima, whose name is spelled three different ways: Fortimore [Fatemore] [Fatemage]. Varied mispronunciations of an Islamic name, here, led to orthographical variations. These suggest that white enslavers or overseers never recognized the name’s origin.

A third instance of a large plantation with two slaves named Fatima appears in South Carolina in 1856. Both women are listed among 120 slaves scattered over six plantations. Were these doubled-Fatimas a reflection of a mother–daughter bond, as on Washington’s plantation? A likely and enticing but unprovable possibility.

George Washington was not the only famous member of the founding white American generation to own a Muslim female slave named Fatima. Thomas Pinckney (d. 1842), the son of the man President Washington appointed ambassador to Great Britain in 1792, inherited over 300 slaves from his father. The elder Thomas Pinckney (1750–1828), a wealthy South Carolina enslaver, fought in the American Revolution, served as governor of South Carolina, and presided over South Carolina’s convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution.

In 1843, a year after the junior Thomas Pinckney died, a dispute over his property ensued. Among the valuables contested in his will were “several plantations” as well as “fine furniture,
paintings, and debts.” Among the 120 slaves listed as property, there appeared one woman named Fatima, next to the number 114 in the tally.57 Her fate among the contentious Pinckney clan remains unknown.

Disputes over slaves owned by less famous southerners also changed the lives of women named Fatima. Many lived along the Georgia–South Carolina coast, the geographical nexus Gomez first noted as a key site for enslaved West Africans of Islamic heritage.58 Databases reveal three more women named Fatima documented in South Carolina, one in a 1792 dispute over a will59 and another in a case from 1821.60 A third in Charleston appears in a petition to sell 53 slaves in 1824. In this handwritten list, Fatima is grouped with other slaves collectively valued at $2500.61 Was her individual worth then appraised at $625?62 The fates of all three remain a mystery, as does that of one Fatima sold in Mississippi in 1852.63

Fatima finds freedom: serial emancipation among free people of color in New Orleans

More Fatimas than can be analyzed here may be found on the Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1718–1820, website,64 established in 1984 by the extraordinary historian Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, who also created in 1999 the first database dedicated to “Islamic Female Names.”65 Hall’s long labors documented 100,000 enslaved lives. More women named Fatima may be found on this database than on any of the other three searched in this study. The only catch? The search must be in two languages. In English, Fatima reveals 16 names,66 and in French, “Fatime” yields 22 more names.67 Why? Because the original documents were written in French. As a result, there is often unstated overlap between individuals found in the Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy website and both the Race and Slavery Petitions Project and the ProQuest Slavery and the Law databases.

The marked presence of women named Fatima in Louisiana speaks not only to the depth of the records preserved but also to the unique features of the territory’s history prior to U.S. statehood in 1812. Spanish legal precedents sympathetic to the plight of the enslaved impacted French laws, which preserved unique pathways for their emancipation through 1822.68 As a result, by the census of 1805, 1565 free persons of color lived in New Orleans center, with two-thirds of these households headed by women.69 The agency of such free people of color in New Orleans, including a woman named Fatima, may be found in a series of interconnected emancipation cases.

The process begins with the petition of Francois Buteau, a free man of color, to purchase from a free woman of color, named Marie Magdelaine Labatut, a slave named Fatime. She was then 30 years old. The petition formally applauds the enslaved woman’s good conduct, a legal formality. Francois emancipated Fatime/Fatima in 1817.70

Two years later, we find Fatime Buteau, now identified as a free woman of color, who chose the surname of her male emancipator. Presumably, Francois Buteau still mattered in Fatima’s life as either a husband or a sibling. The likelihood that they had been related while both were enslaved cannot be ruled out. Unfortunately, neither can it be proved.

What can be known for certain is that after two years of freedom, Fatime Buteau emancipated a 50-year-old enslaved woman named Fillette in 1819.71 This case doesn’t exist in the Afro-Louisiana database; rather, it can be found by searching for “Fatime” on the Race and Slavery Petitions Project and ProQuest’s Slavery and the Law database. The day following Fatime’s petition, the slave Fillette became a free woman of color.

A single detail found only on the Afro-Louisiana database about Fatime’s emancipation reveals a pivotal link between Fatime and Fillette. Buteau’s original purchase of Fatime in 1817
Finding “Fatima”

contains the proviso that she be purchased “under the condition that the slave be immediately freed.” Then follows a key sentence: “Slave’s mother is slave named Fillette nation Nago acquired by act under private signature 10 July 1791.”72 Fatime had emancipated her own mother, Fillette, in 1819. The latter had been enslaved since 1791, at least. Fillette’s tribal affiliation as “Nago” confirms an Islamic origin.

The single salient detail about her mother’s linguistic/tribal origin allows us to identify Fillette as the first generation to arrive from West Africa. Her original African and Islamic name we will never know. But her imposed French moniker “Fillette,” meaning “Young Girl,” reveals the tale of an enslaved child. This would explain why she could not retain her own name but had one assigned to her by a white, French-speaking enslaver instead.

The term “Nago” for slaves appears in Louisiana as early as the 1770s, but it was also well known as the term for a Yoruba-language speaker in the British West Indies and Brazil.73 In 1835, the Nago played a crucial role in a major Muslim slave uprising in Bahia, Brazil. One non-Muslim slave involved in the rebellion “complained of the air of superiority of literate (Muslim) Nagos”; he described them as people “who can read, and who took part in the insurrection …”74

Here, at last, there is a direct reminder of West African Muslim literacy in Arabic. We cannot know whether Fillette’s original African name was Islamic, but we do know that she chose to link her own child to the Prophet’s perfect daughter. Even without evidence of Arabic literacy, which she may have preserved as Wheatley had done from her African childhood, Fillette found maternal agency in inscribing her Muslim identity upon the next generation. And Fatima proved her capacity to honor her mother, as the Qur’an instructs, with the ultimate gift: freedom.

A final Fatima and her self-emancipation, Washington, DC, 1862

Forty-one years later, in Washington, DC, another Fatima took the matter of her manumission into her own hands during the Civil War. She filed a petition for self-emancipation in the wake of the District’s abolition of slavery on April 16, 1862, and the subsequent Supplemental Act of July 12, 1862, which decreed that slaves could file certificates of freedom for themselves.75 The document states that her enslaver, one Jesse D. Bright of Indiana, knew of her presence in Washington, DC, and posed no opposition to her emancipation. But it omits that Fatima had triumphed over one of the most powerful men in the nation: disgraced former Indiana Senator Bright, who had been expelled from the Senate for “disloyalty” six months before. Only 11 days after she could legally proceed, she became a free woman of color. Her petition vividly preserves her physical presence, documented by white government officials. She was “46,” a “female,” “dark brown,” and “5 ft 6 inches high.”76

Tellingly, the clerk spelled her name twice, differently: “Fatimey” Milton first, and below, “Fatima.” The latter version precedes the “X” she marked between her Islamic given name and her surname at the end of the document. But on closer inspection, the final “Fatima” recorded seems to have been changed from what may have been “Fatimey” originally.77 Whichever pronunciation and spelling she preferred, she acted upon new laws to emancipate herself when her enslaver failed to do so. Her voyage from slavery to freedom, this Fatima charted for herself. Illiterate though she was, she had made her mark.

Finding Fatimas: the advantages and disadvantages of slave databases

Simply entering the name Fatima into a search on four databases reveals more possible Muslim women’s names than previous scholarship based on archival research alone. This unique name
for the Prophet’s daughter survived against long odds in North America. It appears as an Islamic marker, which connected mothers and daughters on the same large southern plantations. In the city of New Orleans, finding Fatima led not only to her emancipation but to her mother’s. However, while we may presume Islamic heritage for those named Fatima, what we cannot know includes whether these women were literate and how they practiced their faith. What can be proved from this initial foray is that legal records in North America, from Louisiana to Washington, DC, from 1774 to 1862, preserve repeatedly the name of the Prophet’s daughter. This offers a corrective to legal scholars who opine about the “erasure of Muslim slaves from legal scholarship.”78 Databases focused on white legal disputes about the enslaved and cases concerning Black-powered emancipation reconnect the supposed rupture of “Black and Muslim identity” alleged by legal scholars of the antebellum era.79

Deprived of freedom, many women clung to their Muslim name as the sole marker of an African and Islamic past, a memory of former freedom. Even in this sample of fewer than 100 names, what is certain is that there are many more lives still unrecovered. Of those Fatimas forced to renounce their names, we know nothing.

Clearly, research with multiple databases offers better results than devotion to one; such an approach offers new access to previously discrete, now combined plantation and archival records. Myriad orthographical variations present challenges. This foray serves as the beginning of a larger digital venture, in which I plan to recover the names of other enslaved Muslim women. For now, perhaps the most important lesson about the past still awaits our students, who embrace the digital world daily. They may be thrilled to discover that a simple search provides visceral evidence for the American lives of more than a single enslaved Muslim named Fatima.

Notes

1 I am grateful to Janell Hobson for insightful comments, which strengthened this essay. My thanks to Daina Ramey Berry, a treasured colleague, who first suggested searching databases for enslaved Muslim women. My title pays homage to the path-breaking article of Mary Elizabeth Perry, “Finding Fatima, a Slave Woman of Early Modern Spain,” *Journal of Women’s History*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2008): 152.
3 Perry, “Finding Fatima,” 152.
4 Ibid., 154, 163.
5 Ibid., 163.
6 Ibid., 152.
10 Ibid.
14 Harris, “Phillis,” 5–6, based on his reading of “A Farewell to America, to Mrs. S.W.” (sec. 10, line 40); “An Hymn to Morning” (l. 17); and “An Hymn to Evening.”
Finding “Fatima”


16 Harris, “Phillis,” 4; Shields, *Phillis*, 101. Both refer to her pouring water before sunrise as proof of Islamic ablutions, but this action may simply be African, rather than Islamic, or purely hygienic.


27 For example, the following identify “Fatima” as the daughter of the Prophet: John Chardin, *The Travels of John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies* (London, 1686); Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four books* (London, 1652); and John Ogilby, *Asia. Being an accurate description of Persia* (London, 1673).


29 “Fatima” is a protagonist in a play by English poet laureate John Dryden, *An Evening’s Love, or, The mock-astrologer* (London, 1671), and in an eighteenth-century romance by the lesser-known T.Wright, *Solyman and Fatima; or the Sceptic Convinced. An Eastern Tale* (London, 1791), 12, where Fatima is described as “fair as the snow” with “blue eyes.”


31 Humphrey Prideaux, *The life of Mahomet* (Glasgow, Scotland: E. Miller for Wm. Stewart, 1799 [1697]), 73.

32 Ibid., 74.

33 Ibid.


37 Diouf, *Servants*, 83–4, 86.

39 Gomez, Crescent, 149.
40 Gomez, “Muslims,” 695.
41 Gomez, Crescent, 155.
44 Ibid., 532.
45 Ibid., 534.
46 Ibid., 527.
47 Ibid., 530.
49 Inscoe, “Carolina,” 539.
50 The emphasis on agency in naming found in Inscoe, “Carolina,” 554.
52 Thompson, “Mt Vernon,” 2: 393.
54 “Race and Slavery Petitions Project,” PAR# 2138568; Sep 19, 1856–September 27, 1856, Darlington District, South Carolina, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina, Accession #01645-022-0801, https://congressional.proquest.com/hiqvault?q=016455-022-0801, accessed March 26, 2018.
58 Gomez, Crescent, 153.
“Afro-Louisiana,” www.ibiblio.org/lslave/individ.php?sid=3620; the following cases are from the same site but a different final case number: 3773, 3910, 3912, 12483, 13039, 18178, 20765, 33510, 33511, 41727, 42735, 58081, and 58230, accessed March 25, 2018.

“Afro-Louisiana,” www.ibiblio.org/lslave/individ.php?sid=4284; the following cases are from the same site but a different final case number: 4294, 4501, 23194, 25500, 27297, 28325, 28654, 55691, 58545, 59634, 60418, 67647, 69615, 70010, 71595, 72846, 74568, 79129, 80705, 81868, 84115, accessed March 25, 2018.

Judith Kelleher Schafer, *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 2–3. Inscoe observes in the Carolinas “the frequent use of Spanish and Portuguese names retained by slaves brought from the Caribbean Islands or South America,” 529.


Ibid.,”“Race and Slavery Petitions Project,” PAR #20486217.

Beydoun, “Antebellum Islam,” 144.

Ibid.