Upon reaching America, he was bought and sold several times by multiple owners. He ended up spending 30 to 40 years in American slavery across three Southern states, including Georgia. Throughout his enslavement, he was known by the slave name of "Old Paul." In 1834, he was finally freed by his last Christian owner and moved to New York to seek help in paying for his return passage to Africa.

In New York, he apparently hooked up with the American Colonization Society (ACS), an organization dedicated to sending freed Africans and African Americans back to Liberia, Africa. Later that year, he was referred to in The African Repository as a scholar who was literate in Arabic and familiar with the Bible in his own (Arabic) language. (His familiarity with the Bible must have been gained during his Islamic education in Africa, because the article went on to say that he was unaware that the printing press had ever been invented, suggesting that his knowledge of the Bible was from the handwritten, Arabic manuscripts that he had studied during his youth.) Over the course of the next year, he occasionally spoke at various fundraising meetings organized by the ACS and similar organizations. During this time, he also carried on an Arabic correspondence with 'Umar ibn Said, whose own biography is presented later.

Despite his efforts on their behalf, the American Colonization Society did not send him back to Africa until he began making statements in 1835 that he wanted to bring Christianity back to Africa. Finally, the ACS sent him to Liberia, which was about 500 miles from his original home. In an apparent reference to him, the August, 19, 1835, list of passengers immigrating to Liberia on the Indiana includes the name of a 60-year-old "Paul A. Mandingo." (Old Paul was Lamine's slave name, and his mother was a Mandinka.) The list goes on to say that he had been born free, was literate, and was from Georgia, one of the southern states in which Lamine had been enslaved. Upon reaching Liberia, he quickly left for Sierra Leone, and nothing else is known about his later life.

Before closing this section on the life of Lamine Kebe, two brief postscripts are in order. (1) An 1835 description of Lamine by Theodore Dwight noted that he was six feet tall, friendly, dignified, simple in his demeanor, and a devout Muslim, bellying Lamine's report that he wished to be a Christian missionary in Africa. Unfortunately, feigning to be a Christian who wished to proselytize in Africa was often the only recourse open to an enslaved African Muslim who wished to be emancipated and to return back home to Africa. (2) Lamine's instructive observations on the comparative teaching methods utilized in America and in West Africa were recorded by Theodore Dwight and later published in 1836 in The American Annals of Education and Instruction. They provide an enlightening look into the educational system of the Serahule in the late 18th century.

\[ F11. \text{Muhammad Kaba}^{40} \]

Muhammad Kaba was born circa 1758 in Bouna (Bouka), a short distance east of Timbo in Futa Jallon (Guinea). He was a member of the Mandinka tribe and was obviously well schooled as a youth in Africa. His teachers were his father, 'Abd Al-Qadir, and an uncle, Muhammad Batul. His father was quite wealthy and owned cows, horses, extensive farmlands, and about 140 slaves. His uncle was a locally famous lawyer or Al-Faqih (scholar of Fiqh, i.e., Islamic jurisprudence). Under their tutelage, he gained fluency in both Arabic and his native language, completed

\[ 40 \text{The information on Muhammad Kaba from Austin AD (1997) and Diouf SA (1998) has been supplemented by information contained in Curtin PD (1968).} \]
his primary education, and had entered higher education, where he was
taking to be an Al-Faqih like his uncle. Like many other enslaved
African Muslims, he was a highly educated individual.

He was kidnapped at age 20 in 1778 by a band of robbers, taken
to the coast, and sold to Europeans. He was then shipped to Jamaica
and given the slave names of Robert Tuffit and Robert Peate. He eventu-
ally married and spent the next 56 years as a slave. Circa 1814, after
around 36 years of slavery and being about 56 years old at the time,
he publicly converted to Christianity. For the remainder of his life,
he presented the outward appearance of being a Christian, a facade
which undoubtedly lightened the burdens his Christian owners placed
on him as he entered old age. However, the reality of his religious
affiliation can be seen in his 1834 correspondence from Manchester
Parish, Jamaica, to Abu Bakr Al-Saddiq, whose biography is presented
later, upon the latter’s emancipation.

Having heard that Abu Bakr had gained his freedom, Muhammad
took pen in hand to write him a letter in Arabic. He then entrusted
the letter for delivery to a B. Angell, a European Christian, stressing that
the letter was meant to convince Abu Bakr to renounce Islam and to
accept Christianity. However, a translation of the actual text of the letter
begins “In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Omnificent, the blessing
of Allah, the peace of His prophet Muhammad.” Within the text of the
letter, there is absolutely no mention of Christianity or of Abu Bakr aban-
donning Islam.

In referring to this letter, Richard Robert Madden, a British magis-
trate in Jamaica and a witness for the defense in the famous Amistad court
case, noted that Muhammad’s conversion to Christianity had obviously
been a sham, which was designed to lighten the burdens that his owner
placed on him. While outwardly pretending to be a Christian, he used his
ability to write Arabic to maintain an Islamic correspondence with a
fellow Muslim, a correspondence that would remain undecipherable if it
fell into the hands of almost all Christians on the island.

F12. ANDERSON’S SLAVE

Very little is known about this enslaved African Muslim. Both his
African and slave names have been lost to recorded history. What is
known is that he was a Muslim from the Mandinka tribe, that he received
an education in Arabic and Qur’anic studies while in Africa, and that
he was owned by a Captain David Anderson in South Carolina. In 1768,
Anderson’s slave wrote two pages in Arabic, which came to the attention
of American whites. The pages contained Surat (chapters) 1, 112, 113,
and 114 from the Qur’an.

F13. LAMINE NDIAYE

Lamine Ndiaye was a Muslim from the Wolof tribe and was originally
from Futa-Toro, Senegal. In Africa, he worked both as a merchant-
trader and as a linguist or translator. Given these occupations, it appears
that Lamine was fairly well educated.

In 1730, he was doing some trading on the lower Gambia River when
he was employed as a translator by Ayuba ibn Suleyman ibn Ibrahim
Diallo, whose biography is presented later. Lamine and Ayuba were
subsequently kidnapped on the south bank of the lower Gambia, sold to
a Captain Pike, who was in the employ of a William Hunt, a merchant
in London, England. The transaction took place on February 27, 1730,
and Lamine and Ayuba were shipped to America within a week of their
purchase on the Arabella.

41. The information on Lamine Ndiaye provided by Austin AD (1995) and Diouf SA (1998)
has been supplemented with information from Curtin FD (1968).
Arriving in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1730, Lamine first came under the control of Vachell Denton, the slave agent in Maryland for William Hunt. He was then purchased by a southern plantation owner. He was apparently given the slave name of Lamine Jay and was sent out to work as a common field hand, one of the lowest and most back-breaking jobs in the hierarchy of slave labor. For the next seven years, he toiled in that capacity.

However, all was not lost. Lamine's former employer Ayuba gained his freedom in 1734 and traveled to England, preparatory to his return to Africa. While in England, Ayuba exerted what influence he had to get the Duke of Montague to provide the money for Lamine's purchase. Using the funds provided by the Duke of Montague, Thomas Bluett managed to locate Lamine on a Maryland plantation, purchased him, and then emancipated him in 1737. After journeying from America to England, Lamine returned home to Gambia in February of 1738. In Africa, Lamine briefly traveled with Melchior de Jaspa of the Royal African Company on the latter's journey to Bundu. Thereafter, nothing is known about him.

Ayuba's efforts on behalf of Lamine illustrate a theme that will be more fully developed later, i.e., that of formerly enslaved Muslims helping other Muslims to obtain their freedom from slavery.

F14. YARROW (YORO) MAMOUT

Yarrow Mamout was born in Africa, either circa 1686 (his own self-report) or circa 1707 (his one-time American owner's report). In either case, he arrived in Maryland circa 1731 and was purchased by the Bell family, for whom he worked making bricks. After helping to build his owner's home in Georgetown, Yarrow was emancipated by the Bells.

As a freed African Muslim living in Catholic Maryland, Yarrow was of some interest to several of his white neighbors and associates. It is chiefly through their observations that we know him. According to their reports, he was a diligent worker and successful businessman, despite having limited skills in English. He even managed to own his own home. Although some historians have maintained that he never married or had children, the 1820 census for Washington, DC, lists a "Yarrow Marmood" as having a family.42

Of more importance than his economic success was his character, personal conduct, and continued adherence to his religion of Islam. He was known for his honesty, sobriety, good temper, jocularity, and cheerful conduct. He reportedly was well liked by everyone who knew him. Even though living in the midst of an ocean of Roman Catholicism, he was often publicly observed singing praises to Allah. No matter where he was, even in the public street, and no matter what he was doing, he would stop to perform the five obligatory prayers of Islam every day. To the end of his life, he followed Islamic dietary restrictions and avoided all pork and alcohol. Further, he advised others to do the same.

In 1819, Yarrow came to the attention of Charles Wilson Peale, the renowned portrait artist. Yarrow agreed to sit for Peale, and the resulting portrait is currently owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. An examination of that portrait reveals an ancient and modestly attired gentleman wearing a typical head covering for a West African Muslim. At the time of the portrait, Yarrow claimed to be 133 years old, although his former owner thought that he was only about 112!

42. Muhammad ANA (2001).
month of Ramadan, and completing the Hajj pilgrimage to Makkah. In addition, he reiterated such Qur’anic principles and dictates as: keeping Islamic dietary restrictions, including the avoidance of alcohol and of meat that has not been properly slaughtered according to Islamic law; honoring one’s parents; and avoidance of idolatry, bad company, dishonesty and false witnessing, murder, stealing, coveting, and hypocrisy. He closed his autobiography with a lament that he had not been able to practice his Islam as openly and as freely as he would have liked in the face of his enslavement, and he asked Allah for forgiveness for his shortcomings.

As far as is known, Abu Bakr never married nor had any children in the Americas.

F23. IBRAHIM `ABD AL-RAHMAN DIALLO

Ibrahim `Abd Al-Rahman Diallo, henceforward `Abd Al-Rahman to distinguish him from his father, was born into the distinguished Diallo clan of the Fulbe (plural = Fulbe or Fulani; singular = Fula) circa 1762 in Timbuktu. When he was five years old, the family moved to Timbo, Futa Jallon, Guinea.

His father was Ibrahim Yoro Pate Sori, the second Abmaamy (West African corruption of the Arabic Al-Imam, i.e., a Muslim prayer leader, but in West Africa also implying some military authority). As one of the two main military leaders of the Fulbe tribe in Futa Jallon, Ibrahim Yoro had been primarily responsible for the successful war of liberation from and conquest of the non-Muslim population of Futa Jallon, thus ending a series of wars of liberation that had begun in the late 1720s. Having been the primary architect of Fulbe rule in Futa Jallon, Ibrahim Yoro was considered to be a prince of the Fulbe and the king of Futa Jallon. He was given the honorific of Mando, i.e., “the great.” During the years of 1776 through 1778, Ibrahim Yoro was able to consolidate his earlier military gains and made Futa Jallon the strongest nation in that area of West Africa.

`Abd Al-Rahman received his primary education in Qur’anic studies and Arabic in his hometown of Timbo. Successfully completing these studies, he ascended the academic ladder by attending secondary education in Jenne of Masina. Once again successful in his academic pursuits, he then obtained an advanced education in Timbuktu. By the time he had completed his formal education, he was completely literate in Arabic and fluent in Arabic, the Pulaar language of the Fulbe, and the neighboring African languages of Bambara, Mandinka, and Jallonke.

Having completed his formal education in Timbuktu, he later received military training as a cavalry officer. By age 22, he was a captain in the cavalry and had already led victorious troops into battle. Two years later, he was promoted to colonel. By age 26, he was married and a father. He was also then in command of an army of 2,000 men, which he was leading west in a defensive war. Initially in this campaign of 1788, `Abd Al-Rahman achieved a string of victories. However, as the army returned home to Futa Jallon, `Abd Al-Rahman and his cavalry were ambushed in a narrow mountain pass by the Houbous (Hebos) in March of 1788. `Abd Al-Rahman was shot in the shoulder, and he and about 50 of his soldiers were taken prisoner. He was then placed in chains and marched barefoot for over 100 miles to the distant Gambia River where he was sold to the captain of a British ship. His long life of slavery had begun.

Having entered into British captivity, he was placed in the small, dark, and filthy hold of the Africa. For the next week, the Africa sailed
down the Gambia to the coast and then began its six-week, more than 3,000-mile, Middle Passage voyage across the Atlantic to Dominica Island in the Caribbean. From Dominica Island, he was transported to the mouth of the Mississippi River, another six-week journey of about 2,200 miles. Having reached the Mississippi, he was kept on board an additional week before being disembarked at New Orleans, a city that was then only about 67% the size of 'Abd Al-Rahman's native Timbo. After a month spent in New Orleans, he was loaded onto a riverboat in August of 1788 and began a 30-day, 300-mile trip up the Mississippi River to Natchez, Mississippi.

Arriving at Natchez, 'Abd Al-Rahman was weak and ill from his long ordeal. Nonetheless, he was restrained with a rope wrapped around him, had his long hair cut, and was sold to Thomas Foster. His attempts to communicate who he was through a Mandinka translator resulted in Foster giving him the slave name of Prince. Despite this slave name, which was probably given more in derision than in respect, 'Abd Al-Rahman was given the lowest and most physically demanding job in the hierarchy of slave labor, i.e., he was sent out to work in the fields. When he objected to this, he was whipped.

Learning the ways of slave life, 'Abd Al-Rahman patiently waited for his health and strength to return to him. Once he felt fit enough, he ran away to the woods. However, the woods of Mississippi offered little to a runaway slave other than temporary freedom. After several weeks spent fending for himself alone in the woods, he finally surrendered himself to his owner.

Thereafter, 'Abd Al-Rahman was a model slave, whom his owner described as avoiding alcohol, meanness, dishonesty, and laziness. He even made a public show of converting to his owner's Christianity and thus began to work his way up the slave hierarchy. His experience as a cavalry officer gave him a natural affinity for working with cattle and horses, and he distinguished himself in those pursuits. Eventually, over the course of many years, he worked his way up the ladder and became for all practical purposes the plantation overseer, a rare honor for an enslaved African. In addition, he was given a private garden plot and release time.

Circa 1794-1795, 'Abd Al-Rahman married a fellow slave, an African-American Baptist by the name of Isabella, who was the "doctor" and midwife to the plantation's slaves. The marriage produced five sons, four daughters, and at least eight grandchildren, all of whom were born into slavery. By 1828 and as a testimony to the hardships of slavery in the American South, only five of his children were still living.

There things might have remained had it not been for a most remarkable meeting that took place around 1807. 'Abd Al-Rahman had traveled into Natchez that day to peddle some of the vegetables he had grown in his private garden plot. He was thus engaged when he met John Coates Cox. It was a reunion over 30 years in the making!

Cox was a white physician who had wandered away from a ship on the African coast, gotten lost, become injured and ill, and somehow miraculously ended up in Timbo, the hometown of 'Abd Al-Rahman. Cox was the first white man ever to reach Timbo and was immediately brought to the attention of Ibrahim Yaro, who arranged for Cox to be lovingly nursed back to health by the Muslim inhabitants of Timbo. Cox remained in Timbo for six months at the urging of Ibrahim Yaro and came to know 'Abd Al-Rahman fairly well. When Cox finally decided to leave, Ibrahim Yaro gave Cox a guard of 15 soldiers to escort him safely back to the African coast and the gold to buy his passage home to Great
Britain. Cox subsequently immigrated to America and later settled in Mississippi. Piling up miracle upon miracle, not only did the two old acquaintances meet after a separation of over 30 years and at a distance of over 6,000 miles from where they had once known each other, but 'Abd Al-Rahman immediately recognized Cox by the way he rode his horse down the street, a testament to 'Abd Al-Rahman's expertise as a cavalry officer. When 'Abd Al-Rahman later engaged Cox in conversation as the latter inspected some potatoes 'Abd Al-Rahman was selling, Cox recognized his former benefactor and immediately clutched him in a public embrace on the street, an unthinkable action for a white man in the Mississippi of 1807.

Not forgetting the kindnesses bestowed upon him by 'Abd Al-Rahman and Ibrahim Yoro, Cox immediately introduced Governor Ware to this African prince living in slavery in their midst and tried to buy 'Abd Al-Rahman in order to emancipate him. Unfortunately, Foster rebuffed Cox and would not sell his most trusted and valuable slave, even though Cox offered to pay any price asked by Foster. Not deterred, Cox tried for years to purchase 'Abd Al-Rahman, and after his death Cox's son carried on the attempts to free his father's past benefactor. While 'Abd Al-Rahman did not receive his freedom through Cox's strenuous efforts, Foster was eventually impressed enough with what he had heard from Cox to relieve 'Abd Al-Rahman of all field duty and to give him additional release time.

Given the stories then circulating about him in Mississippi, 'Abd Al-Rahman came to the attention of Andrew Marshalk, a local newspaper editor, in the early 1820s. Marshalk occasionally interviewed 'Abd Al-Rahman and wrote several articles about him. Eventually, Marshalk suggested that 'Abd Al-Rahman write a letter in Arabic to be sent to his family in Africa through the U.S. Department of State.

Initially, the now elderly slave refused this suggestion. However, in 1826, 'Abd Al-Rahman took up Marshalk's suggestion and penned the letter.

Having received 'Abd Al-Rahman's letter, the U.S. State Department began a lengthy correspondence with Morocco, the only African country then enjoying diplomatic relations with the United States. Over the course of nearly two years, the government of Morocco continued to request the State Department to grant freedom to and to provide transport back to Africa for the elderly and enslaved prince of the Fulbe. Finally, Secretary of State Henry Clay, himself a southerner and a pro-slavery advocate, interceded with Thomas Foster. Clay suggested that the U.S. government would pay for 'Abd Al-Rahman's transportation to Washington, DC, if Foster would free him.

Foster grudgingly agreed to Clay's request on February 22, 1828, but 'Abd Al-Rahman did not want to leave without his wife. Foster initially refused this latter request but then asked for $200, a rather low price for that time and place, for the purchase of Isabella. Hearing of the situation, the local citizens of Natchez raised $293 within one day. Both 'Abd Al-Rahman and his wife were freed by the middle of March of 1828 and began a riverboat ride from Natchez, Mississippi, to Cincinnati, Ohio.

'Abd Al-Rahman's journey from Natchez to the ship that was to carry him back to Africa was something of a triumphal journey taking about 11 months. He arrived in Cincinnati by steamship on April 19, 1828. From Cincinnati, he traveled overland by stagecoach to Washington, DC. From Washington, he continued on through three New England states, New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore before arriving in Norfolk, Virginia.
Throughout his tour, 'Abd Al-Rahman met many notables, all of whom responded positively to him, including: Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner; Mayor Joseph Watson of Philadelphia; U.S. Representative Edward Everett, Jr.; U.S. Secretary of State Henry Clay; and President John Quincy Adams. However, the real reason for his prolonged tour was his ceaseless fundraising endeavors to gather the money to purchase the freedom of his children and grandchildren. At these events, he often wore a white turban topped with a crescent, a blue coat with yellow buttons, white pantaloons tucked at the ankles, yellow boots, and a scimitar. It must have made a colorful sight. To open the wallets of his listeners a little further, he pointed to his own pseudo-conversion to Christianity and managed to leave the impression that he would be a missionary bringing Christianity to his native Africa. These efforts were successful, and $3,500 was raised, which was sufficient to buy the freedom of eight of his descendants once he reached Africa.

On February 7, 1829, 'Abd Al-Rahman and Isabella left Norfolk on the Harriet for Liberia, Africa. He was about 67 years old and had been enslaved for 40 years. Upon arriving in Liberia, 'Abd Al-Rahman immediately abandoned all pretense of being a Christian and publicly embraced his Islamic religion. However, he was not to return to Timbo. Political upheavals in Futa Jallon and his advanced age kept him from making the 15-day journey up the mountains to his homeland. In June of 1829, he became sick. He died on July 6, 1829, in Monrovia, Liberia. In December of 1830, his freed descendants, eight in number, finally reached Liberia. They included two sons (Lee and Simon), Simon's wife, and Simon's five children. It is possible that more of his descendants were freed and reached Liberia in 1835 when Thomas Foster's descendants freed some of the slaves they inherited.

Like a few of his fellow Muslims who were enslaved in the Americas, 'Abd Al-Rahman wrote a brief autobiography in Arabic. The handwritten manuscript was penned in 1828 while he was in Washington, DC. In May of 1828, The African Repository published 'Abd Al-Rahman's own English translation of his Arabic autobiography. Unfortunately, the original Arabic manuscript is now lost.

Before closing the account of 'Abd Al-Rahman, it is instructive to take a second look at his pseudo-conversion to Christianity and his later Christian façade. 'Abd Al-Rahman left several samples of his Arabic writing, almost all of which were written by memory from the Qur'an. When asked by a Christian minister in Philadelphia on December 29, 1828, to write the Christians' Lord's Prayer in his native language, 'Abd Al-Rahman complied by writing Al-Fatiha (the first chapter of the Qur'an) in Arabic. For 'Abd Al-Rahman, this was his Lord's prayer, as it is repeated two to four times in each of the five daily prayers of Islam. Needless to say, the Christian minister could not read Arabic and was unaware of the scam that had been perpetrated upon him.

As to 'Abd Al-Rahman's comments on the Christians he encountered in Mississippi, he reportedly said that the Bible, which he had read while a slave, contained very good laws but that the Christians did not follow those laws. He went on to say that the Christians he had observed did not pray often enough, were too greedy, and were too enamored with money and wealth. In support of his indictment, he noted the condition in which Mississippi Christians kept their slaves, overworking them merely for the sake of growing more cotton. He poignantly asked where Christians found that sort of behavior condoned in the laws of the Bible.
F24. ‘UMAR IBN SAID

‘Umar ibn Said was a Tukolar Fula who was born circa 1765 in Futa Toro, Bundu, on the Senegal River in what is today the country of Senegal. He was the son of Said and Umhan Yasnik and had two full brothers, one full sister, two paternal half-brothers, and four paternal half-sisters. He appears to have been from a wealthy family, as his father reportedly had 70 slaves.

His father died when ‘Umar was only five years old, and he was then raised by an uncle. Despite being an orphan, ‘Umar received a superlative education. He was thoroughly taught Arabic and Qur’anic studies by an older brother (Sheykh Muhammad ibn Said), Sheykh Suleyman Kembeh, and Sheykh Jibril Abdul in Futa Toro and possibly in Futa Jallon. By his report, ‘Umar was a student for 25 years, suggesting that he was an intellectual and a scholar.

He described his life in Africa as having been devoted to the performance of the five pillars of practice of Islam, including prayer, fasting, the giving of obligatory charity, and pilgrimage. With regard to the last pillar of practice, ‘Umar reported going on religious pilgrimages, one of which may well have included making the Hajj to Makkah. He was a scholar and a teacher for several years and then became a trader in salt, clothes, etc. He had no wife or children in Africa.

He was apparently living at Kebe in the Mandinka area of Bure by 1807, at which time he participated in a battle between rival armies in Senegal. He was captured and enslaved. His subsequent Middle Passage voyage to Charleston, South Carolina, took six weeks. He left no record of whatever horrors were inflicted upon him during this voyage.

Upon reaching America, he was initially purchased by an owner who was described as being reasonably good to him. However, this owner died and was replaced by an owner who overworked him and demanded heavy physical labor. In desperation, ‘Umar ran away. He was recaptured in a church in Fayetteville, North Carolina, where he had gone to find shelter to pray. He was then imprisoned as a runaway slave. While in prison, his ability to write Arabic on the prison’s wall and his mild and dignified demeanor drew the attention of his jailors and of the local populace.

In 1811, he was purchased by his third American owner, General James Owen. Owen apparently treated ‘Umar as a frail and sickly individual who could not stand up to much physical work, did not demand much of him, and met some of ‘Umar’s religious requests. For example, upon ‘Umar’s request, Owen found an English translation of the Qur’an for ‘Umar and had it read to him. However, ‘Umar never really mastered the English language.

For many years, ‘Umar publicly maintained his Islamic prayers, fasts, and dietary restrictions. However, he was eventually baptized into the Presbyterian Church in 1821 and was then a regular attendee. He was given a Bible in Arabic, which he apparently read with enough frequency that the Bible had to be recovered. Further, in his 1835 Arabic correspondence to Lamine Kebe, whose biographical sketch was previously presented, ‘Umar reportedly exhorted the latter to convert to Christianity. Unfortunately, the Arabic originals of this correspondence are no longer available for analysis and re-translation. Finally, in his 1831 autobiography, ‘Umar reportedly wrote: "Before I came to the Christian country, my religion was the religion of Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah have mercy upon him and give him peace." The implication of ‘Umar’s statement is that he was no longer a Muslim, but then he ends the statement with a purely Islamic invocation for Prophet Muhammad.
Despite his public conversion, consistent Bible reading, regular church attendance, and alleged exhortation to Lamine Kebe, there is substantial evidence that `Umar remained a closet Muslim while publicly professing to be a Christian.

1. As noted previously, `Umar read his Arabic translation of the Bible with such frequency that it had to be recovered. He also wrote numerous annotations into the margins of his Bible in Arabic. Of significance, these annotations always begin with an invocation to Allah and are often followed by mentioning Prophet Muhammad.

2. Even Rev. Mathew B. Grier, the minister of the last church `Umar attended, admitted to having doubts about the genuineness of `Umar's public show of Christianity.

3. `Umar was reportedly seen by his fellow slaves as being a Marabout (West African term for a Muslim teacher, religious leader, and "holy" man).

4. He started his 1831, 16-page, Arabic manuscript about his life by saying the Bismillah and then by going on to say, "May Allah grant his blessing upon our Prophet Muhammad." The autobiography immediately proceeds by quoting about 60 lines from the Qur'an.

5. Throughout his life in slavery, `Umar wrote at least 27 Arabic manuscripts, 14 of which still exist and most of which start with traditional Islamic invocations to Allah and for Prophet Muhammad.

6. On several occasions, `Umar reportedly wrote the Bible's Lord's Prayer and the 23rd Psalm in Arabic for curious whites, but neither of these Biblical passages contradicts Islamic teachings. An examination of the surviving copies of those Arabic writings reveals that `Umar usually did write what he said he was writing. However, on at least some occasions in which he claimed to be writing the Lord's Prayer, he simply wrote down a list of the members of the Owen family. Further, he almost invariably prefaced his Arabic renditions of Biblical passages with the Bismillah (i.e., In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful) and often with mention of Prophet Muhammad. Perhaps most significantly, his last preserved Arabic writing purporting to be the Lord's Prayer, which was written in 1857, is actually Al-Nasr, i.e., the 110th chapter from the Qur'an. As can be seen in the following translation of Al-Nasr, this short chapter from the Qur'an is a celebration of the growth and success of Islam, i.e., "Allah's religion."

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. When comes the help of Allah, and victory. And thou dost see the people enter Allah's religion in crowds. Celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and pray for His forgiveness: for He is oft-returning (in grace and mercy).

(Qur'an 110:1-3)

`Umar died circa 1864 and apparently never had a wife or children in America.

F25. BILALI MUHAMMAD

Bilali Muhammad was a member of the Fulbe (Fulbe is the plural form, and Fula is the singular form) and was originally from Timbo in