## Nancy Prince's Narrative Compared to the Sidi Saint Mai Mishra

by

Maryam Sharron Muhammad, M.A.



## Remembering Maryam Sharron Muhammad: 1972-2018

It is with great sadness that we regretfully share that our beloved daughter, sister and friend, Maryam Sharron Muhammad, has passed away after collapsing in her home upon her return from work.

Sharron was a truly beautiful and brilliant spirit and will be deeply missed.

A seeker of truth and a striver for excellence, Sharron never lost sight of her goals. She was a doctoral student and also held degrees from Howard University (M.A.) and the University of Toledo (B.A.), both with high honors. Additionally, she completed three years of medical school at the University of Illinois – Chicago and was the recipient of numerous academic fellowships and honors. Sharron was a world traveler, a Peace Corps volunteer, mentor to countless youth, contributor to scholarly publications, writer of creative works and a published author of an Afrofuturistic novel under her pen name S.R. Sarai.

A tireless advocate for the study and dissemination of African History and Central Asian topics, Sharron always pressed forward, leaving her mark on the world with a never-ending commitment to bring truth to light.

Profoundly spiritual, Sharron respected all religions as she sought the qualities that all people share from the Universal Source. She studied, honored and respected African and Native American religions, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism.

Sharron remained caring, vibrant and high-achieving even as she endured many challenges. Following a traumatic injury suffered in the Peace Corps in 2003 and a subsequent mental health diagnosis, Sharron wrestled with major mental illness for the duration of her life. In spite of the immense struggle to get competent and compassionate healthcare, Sharron never let illness define her and never stopped striving for excellence.

At the time of her transition, she was employed at Adventist Health and prepared this article for publication in this journal.

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#### **Abstract**

Nancy Prince and Mai Mishra offer two examples of the Diasporan African adventuress taking control of her destiny in the framework of the activist traveler. This paper explores the motivation for their travels in the African-American and African-Asian Diasporas.

#### **Introduction:**

#### The African American and African Asian "Overmother"

"Overmothering" is defined by Patricia Hill Collins and Stanlie M. James as taking responsibility for siblings and then helping other children. When a woman "overmothers" herself, she takes on adventures that propel her to the forefront of the evolutionary march. All founding mothers exemplify "overmothering." The founding maternal line was fundamental to African society; thus mother was the qaeda of the Indian and Atlantic African Diaspora. Mothering was far more important than the competition that enslavement forced upon populations because African communities relied upon descent from mythical or heroic ancestors. Overmothering may be regarded as foundation of the Black Diasporan's journey to self-realization – the point at which a Black woman embarked upon a quest for physical or psychological freedom. Her search for freedom is as much for her next of kin as it is for herself. Cheryl Deborah Williams describes the movement of Black women in the Afro-Atlantic Diaspora as fugitive, activist, or courteous. Nancy Prince and Mai Mishra offer two examples of the Diasporan African adventuress taking control of her destiny in the framework of the activist traveler.

#### The Afro-Asian Diaspora

The beginnings of the Afro-Asian Diaspora have been situated up to 50,000 years ago. The Bible also describes Ethiopian and Egyptian troop movements in ancient Israel. However, the modern diaspora was almost completely defined by slavery and connected West, Central and South Africa with Asia, Europe, South and North America. It began in the Biblical era, but the majority of the Diasporans departed after the rise of Islam in the seventh century. By the time the Atlantic Triangular Trade was established hundreds of thousands of Africans had crossed the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and Arabian sands as soldiers, enslaved people, and merchants. Examining the tiny Mascarene Islands gives an idea of the extent to the Indian Ocean slave trade in an era comparable to the Atlantic. The sources for the African trade in the Mascarenes consist of ship declarations also called declarations d'arrivees and colonial archival records; records were composed by negotiants. 641 trading voyages were made between the Mascarene Islands between 1768 and 1809. The nations involved were the French and Dutch. The Dutch traded African, Indian and Indonesian enslaved people in two directions, thus international commerce provided the opportunity for women from multiple backgrounds to form networks. Because eighteenth and nineteenth century arrivals were mixing with populations that already had African ancestry, usually from the same regions that the enslaved departed from, cultural fusion must have been relatively easy. In an area as small as the islands off the coast of eastern Africa, Black women of both African and Asian descent may have noted similarities of practice, belief and even clothing style.<sup>3</sup> However, in a culture in which enslaved women were largely paced in the domestic sphere, enslaved Africans and Asians must have contended fiercely for favors from the elite such as education for their children, succession rights for their sons, access to Qur'anic or Biblical studies, credit and tenant rights.

African women who migrated eastwards practiced a multitude of religions. Christianity had spread as far south as the modern United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Christianity had also spread as far south as Mecca where a Christian icon had been placed in the Kaaba and five bishoprics were established on the eastern shore of Arabia. Islam had been practiced in the region since the mid-sixth century. Judaism had been practiced in the region for millennia. A female religion called kuubandwa was practiced in East Africa. East African women were familiar with Mwana Mwem and Fatuma who had been queens of Zanzibar and Mwana Khadija of Pate. The Ethiopian queen mother was a powerful figure and the ladies, queen and wives followed the armies.<sup>4</sup>

Women had been abducted from the Cote d'Afrique, Kilwa, Lindi, Mafia, Mombasa, Mongale, Mouttage and Zanzibar. Ethnicities included Ambanivolo, Ambalambo, Andrantsay, Antaisaka, Antalaotra, Antanosy, Antasimo, Hehe, Betanimena, Maninga, Marvace Sakalava, Bisa, Ekoti, Kamanga, Lolo, Makonde, Makua, Maravi, Mrima, Yao, Ngindo, Nyambe, Nyamwezi, Sagara and Sena.<sup>5</sup> The Battle of Antietam fought on September 17, 1862 may have reflected an African ethnos enslaved on Mauritius known as Antateime.<sup>6</sup> Other ethnicities were Betsileo and Hova (Merina).

Southeast Asians enslaved in the Mascarenes were Balinese, Javanese, Malay, Sumatran, Timorese, etc. The laborers were the cog in the wheel that held together the economy of the Mascarenes. That economy held together trade from France, the Sultan of Kilwa, northern Europe and the Americas in a free trade system. Cargoes of 400 people or more were not uncommon. The trade caused the spread of Malagasy speakers "that may have entailed the largest movement of a single African people in the western Indian Ocean."

Women certainly had not come from docile societies. There were at least five revolts on ship. In the sixteenth century, Mombasan women who had sided with the Ottomans "hurled themselves into the waves in despair, preferring to drown" rather than be conquered by the Portuguese. In the nineteenth century the Wazigua revolted against the Arabs.<sup>7</sup>

African women enslaved in the Mascarenes and other parts of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean were also used to multiethnic societies. The Portuguese and Ottomans along with various Arabic speaking Afro-Asian ethnos had interacted since the early sixteenth century. Persia also still had some residual influence through Islam. Young enslaved girls in the Mascarenes were known as being 14 years of age and under. Afro-Mascarenes suffered from smallpox, scurvy and gangrenous wounds, abscesses, 'exhaustion', 'malign fevers', and maladies vermineuses.' Some captives committed suicide. The enslaved who were bound for the Mascarenes had a 14.9 percent mortality rate.<sup>8</sup>

Enslaved Africans were quickly Islamized, unlike the western traditions which isolated them from theology. Islamic law stated that the plantation owner stood in the place of the parent and had to approve marriages and received a fee equal to \$2.00 for the service. An example of an enslaved African woman was Umm Awade bin Maktub. She had been a mtoto wa nyumbani of the Sultan which meant that she had been born into slavery in the household. The Sultan sent her to the household of another woman, Bi Salima binti Masudi. She had some freedoms, worked in the home and sent her son to Qur'anic school; this was an achievement that few mothers could claim.

## The New Slavery in the African-Asian Diaspora

The mid 1830's was a period called the new slavery. Indians, Africans, Chinese, Javanese and Melanesians were sold and indentured throughout the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea. Indentured Indians entered the international slave system after having been part of the domestic Indian slave system. Africans enslaved in India entered a complex system that was not necessarily friendly to foreigners or women. Some parts of Indian society had a kul system based upon descent from a god-like male whose surname defined the kul. Males belonged to this kul while those women who married, married into their spouses kuls. Women in Tamil Nadu had strict rules about separation between husband and wife during the period of breast feeding. Sexually mature women, nursing women and widows were seen as filled with a particularly dangerous power.

Mixing with foreigners was considered a sin in certain parts of India. Mleccha samparka referred to this sin of interacting with "savages." Since savage was defined as one not born a Hindu, Africans must have been defined as mleccha, even though many people who were enslaved in militaries rose to high honor.

Certain forms of the Hindu system had a triune deity – Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The social system was based upon birth group and caste. In Bengal there was a system of jatis or birth-groups, Varna which are castes and subgroupings defined by material substances (gun) and the behavioral code (dharma). The caste system featured four varnas; the Brahman were born from the mouth, the Kshatriya varna was born from the arms, the Vaisya were born from the thighs and the Sudra were born from the feet. The Sudra were considered the lowest rank. Separation from Brahma through activities such as mixing with unclean or "tamasik substances" resulted in an ignorant birth-group or a birth-group of low rank. African women enslaved and sold to Hindu countries must have been defined by the local population according to this religious belief. Sudra women and girls were considered too different in caste from twice born males for marriage. This brings up an interesting question because under the Islamic and Christian systems, excepting large parts of North America, enslaved women regularly married or were concubines of men of higher rank.

Even under the most patriarchal aspects of the Hindu caste system, foreign women had outlets to express themselves. Thus, women enslaved under Islamic rules may have used the "folk science" to determine the direction of the qibla and the location of the Kaaba and Mecca. Women also brought spirit possession through zar, and the Ugangah, a charm that caused people to go mad after leaving Africa.

Afro-Indonesian and Arabo-Swahili emigrants transmitted narratives such as the water daughter and the rice hero to Asia. Asian immigrants brought cotton spinning, millet, musical instruments such as the scraper, rattles and bows, patriarchy and religious concepts. The Afro-Malagasy brought a proverb about a Queen of the Sea who gave a "Chinese Fire Box" to a poor fisherman. The spirit known as water daughter (zazavavindrano) marries the fisherman in secret and gives him a taboo, which he then breaks; as a result, the spirit leaves with the children and his prosperity. The woman represents the ancestral maternal founder. <sup>12</sup>

Stories such as the Tarbaby were transported to Asia with African emigrants. Tricksters were also transported to Malagasy and the Seychelles. One trickster persuades monkeys to kill their mothers. A trickster called Bwanasi was stopped from his trick of raping women by an elderly woman who thrust a needle into his penis. Africans and Asians in Mauritius created a trickster called Ti Zan who had a sister named Jeanne. In all of the Ti-Zan stories, he killed a father-figure devil called Gran Dyab and a mother-devil and successfully escaped. Africans brought "the defiant girl" to the Southwest Indian Ocean. The girl is usually disappointed in her hunt for a suitable marriage because her aspirations are too high or she is tricked by her brother, and the pithy tale features pumpkins and fire.

If we can project modern actions back in time, then we can look at contemporary practices and speculate on the lives of women from East Africa during the nineteenth century slave trade. For example, the kanga was used to make political statements in the twentieth century; when the material had been called the merikani, Afro-Mascarenes and coastal women may have used the garments to protect the actions of enslavers.

A woman leaving her home will give thanks to her mother through the symbolic fabric that incorporates red, black and white (symbols of separation (death?) and purity) and the phrase 'mother give me blessing for it is difficult to live with people.'

Militant young brides, for example, might quickly establish the power dynamics between daughter and mother-in-law by wearing a kanga that says: 'She ay be his mother but I have him in my bed' or 'Say what you like, don't give a damn.' After the damage is done, a woman might wear a kanga that says: 'the axe forgets but the tree does not.' 14

The African-Asian slave trade undergirded the economic might of the Ottoman, Omani, South Asian, and Portuguese Empires from the sixteenth century forwards. Under Mehmed Pasha the Ottoman Empire's soft empire transferred soldiers and sailors between Turkey, Indonesia, Gujarat and Calicut. The ladies of Emperor Akbar's court went to Mecca and Medina in 1573. They distributed charity in his name and must have interacted with African women.

In a short time, by an excellent plan, they would seize and subjugate most of the seaports of Sind and Hind and would drive away and expel from that region the evil unbelievers, and it would be possible for the exquisite things of Sind and Hind and the rarities of Ethiopia and the Sudan, and the usual items of the Hijaz and Yemen and the pearls of Bahrain...<sup>15</sup>

Swahili envoys also went to Yemen to report on the Portuguese. At the same time, Indians served as the bankers of Arabia and financed Omani trade.

Indian merchants – numbering about 1,200 in the eighteenth century and 4,000 in the early nineteenth – dominated certain branches of trade, such as pearls and coffee, and were among the major shipowners. The job of collecting customs revenue was entrusted to an Indian. Most important, Indians were the "Bankers of Arabia," who provided much of the capital used in commerce. Even the Sultan, the richest merchant of all, turned to Indians to finance his trading ventures. <sup>16</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans, Portuguese and East Africans competed over resources. They traded with Mombasa. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Omani sovereigns made trade agreements with East Africans and the economics of slavery sent large numbers of Africans to Zanzibar. African goods were in high demand in India and cloth, gold and ivory were the major commodities. <sup>17</sup> The Portuguese American trade brought a form of cloth known as merikani to Zanzibar. This cloth was white in color and wrapped sarong style. It was eventually changed to black or dark blue and named kaniki and eventually the kanga. <sup>18</sup>

The Omani Sultans employed Nubians, Ethiopians and other East and Central Africans as personal retinue, soldiers, officers and governors. While Cooper reports that "brown skinned" Ethiopians were preferred as concubines, the Arab fascination with the build, courage and strength of the Black Nubian would suggest otherwise. <sup>19</sup> The Omanis practiced plantation slavery with large numbers of dates and heavy investment in date trees with plantations of up to 30,000 date palms and eventually cloves. Land was sometimes leased to tenants. Many of the owners were imams, thus the system had a fundamentally "divine" nature. Since wealth and prestige were determined by the number, rank and religious knowledge of human servants, rather than material "the work demanded of servants was not great." Further, some women owned huge plantations, as Bibi Zem Zem had more than 500 enslaved people.

In the late 18th century, enslaved people were sent to the Americas from southern Asia, Mozambique and Kilwa. Gujarati merchants were in Mozambique which sent enslaved people to both the Americas and south Asia. 258 men, 49 women, 57 boys and 22 girls from the 'coasts of India' reached Saint-Domingue aboard La Cibele.<sup>21</sup>

Bava Gor was a trio of African saints who arrived in India from Mecca. They are recounted among the Sidi, an African people who served in the imperial court of Gujarat. The Sidi were employed by both Hindus and Muslims. Their most important shrine is the durgha of Bava Gor. Bava Gor's brother was Baba Habash and his sister was Mai Mishra, whose name was associated with Kemet. Mai Mishra was last to arrive from Kemet and with an all female army led by three women: Mai Kiri, Ai Mai, and Mai Sahab. Mai Mishra destroys the demon Makhan Devi who had qualities similar to Durga.<sup>22</sup>

According to myth, the saint was originally an Abyssinian military commander who was sent by order of the Prophet to fight against a female demon in Hindustan; but it was his sister who eventually destroyed the female demon. The Sidi believe themselves to be descended from the Sidi soldiers and their wives who accompanied Bava Gor during his mission and who had become saints in the course of time.

The clear patriarchal motifs and irony of the story aside, the narrative of Bava Gor emphasizes the importance of women in Sidi culture and the impact of the maternal founder Mai Mishra. Through her, female Sidi saints have their own tombs, their own sanctuaries and perform their own exorcisms.

Avle bismillah barkate bismillah daruda payambar ka

In the name of Allah the highest, blessings in the name of Allah, salutations to the Prophet

Bismillah dohre bismillah daruda payambar, bismillah Nabi bismillah

In the name of Allah, repeat the blessings on the Prophet, in the name of Allah and the Prophet

Bismillah karim ar rahmana rahima

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Forgiving, the Compassionate,

Haqq la illaha ilala

Truly, there is one God and only one God

Zikr illahi Nabi Mohammad rasulillah

Recall God and the Prophet Mohammad, the Prophet of God

O sadat labbaiq ko

Oh Masters, we stand to receive your bidding,

Mai Misra labbaiq ko vo sada labbaiq Nabi

Mai Misra, we await at your bidding, guilelessly we await the Prophet's command<sup>23</sup>

The narrative of Mai Mishra perfectly exemplifies the dreams and desires of the Afro-Asian Diaspora. This founding mother freely travels from Africa and Asia to carry out the will of the Prophet Muhammad. Thus, she has religious sanctity and she is also placed in opposition to Black or African-Indian women. Further, she goes to save her two brothers who had arrived in Asia before her from a Black Indian goddess. She leads an army, which was not unusual for an African woman. In following centuries, the Nzingas, Yaa Asantewaas, and Ethiopian Empresses would do the same. The fact that Mai Mishra travels from Africa to Asia as part of a triumvirate may reflect the Afro-Arabian triune deities Allat, Uzza and Manat. If so then it may have been a redemption from Arab legalism that slavery was due to polytheism.<sup>24</sup> Mai Mishra is used to maintain the freedom of the Sidi community in a society that practiced slavery and caste discrimination and to maintain their ties to Africa.

### **Nancy Prince: African-American Overmother and Adventuress**

Nancy Prince was born three centuries after Mai Mishra's reputed exploits. Unlike the army that had accompanied the African Asians, Prince was raised a minority in an environment in which her color and gender gave her unequal status. The United States of America would practice slavery for fifteen years after her famous Narrative was published. American slavery did not emphasize religious instruction of those held in bondage. Nor did it offer social advancement through military or political prowess. American slavery did not emphasize the artisan and held no place like the enslaved viziers of Islam. Enslaved women and girls largely lacked the possibility of social advancement through marriage, as marriage between free whites and enslaved Blacks was legislated against.

Nancy Prince's mother was the daughter of an enslaved African who had fought at the battle of Bunker Hill and an enslaved Native woman. Prince's father's ancestors had come from Africa. Her stepfather had been stolen from Africa and had swum ashore and escaped as the ship was docking. She was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Prince's interests were wide ranging and her personality dynamic. She wrote a pamphlet in 1841 entitled *The West Indies: Being A Description of the Islands, Progress, Christianity, Education and Liberty Among the Colored Population Generally*. Prince physically used force to keep a mistress from abducting her sister into prostitution, and to throw out a slave catcher. She exemplified the overmother by taking care of her siblings and leaving America in search of better economic and social conditions. While sailing, the captain and crew told her that she could not speak to the "negroes" because she constantly spoke up for the men.

"To do something for herself" was the motivation for adventure that Nancy Prince recorded in her Narrative. Her future spouse, Mr. Prince had arrived from Russia where he had served in the court and they were married on February 15, 1824. Like many African Americans the couple saw promise for a better life and the freedom to express their man [and woman]hood in Europe. Before arriving in Russia, they stopped in Denmark and spent two weeks visiting the royal palace. They returned to Russia and Prince served Princess Putossozof and as doorward for the Emperor, while Nancy took in boarders and founded a sewing business. She lived in Russia for nine years. In Russia, Nancy Prince entered a multi-lingual environment. Common people spoke Sclavonian and Polish, while the nobility spoke Greek, French and English. There she found the opportunity to serve a royal court and expand her mind toward international issues. She described events in Poland, the Siberian exile of Russian dissidents, The Russian-Turkish war and events in Denmark. She also had servants of her own. Most interestingly, Prince partook in all Christian festivities for the first time, as this had apparently been denied her in America; she described Lent as the exotic forty day Russian Great Fast before Christ's crucifixion.

Prince's determined mobility emphasized her status as a free woman during the era when the most oppressive Fugitive Slave Law (1850) had been handed down. She published *A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince* in the same year. The book detailed her travels to Russia and Jamaica, as well as giving ten pages of autobiographical information. Price was a humble, deeply religious woman who credited God with her success and survival.

... I have been, by the providence of God, wonderfully preserved, it is with gratitude to my Heavenly Father, and duty to myself, that I attempt to give to the public a short narrative of my life and travels.<sup>25</sup>

Prince's determination to travel was likely due to the influence of her African grandparents and step father, all of whom could recall a distant home and a political and social order in which Blacks were both rulers and ruled. One of her brothers, father and stepfathers served on American ships and the stories of their travels to and from the West Indies must have fired her imagination. Not only was Prince raised in an environment in which a large American and British armada travelled between the home countries and the west coast of Africa in order to prevent the slave trade, she was aware of northern merchant ships which travelled to the Deep South as part of the economy of the United States of America's interior slave trade. Raised by a Congregationalist family, Prince traveled between Boston and Salem in order to raise enough money to support herself and her siblings.

Prince's travels and conquest of the intellectual sphere was by no means unique in the African-Atlantic Diaspora. Mary Seacole, Harriet Jacobs, Anna Julia Cooper, Frances Harper and Mary Ann Shadd Cary were all African-American women who traveled out of their communities, formed new associations and in most cases recorded their lives. All of these women strove to change the circumstances within their nations and "nations with a nation." Likewise, women in the African-Asian Diaspora traveled in order to improve the circumstances for their children or to support their kin; in the relative rare instance when women entered servitude voluntarily, they like Nancy Prince in Russia expected to travel a great distance for economic gain. Like Nancy Prince, some African-Asian women also worked from a religious queda to change cultures. Mai Mishra was the most outstanding example of these women.

# Conclusion: The Founding Mother Warrior Priestess cemented the African-American and African-Asian Diasporas

According to Afro-Gujarati lore, Mai Mishra with her female army adventured from Africa to India in the thirteenth century. Five centuries later Nancy Prince ventured from Massachusetts to Russia and Jamaica. While outstanding, these journeys were by no means unique in the experience of Black women. Thousands of women regularly traveled 700 or more miles through the western "American" countries to escape to free states. Women traveled across the continent of Africa to escape slave raids. Women traveled from Asia to Europe as 'luli' or 'roma.' The motivation for the travels of Ms. Prince and Saint Mai Mishra is unique; both women made the conscious decision to conquer before embarking; both women were deeply religious and both women moved independently of men while upholding the men in their lives.

#### **Notes:**

- 1. Qaeda means base in Arabic.
- 2. Williams, Cheryl Deborah. Conceived in Transit, Delivered in Passage": Travel and Identity in Nineteenth-Century African-American Women's Narratives. Dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 3.
- 3. Allen, Richard B. The Constant Demand of the French: The Mascarene Slave Trade and The Worlds of The Indian Ocean and Atlantic During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. *Journal of African History*, 49 (2008), p. 52.
- 4. Berger, Iris and E. Frances White. Women in Sub-Saharan Africa. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 21.
- 5. Allen, p. 53; Cooper, p.120.
- 6. Allen, p. 52.
- 7. Casale, Giancarlo. Global Politics in the 1580's: One Canal, Twenty Thousand Cannibals, and an Ottoman Plot to Rule the World. *Journal of the World History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2007, p. 272.
- 8. Allen, p. 57.
- 9. Cooper, Frederick. Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 216.

- 10. Gopalakrishnan, Vrindavanam S. Hinduism Today. Kappa: Jul-Sep. 2008 Vol. 30, Is. 3; p. 1.
- 11. Davis, Marvin. A Philosophy of Hindu Rank from West Bengal. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, November 1976 p. 1.
- 12. Haring, Lee. Research in African Languages. Bloomington: Fall 2002, Vol. 3., Is. 3, p. p. 2.
- 13. Haring, p. 8.
- 14. Boswell, Rosabelle. Say What You Like: Dress, Identity and Heritage in Zanzibar. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Vol. 12, No. 5, September 2006, p. 448.
- 15. Casale, 286.
- 16. Cooper, p. 32.
- 17. Pearson, Michael N. Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era. (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 393.
- 18. Boswell, 446.
- 19. Cooper, p. 35.
- 20. Cooper, 34.
- 21. Allen, p. 70.
- 22. Yimene, Ababu Minda. An African Indian Community in Hyderabad: Siddi Identity, It's Maintenance and Change. (Gottingen: Cuvillier Verlag Gottingen, 2004), p. 91.
- 23. Avle Bismillah baithi damal by the late Murjaan Sidi Nangasi English translation by Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, with Shakil Kamarbhai Sidi and Sidi Saalam Jaffar.
- 24. Caitlin-Jairazbhoy, Kamarbhai Sidi and Jaffar.
- 25. Prince, p. 5.
- 26. Williams references Harriet Jacobs Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl; Anna Julia Cooper's A Voice From the South by a Black Woman of the South; Frances Harper's Iola Leroy or Shadows Uplifted.

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