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The Barbarians at the Gate: The Early Historiographic Battle to Define the Role of Kush in World History

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Abstract
Nineteenth-century ideas of race and racial hierarchy found their way into the theoretical and conceptual orientations of early Egyptology and the interpretations of the Egyptian and Nubian archaeological materials. Consequently, African American and Caribbean scholars developed counternarratives to resist these interpretations as well as restore the ancient Nile Valley to its place in African history. These counternarratives and the epistemological approaches to Egyptian and Nubian history developed within their segregated institutional spaces were largely ignored by mainstream Egyptologists and Africanists. One result of efforts to exclude their ideas from mainstream discourse is the conceptual and disciplinary separation between Egyptology and African studies that current scholarship is now working to resolve.

The late 19th–early 20th century witnessed the beginning of a struggle between Egyptologists and Black writers and scholars to define the place of the ancient Nile Valley societies in world history. One side wielded the academic authority and institutional power to ignore and silence the views of their socially marginalized opponents. Consequently, the very existence of this conflict is preserved only in the archive of the marginalized party. For mainstream scholars of Egyptology and ancient history, the side endowed with institutional authority and power, there was no conflict. This was merely a time of staking and protecting their claim to the disciplinary structures and the forms of knowledge production that would enable them to create the authoritative histories for the ancient Nile Valley. For the opposing side, African-descended people in the Americas—a people not only excluded from mainstream academic institutions and organizations, but from mainstream society itself—"Ethiopia"[1] and Egypt were essential elements in reclaiming their history and establishing proof of their humanity in the context of a world system that sought to deny them both.

This article will examine how the racial bias embedded in the conceptual orientation of early Egyptology manifested in the theories, interpretations, and practices of the study of ancient Nubia and Egypt. Secondly, it will examine the efforts of late-19th and early-20th-century Black writers and

historians to produce counternarratives that situated Nubia and Egypt back in their African contexts. Finally, it will address the obstructionist behaviors, i.e., "gatekeeping," of mainstream scholars to undermine the work and reputations of Black scholars in an effort to prevent or limit who was allowed into mainstream circles of academic thought.

Nubia entered the field of academic inquiry during the formative stages of the humanities and social sciences. The late 19th–early 20th century witnessed the coalescing and birth of many of the current academic disciplines,[2] and due to Nubia and Egypt's shared prehistories and their close geographical, historical, and cultural affiliations, the early study of the Nubian past naturally fell within the burgeoning field of Egyptology.

Egyptology, anthropology, and archaeology all emerged from the same intellectual matrix of Enlightenment ideas and questions regarding the constitution of societies,[3] and their general research questions often overlapped. One of early anthropology's primary objectives was to make the new lands outside of Europe "legible." European exploration, trade, and colonization exposed non-European societies to the gaze of the Western world, and the lifestyles, practices, and even the appearance of these people were deemed foreign and, thus, "illegible." Anthropologists sought to analyze and describe these foreign peoples, cultural practices, and social formations through the development and testing of theories that would help them evaluate and explain how and why these societies differed from their own. Thus, they were making the illegible legible by using Europe as the frame of reference.

As Egyptological knowledge increased through excavations and linguistic decipherment, early Egyptologists began uncovering the lifeways and burial customs of the various populations that occupied the Nile Valley throughout history. They also gained access to the events, places, and people of the ancient world as perceived, or at least as recorded, by the ancient Egyptians. More importantly, these pioneering Egyptologists also assumed the responsibility of interpreting the significance of the textual and archaeological material that they were uncovering and of using their interpretations to construct the official narratives of Egyptian and Nubian history.

In Britain, early Egyptology was closely aligned with the developing field of anthropology.[4] Believing in the inherent anthropological nature of their new science, British Egyptologists, such as Griffith, professed that ancient Egypt could provide answers to many of anthropology's questions about human, cultural, and social development:

> Egyptology is ... a prolific branch of the great science of anthropology, probably destined to illuminate the general history of mankind more searchingly and powerfully than the anthropology of a hundred other countries. Here, theories can be put to the test of facts.[5]

Consequently, many founding British Egyptologists, such as Petrie, Griffith, and Sayce, were actively engaged in early anthropological discourse through their active membership, and even leadership, in anthropology societies and regular publication in their journals.[6]

In the United States, the line between Egyptology and anthropology was less direct. James Henry Breasted's introduction of a philological approach to Egyptological study in the U.S. was the result of his undergraduate training in Semitic languages at Yale and his doctoral training in the Germanic school of Egyptology, which was philologically based.[7] Consequently, the formal study of Egyptology in the U.S. was situated alongside the study of Semitic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, and Akkadian) and, together, they helped to foster the creation of the "Near East" as an intellectual construct[8] whose primary research objective was to glean evidence from ancient inscriptions and texts to support the events and narratives found in biblical texts. This focus on language, however, was largely an academic affair. On the other hand, Egyptian archaeology in the U.S. emerged less as an academic concern but rather one based more on a desire of museums and wealthy individuals to assemble world-class collections rivaling those being formed in Europe.

At the turn of the 20th century, Egyptian collections in the U.S. were built through individual collecting, purchases through antiquities markets, or through a division of finds based on subscriptions paid to the British Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) or Petrie's separate research fund[9] to support their excavations.[10] In the year following the EEF's founding in London in 1882, the U.S. formed its own branch, and within seven years, the U.S. branch was the EEF's largest financial contributor.[11] However, a disagreement between the president of the U.S. branch, William Winslow, and the main EEF

leadership resulted in Winslow's ouster. In retaliation, he convinced the majority of the U.S. members to leave the organization, taking their wealth with them.[12] This opened the way for these donors to begin funding their own expeditions. Some used this as an opportunity to hire British Egyptologists with excavation experience.[13] For others, it provided the opportunity to invest in the cultivation of Egyptian archaeologists from the U.S. In the case of Phoebe Hearst, her selection of George Reisner to direct her funded excavation paved the way for this young Semitic- and Egyptian-language scholar[14] to transition from linguistic studies to archaeology and become one of the world's foremost Nile Valley archaeologists.[15]

Even though they began along different paths, both branches of U.S. Egyptology made use of anthropological theory just like their British counterparts. While many early Egyptologists did not use theory to guide their methodologies, they certainly made use of anthropological theories as the framework for their interpretations of Egyptian archaeological material and the historical narratives based on inscriptional data.

Just as Griffith believed that Egyptology was, at its core, anthropology and that it could be used to answer anthropological questions, Breasted regarded Egyptology as a form of history and believed that Egyptian inscriptional data provided a narrative of history that could be used as the basis for writing a history of humankind.[16] However, an examination of Breasted's theoretical approach to history, and thus his approach to historiography, shows that it was based on an evolutionary theory of humankind passing along a trajectory of development and progress.

> This association [between archaeologists and geologists] brings us orientalists into intimate relations with natural science [archaeology and geology], for we carry on the work of research in the Near Orient, having, on the one hand, early prehistoric man *preceding* ancient Oriental civilization, and, on the other hand, historic Europe *following* the ancient Orient. The early Oriental civilizations thus occupy a place between the remote savagery of prehistoric Europe and the civilized career of historic Europe beginning in Greece and Italy (italics in the original).[17]

What also becomes clear is that Breasted's theory of social evolution itself was predicated on the notion of Europe's social, cultural, and biological superiority. This is evident in the revised edition of his high-school history text, *Ancient Times*.

In the second edition of *Ancient Times*, Breasted created what Ambridge calls a "racial geography" of the world[18] by introducing the concept of "the Great White Race." For Breasted, this included the inhabitants of Europe, Egypt, Lower Nubia, and western Asia, the occupants of "the Northwest Quadrant." South of this quadrant was "the Black Race," and to its east, "the Mongoloid or Yellow Race."[19] In this text alone, Breasted used theories of social evolution (savagery-barbarism-civilization), diffusion (civilization passing from the "Orient" to Europe), and racial hierarchy ("the Great White Race") to construct a geographical space that became reified as "the Near East." Thus, a geographical space was given a conceptual identity and overlaid with socially constructed categories of race, thereby conflating geographical, conceptual, and social constructs into a bounded racialized space. However, Breasted was not alone in his production of racialized space, nor was he the only one classifying the ancient Egyptians as European or White.[20] Such conceptual framings fit within a much larger European philosophy of anthropology and history, articulated in the 18th century by Hume and Kant[21] and, most notably, in the early 19th century by Georg Hegel, which stated that Africa and Africans, i.e., "Blacks," had no history and did not constitute a productive part of either the ancient or the modern world.

> [Africa] is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it ... belong to the Asiatic or European World. What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World's History.[22]

Racialized theories of social and human evolution, hierarchies of racial character, and biological and mental fitness developed within anthropology were used to naturalize international economies of power, social inequalities, and structures of dominance. This naturalization, in turn, furthered European colonial

projects by providing a justifiable basis for the commoditization and trade in human beings, the perpetuation of the institution of enslavement, and the colonial domination of foreign peoples, lands, and resources. The combination of scientific racism and colonial mindset found within anthropology permeated all areas of the humanities and social sciences, and this is the intellectual environment within which Egyptological approaches and theories were developed. That is not to suggest that early Egyptologists were only unwitting borrowers of racist theory, for there were some who were actively involved in supplying the "scientific" means (Petrie, Gliddon),[23] data, and interpretations (G.E. Smith, Morton)[24] for supporting theories of racialized biological difference and eugenics.[25] However, Egyptologists' use of these anthropological theories allowed for the West's, the academy's, and their own personal racial biases to become woven into the framing and interpretation of Egyptian and, soon, Nubian history.

Given the social and intellectual environments into which Nubia was introduced in the modern world of academic inquiry, how could the convergence of skin color, phenotype, and stereotype with the modern conception of race not affect Egyptologists' perspective of the Nubian past? Analyzing the archaeological and inscriptional data related to the Nubians, while simultaneously processing this data through the prism of 19th- and 20th-century views of the world and its social order, and considering the dark skin with which the Nubians were portrayed in both Egyptian and Nubian art, Egyptologists soon developed a trans-historical narrative that cast Egypt in the role of social and cultural benefactor to the unenlightened Nubians. As Reisner stated:

> "Wretched Nubia," as the Egyptians called it, was thus at first a part of Egypt. After the First Dynasty, *it was only an appendage of the greater country, and its history is hardly more than an account of its use or neglect by Egypt,* its enrichment or impoverishment by changes of the Nile and the climate (emphasis mine).[26]

Thus, Nubia entered the field of scholarly analysis not just as an object of study, but as a subjugated object of study, and the interpretive basis of this first phase of Egyptological research was to discover the ways in which Nubia had served Egypt's interests. Bruce Trigger's "Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology"[27] provides a compelling historical meta-analysis of Nubian archaeological interpretations. Placing interpretive approaches within historical phases, he demonstrates how the changing economic interests of the rising middle class in Europe influenced their opinion of the ethnically and racially different people who were interpolated in their economic affairs, how those opinions seeped into and became a part of anthropological and archaeological theories, and how those theories, in turn, were reflected in the interpretations and approaches to Nubian archaeological material.

Interpreting the Egyptians' depictions of the dark-skinned Nubians as representative of an inferior biological and racialized "Other," Egyptologists used anthropological theories of evolution, culture history, diffusion, and migration to conceptualize their presuppositions that Nubian culture was merely an adulterated form of Egyptian culture[28] whose civilization, crafts, and statehood were brought to Nubia by the Egyptians[29] and whose rise and fall was due, respectively, to the Nubians' admixture with "Caucasian" Egyptians from the north or "Black/Negro" African populations from the south.[30] However, the creation of a category of "otherness" was not a sufficient solution to the Nubian problem. For, in the minds of Egyptologists, while the Nubians were deemed to have not been as advanced as the Egyptians, they were at least capable of "imitating" this advanced society. Moreover, this "debased" copy proved itself capable of rising up and assuming rulership over the original. This was the intellectual conundrum Egyptologists faced, theorizing within the context of a world-system that had enslaved and colonized people from the African continent who shared the same dark skin with which the Nubians were portrayed on royal monuments in both Egypt and Nubia.

The scientific racism that provided the ethical justifications for enslavement, the slave trade, colonialism, and all of their attending exploitations also imposed and reinforced limits on what was "thinkable" within contemporaneous modes of Western thought. Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past* is instructive for its illustration of how the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804 was "unthinkable" for European intellectuals within the context of Western philosophical thought and the period of

European colonialism and enslavement in the Americas. This "unthinkability" by Western scholars left the Haitian Revolution unremarked, unwritten, and hence, intentionally silenced,[31] at least in mainstream academic archives.[32] Likewise, for Egyptologists and anthropologists, it was unthinkable that any indigenous African people, including the then colonized people of Sudan, who Reisner derisively described as "a population sunk to a half savage state,"[33] would have a connection to the ancient people who overtook and ruled a powerful state that previously had colonized it, for making the concession of Africanity to the ancient Nubians who ruled Egypt would challenge the limits of what was deemed possible for African people to achieve in their own time. This paradox resulted in the creation of another racial/linguistic category to produce yet another classification of "otherness" for the Nubians, this time from other Africans. The Hamite Theory[34] grew to include the Nubians within its purview.[35] This theory was most popularly articulated by doctor-turned-ethnologist Charles Seligman in his 1930 work, *The Races of Africa*.

Relying on the work of Grafton Elliot Smith and Douglas Derry, previously mentioned for their work studying the skeletal remains of Petrie's and Reisner's Egyptian excavations as well as the Nubian Archaeological Surveys,[36] Seligman stated that the Hamites, whom he classified as "pastoral Caucasians," had migrated into Africa in waves going back to "the pluvial period." In each migration, the Hamites, being "better armed as well as quicker witted than the dark agricultural Negroes," displaced the native population. At the beginning of each new migration wave, the mixed-race descendants of the previous migration, who while "superior to the pure Negro, would be regarded with disdain by the next incoming wave of Hamites," were "pushed further inland to play the part of an incoming aristocracy *vis à vis* the Negroes on whom they impinged."[37] Seligman claimed that the Predynastic Egyptians and their contemporaries in Lower Nubia were both of this Hamitic race, but that by the Middle Kingdom, the Nubians had become "a hybrid population, blending the characters of Egyptian, Negro, and Beja ... that has in the main persisted in Nubia to the present day."[38] Although speaking a Sudanic language, the Nubians "must be regarded as predominantly Hamitic."[39]

Prior to Seligman's declaration of the Hamitic nature of the Nubians, anthropologists and Egyptologists had already distinguished the Nubians as "non-Negro," something that had been debated earlier with regard to the Egyptians. Craniometry was used, with mixed and often contradictory results, to challenge the assessment of French scholars and several early Egyptologists, such as Caton-Thompson, that the indigenous Egyptians had been "Brown" or with "Negroid elements."[40] According to Thompson, Grafton Elliott Smith "was aghast at the suggestion that the ancient Egyptians were of negroid origin and rejected it out of hand, but the Nubians presented a complex problem."[41] Establishing one of the epistemological bases upon which Nubian research and analysis would be grounded, Reisner declared that "the Ethiopian [Nubian] has never been a negro, although dark-coloured, but of a mixed race made up of different elements in different ages."[42] Further, Hermann Junker stated that no Blacks or Negroes were represented in the Egyptian or Nubian archaeological record until the Egyptian New Kingdom period.[43] Yet, this distinction between the "'dark-coloured,' 'mixed race' Hamite" and "the Negro" ran counter to the racial policy that ruled the political, legal, economic, and social lives of Blacks in the United States and other parts of the world. Thus, several men and women of African descent challenged what they viewed to be illogical, racially motivated attempts to dissociate Nubians from Africans while, simultaneously, belittling the Nubians' own cultural histories. As one of the platforms for fighting against the racism that affected their daily lives, these writers and historians confronted the academic and scientific racism that denied African people any role in history by exposing the contradictions in these historical narratives and offering counternarratives that restored African people to their place in world history.[44]

As the fight for the abolition of slavery moved into the realm of public debate, Black ministers began publishing challenges to the particular version of the Hamite Theory that was being used to justify the enslavement and inferior status allotted to Blacks. The "Hamite Curse" was based on the biblical story of Noah whose nakedness his son Ham observed and broadcast to his two brothers.[45] Pro-slavery ministers interpreted Noah's subsequent curse as a pronouncement against Ham that marked his descendants with dark skin and condemned them to a life of servitude.[46]

Confronting this misreading of biblical text and the incongruous application of the Hamite Theory—on the one hand, a curse to justify the enslavement of "Negroes," on the other hand, an anthropological theory to support the "non-Negroid" nature of the Egyptians and Nubians—Black ministers and writers such as Alexander Crummell, the Caribbean Pan-Africanist Edward Wilmot Blyden,[47] Martin Delany, and Rufus Perry did not question the Hamite genealogy assigned to the Kushites but, rather, embraced it. In a turn not envisioned by those espousing the North Africans' Hamitic lineage, these writers designated Ham as the forefather of not only the Egyptians and the Kushites, but of all African people.[48] Their critiques focused on the intentional misinterpretation of the relevant passage of scripture by calling attention to the fact that the curse was pronounced explicitly against Ham's son—Canaan,[49] the father of the Canaanites and the one son with no relation to Africa. As Crummell states, "of all the sons of Ham, *Canaan was the only one who never entered Africa*.... Africa was peopled by Ham in the line of his *three* sons, CUSH [Nubia], MIZRAIM [Egypt], and PHUT [Libya]" (italics and capitalization in the original).[50] Crummell went on to challenge the notion that Africans were condemned to perpetual enslavement because of "the Curse" by pointing out the fact that the Western mode of chattel slavery was an entirely new and brutal form of enslavement forced upon African peoples and that this had never been the historical condition under which any African people had ever lived. He further noted that Europeans themselves had not been exempt from enslavement:

> [I]f the general existence of slavery in a race, or among a people, is to be taken as an indication that a curse has descended upon them, then the mass of the Turks, Poles, Russians, Circassians, are therefore "doomed races." And in the same category the larger portion of every Anglo-Saxons must be placed; for, but a short time since, a multitude of Britons were absolutely "goods and chattels," under the name of "villeins."[51]

Such inconsistencies tended to be ignored, but Crummell referenced one minister who had previously addressed the Ham-Canaan discrepancy in order to illustrate the lengths to which pro-slavery ministers would go to preserve the curse's racial effect. Whether guided by his own genuinely held belief or the unrelenting desire to maintain an ethical justification for a system of racial domination and oppression, the 18th-century British scholar and minister Thomas Newton declared the discrepancy to be the result of scribal error.

> May we not suppose, therefore, ... that the copyist by mistake wrote only *Canaan*, instead of *Ham the father of Canaan ... And he said, Cursed be* Ham the father of *Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.... and* Ham the father of *Canaan shall be servant to them*" (italics in the original).[52]

> It was a mistake, therefore, to say that Ham never subdued Shem or Japheth. It is enough if he hath generally and for much the greatest part of time been a servant to them, as he really hath been for two or three thousand years, and continues at present.... We might almost as well say (as some have said) that the complexion of the blacks was in consequence of Noah's curse.[53]

Whereas Crummell was writing during the time of the fight to abolish slavery in the U.S. and the leadup to the Civil War, by the time Blyden published "The Negro in Ancient History" in 1869, the institution of slavery had been legally abolished, Union forces had won the Civil War, and the short-lived period of Reconstruction had begun. Yet, Blyden understood that the racial theories that had justified enslavement continued to justify racial and social inequality in the U.S. and all of the colonies of the European powers. Hence, Blyden engaged in an extensive analysis of the Greek and biblical sources around the issue of Ham and Canaan, as well as the historical relations of the Nile Valley and west Asian kingdoms of the ancient world, while demonstrating his knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages.

Reflecting the transition from theological to more "scientific" arguments in anthropology, Martin Delany used his medical knowledge[54] to integrate the genetics of his day with biblical and Greek sources to advance a monogenetic theory of the unity of humankind and provide an explanation for the difference in pigmentation between races.[55] In Delany's *Principia of Ethnology*, Beatty finds a direct counter to the "science" of Josiah Nott, Samuel

Morton, and, in particular, George Gliddon, who were the main proponents of "race science" and eugenics in the U.S.[56] Still utilizing a biblical framework, however, Delany integrated the epigraphic material with the biblical texts and concluded that Ham, Mizraim, and Cush ruled over a united Nile Valley kingdom, with Ham and Mizraim presiding over Egypt, and Cush presiding over "Ethiopia."[57] According to Beatty, Delany's Egyptian translations were his own based upon the hieroglyphic transcriptions published by Gliddon in *Ancient Egypt*,[58] and while there were errors, which was common at this stage of Egyptian philology, this distinguishes Delany as the first African-American to translate and publish an Egyptian text. [59]

The year 1883 saw the publication of George Washington Williams' *The History of the Negro Race in America*, one of the first histories of Blacks in the U.S. In this work, Williams moved beyond the time and condition of slavery in the Americas to reconnect Blacks in the U.S. to an African past and reconnect the histories of Nubia and Egypt to the larger history of the continent of Africa. While he spent the first chapter dealing with the Noah-Ham-Canaan question, his motivation was scientific. Like Delany, Williams was implicitly engaging the monogenetic vs. polygenetic debate over human evolution that was happening in anthropology.[60] Thus, his chapter-long focus was designed not to prove "that Ham and Canaan were the progenitors of the Negro races,[61]—for that is admitted by the most consistent enemies of the black,—but that the human race is *one,* and that Noah's curse was not a divine prophecy."[62]

Slightly later, in Paris, a work that has experienced renewed interest after its recent translation into English was published by the Haitian lawyer-scholar Anténor Firmin.[63] A member of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris, Firmin published *De l'égalité des races humaines* in 1885, in direct response to Comte de Gobineau's 1853 *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. Gobineau asserted that there were three races of humans, with the white race being superior to the black and yellow races, but that even within the white race there was a hierarchy of character and ability, with the Aryans at the top. He also maintained that there were moral and intellectual characteristics innate to each race and that civilizations declined and fell when the races became mixed. [64] Firmin not only challenged Gobineau's theses, including his charge about the innately fixed character and imperfectability of the human races; he also challenged the dominant anthropological methods of racial classification and characterization, including the use of craniometry and other osteological metrics, such as theories of the monogenetic vs. polygenetic debate over human evolution and theories of racial and ethnic hierarchies, all of which were used to "study" Black and other non-Western peoples and societies of his day, particularly his native Haiti. Further, he challenged anthropological and Egyptological approaches used to distinguish Egypt and "l'Éthiopie" as non-African—approaches steeped in the same intellectual bias of African inferiority[65]—by using Greek sources to support his claim of their inherent Africanity and, consequently, to refute the premise of African inferiority.

Drusilla Dunjee Houston's 1926 *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire* is not only an example of early Black historiography, but it also serves as an example of the numerous obstacles African Americans faced in gaining access to the tools for knowledge production. Living in early 20th-century Oklahoma, one would not expect any person to have ready access to the latest archaeological field reports, since most of the major centers were located on the East Coast, with the exception of the Oriental Institute in Chicago. Tulsa's public library did, however, house many of the classical Greek histories and, most importantly, had the ability to request books from other libraries for its patrons.

Houston's father had been an influential educator and missionary who counted among his friends Fredrick Douglass and the second Black U.S. senator, Blanche K. Bruce.[66] Upon his death, he left a sizeable library in which Houston began her research. Yet, she still lacked many of the sources that she required, particularly the archaeological reports. As an African American, she was barred from the Tulsa public library and all of its patron services. Hence, in order to carry on this work, she was forced to incur the immense financial burden of purchasing many of the books for her research, including those readily available at the public library. She also bore the additional burden of self-financing the publication of her completed work.[67]

Houston's *Wonderful Ethiopians* represents the only full-length, historical work of this genre solely dedicated to the analysis of the ancient "Ethiopians."[68] Houston relied heavily upon Greek classical histories that attributed an African or "Negroid" character to both the Egyptians and

Nubians, and advanced Nubia as the origin of Egypt's civilization. She moved beyond these arguments to posit "the Cushites" as the progenitors of nearly all of the world's ancient civilizations, including Egypt, Phoenicia, Arabia, Chaldea (Mesopotamia), India, and Persia, and as the foundation of the civilizations of Greece, Rome, and North and Meso-America.[69] In support of her arguments, she also used the histories, chronologies, and archaeological reports of her time and referenced Petrie, Sayce, and Reisner as freely as she referenced Herodotus and Diodorus.[70]

Many of the theories espoused by Houston had been raised eight years earlier by George Wells Parker. Parker published *The Children of the Sun*[71] through his organization, the Hamitic League of the World, in Omaha, Nebraska. Although lacking the breadth and detail of Houston's later work, Parker took on the "Hamite" mantle in this thirty-one-page pamphlet and argued for the primacy of Nubian civilization in world history and as the basis for the ancient world's other civilizations. What is interesting is the similarity of ideas articulated by Parker and Houston, who were both active figures in the Great Plains region of the United States. Parker toured and gave lectures in his capacity as founding member of the Hamitic League of the World and published pieces on ancient history in the league's publication, *The Crusader*. Houston wrote for various African-American newspapers either directly, as with her brother's *The Black Dispatch* in Oklahoma City, or through syndication with the Associated Negro Press.[72] While neither Parker nor Houston referenced the other as an influence, it is evident that the ideas they both expressed were the outcome of larger discussions taking place in Black newspapers and publications, as well as in salons, lectures, and other formal and informal gatherings where Blacks were sharing and debating their own ideas, as well as those that were brought into their communities by train.[73]

In analyzing these early counternarratives, there are several shortcomings. First, most of these counternarratives relied heavily upon Greek sources as the basis for their arguments. Unfortunately, this meant incorporating the errors found in these Greek writings, such as the view that "civilization" began in Meroë and later moved into Egypt, or that Ham was deified as the Egyptian god Amun (Jupiter-Ammon). They also showed a tendency for incorporating the trope of the "blameless Æthiopian," which presented an overly romanticized view of Nubian culture and history.[74] Finally, by using the same anthropological, archaeological, and Egyptological theories as the mainstream academicians against whose interpretations they were arguing, such as diffusion and cultural superiority, some of the interpretations found in these counternarratives fell prey to the same fate of theoretical outdatedness as their Egyptological counterparts. However, this does not diminish the impact of their efforts to counter mainstream disciplinary and interpretive biases, especially given the fact that the only tools they had at their disposal were the works produced by the academics against whom they were fighting. Efforts to keep Black scholars from producing their own primary work is a topic that will be addressed later. For now, we turn to the most formidable critique against African historical decentering. Exposing the bias at the conceptual and theoretical levels within Egyptology, this critical analysis came from an African American who has come to be regarded as one of the most influential scholars of the 20th century, W. E. B. Du Bois.

While Du Bois is not often associated with ancient history, in his three works of African history, each serving as a revised, updated version of its predecessor, he used archaeological and historical sources to create a historical counternarrative for both Egypt and Nubia. *The Negro* in 1915, followed by *Black Folk, Then and Now* in 1939, and *The World and Africa* in 1947, each used the most current research to correct and further elaborate his approach to African history. These works were important not only for their impact on the succeeding generation of Black historians and writers[75] but also for the epistemological challenges that they presented to the prevailing historical narratives.

Du Bois's first challenge dealt with the contradiction implicit in the Hamite Theory, which was the definition of "the Negro":

> "What is a Negro?" We find the most extraordinary confusion of thought and difference of opinion. There is a certain type in the minds of most people which, as David Livingstone said, can be found only in caricature and not in real life. When scientists have tried to find an extreme type of black, ugly, and woolly-haired Negro, they have been compelled more and more to limit his home even in Africa. At least nine-

> tenths of the African people do not at all conform to this type, and the typical Negro, after being denied a dwelling place in the Sudan, along the Nile, in East Central Africa, and in South Africa, was finally given a very small country between the Senegal and the Niger, and even there was found to give trace of many stocks. As Winwood Reade says, "The typical Negro is a rare variety even among Negroes."
>
> As a matter of fact we cannot take such extreme and largely fanciful stock as typifying that which we may fairly call the Negro race. In the case of no other race is so narrow a definition attempted....
>
> In fact it is generally recognized to-day that no scientific definition of race is possible.[76]

In *Black Folk, Then and Now*, he summarized the effect of this contradiction on the historiography of Sudan:

> in Ethiopia and in what is known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, we have pre-eminently a land of the black race from prehistoric times; and yet today by a narrow and indefensible definition the connection even of Ethiopia with Negro history is denied; while the Sudan is left as a sort of historical no man's land, and is regarded now as Arabian, now as Egyptian, now as "Hamitic," and always as not worth careful investigation and study. Its events have been misinterpreted and its heroes, like the Mahdi, maligned and written down as the cause of that very misery and turmoil against which they rebelled and fought. Such at the hands of modern science has been the fate.[77]

Secondly, Du Bois was explicit in his challenge to the authority given to the interpretations offered by Egyptologists:

> I feel now as though I were approaching a crowd of friends and enemies, who ask a bit breathlessly, whose and whence is the testimony on which I rely for something that even resembles Authority? To which I return two answers: I am challenging Authority—even Maspero, Sayce, Reisner, Breasted, and hundreds of other men of highest respectability, who did not attack but studiously ignored the Negro on the Nile and in the world and talked as though black folk were nonexistent and unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who never heard of Africa or declare with Guernier *"Seule de tous les continents l'Afrique n'a pas d'histoire!* [Alone of all the continents, Africa has no history]."[78]

Finally, understanding the value of the archaeo-l ogical data Egyptologists were uncovering, Du Bois expressed the importance of not only critically evaluating their archaeological interpretations, but also of being able to view the data separate from their interpretations:

> The works of Sir Ernest Budge, George A. Reisner, A. H. Sayce, and F.L. Griffith have naturally been of use when they were not indulging their opinions about Negroes.[79]

Thus, Du Bois understood that, while the work of these early Egyptologists was important, necessary, and even laudable, the ever-present racial biases that shaped their thinking, in conscious and unconscious ways, also affected how they approached, interpreted, and narrativized the Nubian and Egyptian material that they encountered.

In analyses of the role of racial bias in Egyptology, little attention has been given to the efforts and effects to exclude Black scholars from both the theorization of the ancient Nile Valley and from the actual work of early Egyptology. Not only did these scholars have to confront the general, impersonal bias found in Egyptological and anthropological theory, some also had to experience the direct, personal bias wielded by those with academic and institutional influence to ensure that they remained outside of the academic mainstream. Revealing these biases are important for understanding the additional layer of racial preconception that early Egyptologists brought into their interpretations as well as their historiographical approaches. The cases of Du Bois and Hansberry are illustrative of the role that personal racial bias and "gatekeeping" practices played in keeping university-trained Blacks from entering these fields and even from entering into constructive debates over approaches to the study and interpretation of Africa's ancient past.

In the May 1912 issue of *The Crisis*, the monthly publication of the NAACP for which Du Bois served as editor, Du Bois published a correspondence exchange between Flinders Petrie and himself.[80] This exchange was initiated by Petrie, who wrote to inform Du Bois that he had never understood "the Negro problem" in the United States until reading Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*. After establishing his credentials as "an anthropologist and historian," Petrie proceeded to draw a parallel between U.S. race relations and the relations between the British and the Egyptians in Egypt. He first spoke to the cultural and social segregation that existed between the British and Egyptians, followed by his own personal observations and experiences on his worksites. Speaking in the most unflattering terms, he described "the natives" as dishonest and cheats and, after talking about the firm hand that he had to use to get them to work, he concluded his reflection by stating that while "some technical and trade teaching and hygiene would benefit all," it would not be profitable to provide any additional education. More education

> produces a moral deterioration. Little ignoramuses, who are far below the ability of a small shopkeeper in England, will generally assume a complete equality, if not superiority, with a well-educated Englishman.[81]

Reserving a portion of his disdain for some of his fellow Brits (he was a eugenicist, after all), he continued:

> I often think that in England and elsewhere we most need in colleges a professor of ignorance, whose sole business would be showing the vast void in general knowledge, making students know how little they know, running over all the subjects that are not taught and making it felt how vast they are.[82]

Giving Petrie the benefit of the doubt that he was not engaging in an obtuse personal attack on the Harvard PhD-holding, University of Berlin-educated Du Bois, we move to the heart of his letter in which he offered his suggestion for the solution to "the Negro problem" in the U.S.: that Blacks be given a purely vocational education,[83] that they have no involvement in politics,[84] and that there be a geographical segregation of the races.[85] This last item was to be effected through the government buyout of whites in the state in which their population was lowest, for the purpose of creating the first of several all-Black southern states run by "successful Negroes of the North," where, of course, they would not be involved in politics, at least not until the state was economically successful.[86]

In his measured, tactful response, Du Bois did not make an issue of disagreeing with Petrie's foundational claims but rather focused his rebuttal on each of Petrie's conclusions. In what was probably the most personally felt part of his response, Du Bois addressed Petrie's argument against fully educating societies' disadvantaged by stating that if his parents had followed such advice, "I should not be having the pleasure of communicating with you now. On the contrary, I should probably be the victim of that 'manner' which you use to your underlings in Egypt."[87]

While Petrie felt no compunction about making such comments to such a highly educated Black man, Du Bois could not but feel the weight of the accusation against him, as acting and urging others to act above their place in society. In Petrie's mind, he was merely offering helpful advice:

> I should be very sorry to appear as if defending a state of feelings and relations which I was only describing to you in order to point out that it is general, and not peculiar to your difficulties . I do not wish, therefore, to be put forward as opposed to any of the activities which you so earnestly desire.[88]

For Du Bois, however, it was the same prejudice that he was accustomed to receiving from White men in the U.S., whether educated or not. This kind of bias, in the guise of paternalism, was the form most often taken by White scholars in their dealings with Black scholars. In this case, Petrie's observations had no real impact on Du Bois's life or work. In other cases, paternalism, combined with pretensions to moral intellectual superiority, served to reinforce the structural imbalances within the academy that granted White scholars the power to arbitrate intellectual worth. This "gatekeeping" power also gave them the ability to control who entered the discipline, who gained access to the tools of primary knowledge

production, and who received significant foundation awards and grants. In other words, the power of authority was used to engage in a form of intellectual and disciplinary gatekeeping that prevented non-White voices from participating in the formation of conceptual and disciplinary research spaces and the creation of authoritative historical narratives.

In her 2018 presidential address to the African Studies Association (ASA), Jean Allman led her colleagues in the uncomfortable task of critically examining the history of the organization and the field of African studies to assess the reasons for their respective lack of diversity, reasons that other scholars raised in the past but that the discipline and organization still had not addressed.[89] In the course of her speech, Allman leveled a critique against the founders of African studies and the ASA for engaging in practices and erecting institutional barriers that effectively prevented Black scholars and Black institutions from participating in the formation and development of the discipline. At the heart of this discussion was Melville Herskovits, the purported "Father of African Studies."

Herskovits is well recognized for his research and advocacy promoting the study of African culture and history, yet his efforts to marginalize, silence, and even exclude Black scholars are only recently coming to light. For this, Allman cites Jerry Gershenhorn's *Melville J. Herskovits and the Racial Politics of Knowledge*, which analyzes Herskovits's role in the development of African studies in the United States within the context of competing racial ideologies and race-based politics in the U.S. In particular, Gershenhorn highlights the problematic relationship that Herskovits had with Black scholars at HBCUs (historically Black colleges and universities). Excluded from teaching positions at PWIs (predominantly White institutions), Black scholars developed their own pedagogical and epistemological approaches to history, and more importantly, they were actively engaged in the study of African history decades before White scholars deemed Africa worthy of study.[90]

The critiques of Allman and Gershenhorn are important to Egyptology in two ways. First, the instances of Herskovits's gatekeeping that they both describe were part of a much larger current within mainstream academia that effectively excluded Black and other non-White scholars from its ranks and deprived them of the tools and funding for conducting their own primary research. Second, their critiques provide a basis for analyzing how these obstructionist interventions in African studies had disciplinary consequences for both African Studies and Egyptology by reifying the epistemological, theoretical, and methodological divisions between them. In essence, the inclusion of Black scholars, rather than their purposeful exclusion, would have produced a disciplinary configuration far different from what we see at present.

Despite Herskovits's career of demonstrating the existence and worth of African cultures through his research,[91] his earlier efforts to discredit biological determinism,[92] and his own personal stance against racism,[93] Gershenhorn and Allman show that Herskovits also was actively engaged in maintaining the "White gaze" in the study of Africa and surreptitiously undermining the work and efforts of Black scholars. On the basis that White U.S. scholars were neither connected by blood nor past colonial affiliations to Africa, since the U.S. had held no colonies there, Herskovits promoted their work in Africa as being the most "objective," ignoring the ever-present racial bias that made objectivity impossible.[94] Moreover, as he was regarded as an "expert on the Negro" by the heads of philanthropic foundations, Herskovits used his influence to propagate his vision of African studies and deny access to the Black intellectuals who failed to fit his vision.

> Herskovits's use of his growing authority with the foundations to advance the study of people of color, however, was mitigated by his paternalism toward black scholars.... Although he wanted to include blacks in academia, he was usually unwilling to relinquish his dominant position or support an activist agenda that would confront societal restrictions on black scholars....
>
> In addition to his paternalism, Herskovits's strict adherence to his own notion of objectivist, detached scholarship and his desire to direct the field of Negro studies brought him into conflict with the leading black scholar-activists of the time, Carter Woodson and W.E.B. Du Bois. Herskovits accused Woodson and Du Bois of engaging in polemics and falling short of scholarly standards of objectivity.... Neither Du Bois nor Woodson shrank from challenging black inferiority as scholars and as activists. But as blacks challenging black inferiority, they

were often labeled propagandists whose objectivity was in question.[95]

This gatekeeping barred them not only from entering into dialogue about the formation and direction of African studies, but it also prevented them from receiving funding to develop their own vision of African studies at their respective HBCUs[96] and for intellectual projects such as Du Bois's *Encyclopedia of the Negro*.[97] These actions against Du Bois are even more problematic given that Herskovits used Du Bois's personal library to complete his dissertation.[98]

The life of William Leo Hansberry is of especial importance in pulling together the disparate threads of HBCU- vs. PWI-centered conceptual approaches and Egyptology vs. African studies in the U.S. prior to the 1960s. Hansberry was the first true Africanist in the United States,[99] but his importance has been obscured, in part because he spent his academic career working in HBCUs rather than in PWIs where high-profile accolades are garnered. Beginning at Straight College (now Dillard University) in 1920 and further elaborated after his move to Howard University in 1922, Hansberry worked toward developing a curriculum of study that centered on Africa.[100] By 1925, when he hosted an international conference on Africa at Howard, Hansberry had developed a full complement of courses that ranged from the Paleolithic through the modern period in Africa,[101] and in that two-year period, over 800 students had taken advantage of these classes.[102] This range demonstrates that Hansberry's conceptual approach to African history was one that encompassed the *longue durée* of human existence on the continent. Thus, the history of ancient African societies, including Egypt and Nubia, were a part of the social developments that various groups of African peoples achieved as they migrated and settled across the African continent.

A second issue that has overshadowed Hansberry's legacy is the fact that he was never able to obtain a doctoral degree. After Hansberry had completed A.B. (history; minor, anthropology) and A.M. (anthropology) degrees from Harvard University, his adviser, the physical anthropologist Earnest Hooton, expressed that there was no one in the United States who knew as much about Africa as Hansberry, and, thus, there was no one qualified to supervise his dissertation.[103] Yet, aside from these issues, his repeated, unsuccessful attempts to secure foundation funding for an African-studies program at Howard,[104] and the professional jealousy and unfamiliarity with scientific advances shown by some of his fellow Howard professors,[105] one particular incident in Hansberry's life stands out as exemplifying how paternalism was used as a subtle form of gatekeeping that prevented, or at least impeded, Black scholars from gaining access to forms of mainstream, primary-knowledge production. In this case, it was used to dissuade Hansberry from participating in an archaeological excavation in the Nile Valley.

The primary reason for Hansberry's acceptance of Howard University's meagerly paid, part-time employment offer over a far better, full-time offer from Atlanta University[106] was Howard's proximity to the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian, and, by a short train ride, Harvard.[107] As he had every intention of acquiring a PhD, Hansberry continued to do research in anticipation of finding a dissertation supervisor. Thus, he stayed abreast of all research in Africa, collecting the latest archaeological and historical data. He also had lantern slides made, photographs reproduced, and archaeological reports copied for use in his classes and public lectures.[108] Given that there were no textbooks on Africa, his collection of sources were the texts that his students read and from which they were taught; thus, he had a second motivation for collecting source materials, and that was the creation of African-history textbooks.[109] Yet, despite all of these efforts, Hansberry understood that the key to creating authoritative historical counternarratives was the ability to formulate viable research questions and to conduct field research in pursuit of answers to those questions. This motivated him to work toward gaining the necessary skills to enable him to integrate his own primary research into his larger scholarly agenda.

Having learned that Oxford University's Francis Ll. Griffith was planning an archaeological expedition to the Upper Nubian temple site of Kawa,[110] Hansberry wrote to Dows Dunham, the assistant curator of Egyptian art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to ask, aside from the skills required for such an expedition (since Dunham had excavated in Sudan with Reisner), whether he thought that being Black would prevent Griffith from accepting him on his excavation team. Hansberry already had an ongoing correspondence with Griffith in the course of his international search for a dissertation super-

visor,[111] so perhaps he did not want to jeopardize their relationship by forcing an uncomfortable response from Griffith. It should be noted that Hansberry also had a relationship with Dunham and Reisner from having taken classes from them at Harvard.[112]

Dunham responded with several reasons why he regarded it to be an unwise idea. His first reasoning was on the basis that Hansberry lacked archaeological experience. Then, he suggested that Hansberry apply as a "working member," accepting whatever tasks he was assigned, the implication being that he should not expect to be an equal member of the team. However, knowing Hansberry's initiative firsthand and that he had time to learn some excavation skills, Dunham stated the real reason for his dissent:

> if I were in charge of such an expedition, I should hesitate long before taking an American Negro on my staff ... I should fear that the mere fact of your being a member of the staff would seriously affect the prestige of the other members and the respect which the native employees would have for them.[113]

According to Harris, Hansberry most likely was not surprised by Dunham's response.[114]

Some would argue that Dunham was not being racist, that he was just a man of his time, but that is precisely the point. The scientific and social racism of the time was so embedded in academia, at both the theoretical and personal levels, that comments or actions made with no overt, conscious racist intent had real, racist affects and effects upon the recipients of those "non-hurt-intending" comments or actions. Even though Dunham concluded his statements with "I feel sure that you know me well enough to realize that I do not say this out of any feeling of race prejudice,"[115] the fact remains that the logic of his assessment and his conclusion were based solely on Hansberry's race, with his ultimate position being one of discouraging this educated, middle-aged Black man's participation in an archaeological excavation that could have provided him with the experience and training to begin his own excavations. Whether consciously or unconsciously, whether planned or without thought, the racist implications and exclusionary effect of Dunham's words upon Hansberry was the same, regardless of his intent. How much Dunham's comments influenced Hansberry's decision is not known. There is no record of a letter from Hansberry to Griffith asking to join his excavation. What is known is that Hansberry was not a member of the excavation, nor is there any mention or reference to him in any of the papers associated with the excavation in Griffith's collected records.[116] What is also known is that he continued his research and acquisition of skills at the University of Chicago, Oxford, and the University of Cairo in the years following the expedition.[117]

Returning to the issue of the disciplinary effect of exclusion of scholars such as Hansberry and Du Bois, when we consider their conceptualizations of African history and Egypt and Nubia's role within it, we can see how different epistemological perspectives can produce vastly different disciplinary and theoretical approaches to research and the knowledge produced. From this alternative position, one can wonder at the logic of establishing the first, formal program of African studies at Northwestern University, in north Cook County, Illinois (Evanston), with no relationship with the country's first program of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, in south Cook County, a mere twenty miles away.

This disciplinary disconnect has and continues to impoverish African studies through its failure to study the *longue durée* of social formations, archaeological and cultural groups, migrations, processes, and change throughout the continent and over the entirety of its history by omitting its earliest polities. Likewise, Egyptology has been impoverished by its failure to adequately study Egypt in relation to, and not in domination of, Nubia, as well as its failure to situate and study both in the context of a larger archaeological, anthropological, historical, and environmental study of the African continent. This raises the additional thought of how differently the interpretations and historical narratives would be if mainstream academics had worked with, collaborated with, or, at least, dialogued with Hansberry, Du Bois, and others, and integrated the kind of holistic epistemological approach to African history put forth by Hansberry instead of actively trying to exclude these scholars and their ideas from mainstream academic thought. As Dunnavant rightly states with regard to African studies, and the same applies for Egyptology,

> Had Hansberry been successful in his attempt to establish an African Studies

> programme, the structure of African studies in America may have been very different with ancient African history and archaeology placed at the centre of the discourse.[118]

In the wake of the UNESCO salvage excavations surrounding the construction of Egypt's Aswan High Dam in the 1960s, a new group of Nubian specialists, Nubiologists, emerged reevaluating the received traditions in Nubian historiography and promoting the study of the Nubian past from a Nubian perspective. Through their efforts to develop new paradigms acknowledging the Africanity of the ancient Nubians and granting them agency in the unfolding of their own history, the bases of all three of Du Bois's critiques have found vindication.

Despite their shortcomings or the fact that their critiques were ignored in mainstream academia, the works of all of these writers and scholars—Crummell, Delany, Williams, Houston, Firmin, Du Bois, Hansberry, John G. Jackson,[119] and others—raised the first substantive critiques against the racial biases inherent in the interpretation of the Nubian archaeological record. In this, they predated the later critiques of Egyptological bias raised by Cheikh Anta Diop, Théophile Obenga, John Henrik Clarke, Jacob Carruthers, and many others.[120] Moreover, their work demonstrated the first real efforts to examine Nubia from its own perspective, foretelling a paradigmatic shift in mainstream academia that would seek to integrate the histories of ancient African societies, such as Nubia, into a larger African historiography.

Since the construction of the Aswan High Dam, Nubiologists have transformed our view of ancient Nubia and its place in African and world history. Their missions have deepened our knowledge of various sites and given us the ability to consider them within the context of the *longue durée* of Nubian and, ultimately, African history. Nile Valley scholars within Egyptology are making an effort to do the same. Yet, as a new generation steps forth to claim the privilege of documenting, evaluating, and writing new Nile Valley histories while reevaluating and rewriting older narratives, it is essential that we remember those who waged the first battles to recenter this history and recognize that their critiques had value and serve as the hidden foundations upon which these new narratives and paradigms are being constructed.

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Notes

1 In classical sources, the Greeks referred to the area south of Egypt as "Æthiopia," not to be confused with modern Ethiopia, which was then known as Axum and, later, Abyssinia. However, these references to Ethiopia are complicated by the fact that Greek and Roman writers also referred to the unexplored areas of Africa as "Æthiopia." These two designations are evident in the accounts of Herodotus (*The Histories* 3.19–25), Diodorus (*Bibliotheca historica* 3), Strabo (*Geography* 17.3), and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 6.35). Török (2014) provides a thorough analysis of Herodotus's conflation and usage of the historical and mythical Ethiopias—"the Two Ethiopias"—as historical and literary devices.

2 Porter 2003.

3 Kuper 2003.

4 Stevenson (2015) provides a detailed analysis of the early connection between Egyptology and anthropology in Britain.

5 From Francis Ll. Griffith's inaugural lecture as Oxford University's first reader in Egyptology (Griffith 1901, 9); also quoted in Stevenson (2015, 25).

6 Prior to starting their own journals, British Egyptologists regularly published in anthropology journals. Even after specialized Egyptology journals appeared in 1913 (*Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*) and 1914 (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and *Ancient Egypt*), they continued to make occasional contributions to anthropology journals. Petrie, Sayce, Randall-MacIver, and others also held the presidency of the Anthropology Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (see Stevenson 2015, 28).

7 Breasted traveled to Germany to study under Adolf Erman and received his doctorate in 1894 from the University of Berlin, becoming the first U.S. citizen to earn a PhD in Egyptology (Ambridge 2010, 70–71).

8 According to Culcasi (2010), as "the Orient" grew from just western Asia to include North Africa, the concept of the "Near East" came to take its place. Following World War II, the Near East was largely supplanted by the modern "Middle East" political project, except in the case of ancient studies, which remained Near Eastern studies. That the Orient, Near East, and Middle East comprise the same core region but can expand or contract based upon intellectual or political projects demonstrates their constructed nature. As Culcasi (2010, 583) states in her

analysis of the Middle East, "world regions are not naturally existing, homogeneous spaces; rather, they are social constructs that are formed and altered in a myriad of discourses."

9 After a disagreement with the EEF, which caused Petrie to leave the organization but subsequently return, he created a new research fund, the Egyptian Research Account for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, that could be used to receive donations to fund his archaeological projects (Thompson 2015, 28–29).

10 Several U.S. museums, such as the Museum of Fine Arts, the Metropolitan Museum, the Oriental Institute, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum, increased their collections through subscriptions to EEF excavations (Thompson 2015, 29, 215).

11 Thompson 2015, 214.

12 Thompson (2015, 214–216) provides a history of the U.S. branch of the EEF and the problems that led to its demise.

13 Oxford-trained David Randall-MacIver and C. Leonard Woolley were appointed curator and assistant curator, respectively, of the Egyptian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1905. Their excavations in Lower Nubia, starting the next year, became the museum's first archaeological project (Wegner 2006).

14 Reisner earned a doctorate in Semitic languages from Harvard in 1893, but before finishing, he traveled to Germany to gain more Semitic language instruction. While there, he studied Egyptian with Erman and Kurt Sethe (Bull 1942). Thompson (2015, 227–229) provides details about Reisner's selection to direct Phoebe Hearst's Egyptian excavations.

15 Untrained in the new field of archaeology, Reisner had the good fortune of being allowed the opportunity to experiment and develop his own field methods and theories of classification (Thompson 2015, 227–229).

16 Ambridge 2010; also see Thompson (2015, 221–222), where he quotes a segment of a letter from Breasted to Alan Gardiner expressing how the requests from historians to write a history of Egypt had forced him to engage Egypt from an historical perspective, and from this vantage point he had become convinced that Egyptologists were placing too much emphasis on philology.

17 Breasted 1919, 290.

18 Ambridge 2012.

19 Breasted 1935, 13; 130.

20 As early as 1901, Petrie theorized that it was a "Dynastic Race" coming into Egypt from the East that created its pharaonic culture. Half a century later, this theory was still being espoused by the anatomist Douglas Derry (1956).

21 Popkin 1999, 511–514. Eze (1995) provides a detailed analysis of Kant's anthropological writings and his theory of race, which, Eze states, modern scholars tend to overlook.

22 Hegel 1991 [1837], 99.

23 Petrie was an active supporter of eugenics. Since Silberman's 1999 publication of "Petrie's Head: Eugenics and Near Eastern Archaeology," Petrie's role in the eugenics movement has been studied extensively by Sheppard (2006; 2008; 2010) and Challis (2013a; 2013b; 2015). In 2011, in commemoration of the centennial of Francis Galton's death, the Petrie Museum held an exhibition entitled "Typecast: Flinders Petrie and Francis Galton." The exhibit examined the relationship between Petrie and Galton (known as "the Father of Eugenics"), Petrie's views on race, and his promotion of eugenics "research" through the provision of skeletal material from his Egyptian excavations. George Gliddon, a proponent of eugenics in the U.S., played a similar role by supplying Egyptian skulls for analysis in the U.S. See Thompson's (2015, 202–205) discussion of Gliddon's role in U.S. Egyptology and in the promotion of white supremacy.

24 Grafton Elliott Smith and his colleagues Frederic Wood Jones and Douglas Derry built reputations in the early field of British physical anthropology based on their analyses of the Egyptian and Nubian skeletal material uncovered in Petrie's and Reisner's excavations. They used this material to develop craniometric and osteological correlates for determining race; this

was then mixed with race theories to argue for white supremacy and black inferiority. Their interpretations provided support for proslavery advocates and eugenicists. In the U.S., anatomist Samuel Morton analyzed the skulls provided by George Gliddon. After Morton's untimely death, analysis was taken over by Josiah Nott. Morton's and Nott's "analyses" found a "servant Negro class" in ancient Egypt. These interpretations were used to support the argument for the natural, historical condition of servitude and inferiority of "the Negro race" (see Thompson 2015, 205–206).

25 Thompson (2015, 202–208) provides an overview of the combination of race science/eugenics with Egyptology in the work of Gliddon, Morton, Josiah Nott, and John Van Evrie.

26 Reisner 1910, 348.

27 Trigger 1994.

28 Reisner 1922.

29 Budge 1902; Breasted 1906; 1908; Griffith 1922; Reisner 1922.

30 Breasted 1908; Sayce 1909. Smith (1915a, 182) makes a similar argument about Egypt, which he classifies as a "Brown Race": "the reality of the far-reaching effects of admixture respectively with a stimulating, virile, white race and a retarding and sensuous black race, to both of which, in varying degrees, Egypt was subjected throughout the whole of her history from the time of the First Dynasty onwards." For Smith, racial admixture and cultural diffusion played a greater role in cultural advancement or decline than evolution because he believed that racial characteristics were fixed and immutable (1915a, 166).

31 Trouillot 1995, 87–95.

32 Dr. William Balan-Gaubert (personal communication, May 2019) calls these "suppressions," for, as in the case of the 19th- and 20th-century Black writers presented in this article, the attempts of French and Western historians to write (or more precisely, not write) the Haitian Revolution out of existence merely forced the creation of an alternative archive in which the history of the revolution was preserved by the Haitian people themselves.

33 Reisner 1921, 62.

34 Also known as the "Hamite Thesis" and the "Hamite Hypothesis."

35 Sanders (1969) analyzes the historical development of the different iterations of the Hamite Theory/Hypothesis. Keane (1885) serves as an early example of its use in the ethnological classification of the Sudanese population, which included "Negroes" and "Hamites."

36 The first survey of Lower Nubia was conducted by Reisner in 1907. The following three seasons of the survey were conducted by C. Mallory Firth. From this, Smith and Derry developed a catalog of racial cranial classifications.

37 Seligman 1930, 157–158.

38 Seligman 1930, 113.

39 Seligman 1930, 112.

40 Sanders (1969, 524–526) traces this debate back to Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt and his scientists' assessment that the ancient Egyptians were "Negroid." The confusing array of craniometric analyses can be seen in Berry et al. 1967. Matić (2018) provides a thorough analysis of the competing theories developed by U.S. and British Egyptologists and eugenicists to de-Africanize and Europeanize the ancient Egyptians and Nubians. Challis (2015, 40–41) discusses the debate between Petrie and Guy Brunton and Gertrude Caton-Thompson over the "race" of the Predynastic Badarians. Petrie classified them as "Caucasian Solutreans" who migrated through western Asia. Brunton, citing Derry's cranial measurements, identified them as having "Negroid tendencies," and Caton-Thompson identified them as being an indigenous Neolithic population.

41 Thompson 2015, 271.

42 Reisner 1922, 195.

43 Junker 1921.

44 In the introduction to the 1970 edition of Du Bois's *The Negro*, Shepperson (1970, xiii–xiv) provides a brief overview of several of these early works.

45 Genesis 9:20–27.

46 See Sanders 1969; Chesebrough 1993.

47 Known as "the Father of Pan-Africanism," Blyden was from the Virgin Islands but was living in Liberia by this time. However, because of his Pan-African beliefs, he was in close correspondence with Blacks in the U.S. and Caribbean who were fighting to abolish slavery and reclaim their self-sovereignty.

48 Crummell 1862; Blyden 1869; Delany 1880; Perry 1893.

49 Genesis 9:25–27; Crummell 1862, 328–338; Delany 1880, 43, 58.

50 Crummell 1862, 338, 342.

51 Crummell 1862, 344.

52 Newton 1832, 11; quoted by Crummell (with modifications) 1862, 329–330.

53 Newton 1832, 15.

54 In 1850, Delany was one of three students admitted as the first Blacks to study at Harvard Medical School, but they were forced to leave at the end of their first semester due to pressure on the administration from some of the white students and faculty. However, in light of his previous experience as a physician's assistant in addition to his semester of medical school training, Delany was allowed to practice medicine in Pittsburgh's Black community (Rollin 1883, 46–47; 68–70; also Sherwood 2003, 35).

55 Delany 1880, 32–42.

56 Beatty 2005–2006.

57 "[I]t is a fact which learned men will not dispute, that in the early settlement of those countries, Egypt and Ethiopia were united kingdoms, under the joint rule of three princes, father and two sons" (Delany 1880, 48). Moreover, according to Delany, Cush became sole ruler of the joint kingdoms after the death of his father and brother. He drew further biblical and historical associations, equating Ham with Ramesses I, deified as Jupiter-Ammon; Mizraim with Ramesses II, deified as "the bull" (Apis?); and Cush with Ramesses III, deified as "the dog" (Anubis) and given the additional title "Osiris" (Delany 1880, 49–50).

58 Beatty cites the 1850 edition of *Ancient Egypt.*

59 Beatty 2005–2006, 85–98.

60 Johann Blumenbach's *De generis humani varietate native*, first presented as a dissertation in 1775, is largely credited with establishing the basis for the racial classification schemes used throughout the social sciences and humanities: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay (1865: 264). An advocate of monogenism, the theory that all humanity derives from the same origin, Blumenbach attributed the differences in races primarily to climate, lifestyle, and subsistence. The previous year, Edward Long published *History of Jamaica*, promoting a version of polygenism that saw Negroes as a separate race from Whites (Smedley and Smedley 2012, 168–169). Polygenism, the theory that the various races constituted separate species of humans having different origins, was furthered in 1799 by Charles White (the "father of anthropometry"), who used Blumenbach's classifications to treat each of the races as separate species of humans along "the Great Chain of Being" (Smedley and Smedley 2012, 228–229). Advocacy of this position meant calling into question the Christian account of humankind's creation by God, resulting in a debate that lasted for well over a century (Smedley and Smedley 2012).

61 This is a break from Crummell. As shown earlier, Crummell saw Canaan as the only one of Ham's family to have no relationship with Africa and, thus, to be non-African.

62 Williams 1885: 12. See Bruce 1984 for a deeper discussion of the historical work of Williams and other African-Americans in the late 19th–early 20th centuries.

63 *De l'égalité des races humaines* was translated into English in 2000. Since then, it has also been republished in French in Paris (2003) and Montreal (2005).

64 Gobineau 1853.

65 Fluehr-Lobban (2000; 2006; 2007) examines the relevance of Firmin's work to later critiques and movements within anthropology. Obenga (2008; 2014) analyzes the ways in which Firmin's critiques of Egyptology anticipated the work of Cheikh Anta Diop by nearly eighty years.

66 Coates 1985, i–ii. Bruce was elected to the U.S. Senate from the State of Mississippi during

Reconstruction.

67 Brooks-Bertram 2007.

68 Although Rufus Perry's *The Cushites or the Descendants of Ham as Found in the Sacred Scriptures* was dedicated to Nubia, as the name implies, his focus was primarily biblical.

69 Houston's theory is reminiscent of Grafton Elliott Smith's hyper-diffusionist/heliocentric theory in which he argued that Egypt was the source of all of the world's early civilizations and, likewise, it was the source of similar cultural traits found around the world (Smith 1915b; 1923). Smith's theory, however, was not generally accepted, in Egyptology, anthropology, or archaeology.

70 While Houston referenced Egyptologists and other scholars of ancient studies and cited the quotes that she included, she did not include citations of many of the sources from which she drew her arguments, nor did she include footnotes or a bibliography. This shortage of references was the main criticism of her contemporaries (Coates 1985; Brooks-Bertram 2007).

71 Interestingly enough, another proponent of hyper-diffusionism, William J. Perry, wrote a book with the same title in 1923. Yet, despite having the same title, the two books were written with very different objectives. Perry's work claimed world supremacy for ancient Egypt but as a white society, whereas Parker work sought to reclaim Egypt and Nubia as African societies.

72 Coates 1985.

73 Parker (living in Omaha, Nebraska), and Houston (having lived in McAlester, Sapulpa, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) were both in close proximity to major train lines. Chicago was the hub for all trains traveling east-west in the northern part of the United States. The main West Coast line, the Pacific, began in Omaha, so people traveling from any part of the East Coast to Chicago would have to stop in Omaha before continuing to the West Coast. This became the basis for Omaha's thriving jazz scene (Love 1997; Otto 2010). Oklahoma City was a stop along the main line running south to Texas—the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe (ATS)—while McAlester was a stop along the Missouri, Kansas and Texas line (MKT). Sapulpa was not far from Tulsa and was a stop for minor lines connecting to both the ATS and MKT lines. Thus, Parker and Houston were both situated in areas where news, knowledge, and intellectual conversations could travel freely (Rand McNally and Company 1921).

74 Coates (1985, ii) quotes J. A. Rogers's review of *Wonderful Ethiopians*, in which he commended Houston's work but stated that she used "too many laudatory adjectives."

75 William Leo Hansberry credited *The Negro* for revealing to him the hidden and suppressed histories of the African continent and for directing him to the source materials necessary for providing the foundation for his lifelong mission of researching and disseminating the history of Africa (Crawford 1961, 65–66; Hansberry 1970). As we will see, Hansberry goes on to create the first program of African studies in the United States. While Coates (1985, i–ii) suggests that *The Negro* also inspired Drusilla Dunjee Houston's work, Brooks-Bertram (2007) asserts that it did not; Houston had been working on her manuscript for twenty-five years before it was finally published. Even though *The Negro* may not have been the impetus for her work, it had to have made her more resolute in her conviction that her book was needed.

76 Du Bois 1970, 7.

77 Du Bois 1975, 38.

78 Du Bois 1996, viii.

79 Du Bois 1996, x.

80 Du Bois 1912.

81 Petrie 1912, 35.

82 Petrie 1912, 35.

83 Petrie 1912, 35. This position is very much along the lines of Booker T. Washington's. Petrie stated that education should be limited to agriculture and/or mechanics (depending on the needs of the region) and to reading the Bible, biographies, and select social and economic histories. However, he made clear his belief that education was not an essential part of the fight for racial

equality. "Education in the formal lines will no more clear the Negro problem than freedom or voting, and to hold it up as a certain panacea will only end in another collapse of deception."

84 Petrie (1912, 35) proposed that education for Blacks should not include the reading of any political works and that Blacks should not become involved in politics: "All political ideals and figureheads should be kept in the background. We want men to make the most of the earth, before they are fired to waste themselves and their fellows in vain vaporings by reading of Gracchus or Washington. I doubt if any political agitation has ever gained as much as it has wasted."

85 Using Europe as an example of migrations and climate creating, "an even grading from the tow-haired blonde of the North to the curly black hair and black eyes of the South ... I cannot therefore doubt that a thousand years hence there will be an evenly graded American, from a white North to a black South. The only rational course is to help nature and make it easy for inevitable changes to take place" (Petrie 1912, 35).

86 Petrie 1912, 35–36.

87 Du Bois 1912, 37.

88 Petrie's (1912, 37) response to Du Bois's request to publish his letter.

89 Allman 2019. The address is also accessible online: <youtube.com/watch?v=mSb_N2Ly8VY>, accessed 26 July 2022.

90 Gershenhorn 2004: 123–167.

91 Gershenhorn (2004, 59–92) describes Herskovits's fifteen years of field work in Africa and the Caribbean and the varied responses to his published analyses.

92 After completing his dissertation, Herskovits undertook an anthropometric study in African American communities, including students at Howard University, to test the theory that African Americans were predominantly mixed-race and were becoming a "new type," similar to the way Boas had tried to show that Eastern European and Jewish immigrants were naturally transforming into an "American type." Although meant to show that race was not a fixed category, Herskovits's study was criticized by Black and White scholars alike (Gershenhorn 2004, 27–57).

93 Gershenhorn 2004, 130–131.

94 Allman 2019, 7–8.

95 Gershenhorn 2004, 143.

96 Gershenhorn (2009) provides an in-depth analysis of the efforts of noted Black scholars to counter the "dehistoricizing" of the African continent by mainstream academicians while seeking funding for the development of African studies programs at their respective HBCUs. He also analyzes the national and international political interests that intersected with the mainstream preservation interests of White scholars consequently making nearly all of their funding efforts unsuccessful.

97 Herskovits went to great lengths to sabotage Du Bois's efforts to secure funding for the *Encyclopedia of the Negro* project. This included disparaging Du Bois as a propogandist to officials at the Carnegie Foundation and the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation who were already upset that a white scholar had not been able to lead or wrest control of the project (Gershenhorn 2004, 148–157).

98 Alford (1998, 86) and Gershenhorn (2004, 23) state that Herskovits wrote his dissertation from the books at Columbia's library but supplemented the library's deficiencies by using Du Bois's personal library.

99 In addition to Du Bois, Edward Blyden was also one of Hansberry's inspirations (Alford 2000, 281). Interestingly enough, in 1873 a prominent member of the New York Colonization Society proposed that Blyden be hired to teach African culture at one of the existing HBCUs (Robinson 2002, 239). Although it appears that the suggestion never made it past the initial communicants, it is interesting that Blyden inspired the person who actually would come to introduce the study of Africa in the U.S. nearly fifty years later.

100 Using Straight College to begin developing his curriculum, Hansberry introduced the college's "Department of Negro History" through his course offerings (Alford 2000; Dunnavant 2014).

[101] Dunnavant (2014, 36) provides an overview of the courses Hansberry offered.

[102] According to Alford (1998, 84; 97–98), over eight hundred students had taken Hansberry's classes by 1924, only two years after his arrival at Howard. Several of these students were selected to present at the two-day symposium (Alford 1998, 90–93).

[103] Hooton's September 17, 1946, letter to Dr. W. E. Alexander of the Rosenwald Fund (Hansberry Papers; quoted by Crawford [1961, 59], Spady [1970, 32–33], and Harris [1979, 173–174]). What deserves further attention is the comparison between Harvard's unwillingness to move forward with Hansberry's dissertation and Columbia's willingness to award Herskovits a PhD on the basis of a dissertation on East African cattle cultures when he had done no field work in Africa (Gershenhorn 2004, 244 n. 69) and his supervisor, Franz Boas, had no knowledge of African anthropology.

[104] Gershenhorn (2009) discusses the attempts of Black scholars to gain funding for African Studies programs at HBCUs. In Gershenhorn (2004, 178–200), he describes Herskovits's relationship with the top administrators of the major funding and philanthropic organizations and his use of that influence to exclude funding for programs at HBCUs or to ensure that the funding received would be miniscule in comparison to what he received for his own program at Northwestern.

[105] Alford (1998, 84-90) describes the campaign by two noted Howard University professors, Alain Locke and Ernest Judge, to disparage Hansberry's teaching to the president in an effort to get him fired. Later, they tried disparaging him to Melville Herskovits before he arrived to do his anthropometry study. Alford attributes this to Hansberry's outstanding popularity amongst the students (over eight hundred having taken his classes) and the attention that he was receiving as an expert on Africa when Locke was positioning himself to be the expert (Alford 1998, 88–90). I think it is just as likely that, neither of them being anthropologists or archaeologists, they did not have adequate knowledge to comprehend the information and data that Hansberry was collecting or the way it would impact our knowledge of world history. In this, Hansberry was decades ahead of his accusers.

[106] Hansberry had received an offer to be associate professor and chair of both history and sociology at Old Atlanta University. He would have received a ten-month contract of $175.00/month plus room, board, and laundry. The Howard offer was for a part-time lecturer position, promised to become full-time the following school year, at $50/month for the same ten-month period (Alford 1998, 57).

[107] Alford 1998, 68; Dunnavant 2014.

[108] Harris (1979, 169–171) discusses Hansberry's work of collecting primary source materials in any language available and producing slides from which to teach, and Alford (1998, 76–80) details the initial courses and some of the works covered in each course.

[109] Dunnavant 2014, 43–44. Unfortunately, after the Ancient Civilization Section was reinstated following Locke and Judge's false accusations, the administration did not reinstate their research budget, so despite the fact that these source materials were being used in the classroom, Hansberry bore the expense of paying for them (Harris 1974, 8–9).

[110] News of the proposed excavation appeared in the December 1931 issue of *Antiquity* (Griffith 1931; quoted by Alford 1998, 137–138).

[111] Hansberry had been in correspondence with Griffith since 1923, nine years before his letter to Dunham. According to Alford, by the time Hansberry completed his master's degree, he had compiled a list of several British Egyptologists and began corresponding with them, discussing aspects of his own work, to get helpful advice and assess whether they had the required knowledge to supervise his dissertation project. Unfortunately, most of the people he contacted had retired and were quite old, and several of them died while he was trying to negotiate a sabbatical from Howard. His initial list of potential advisors included Griffith, Budge, Sayce, Petrie, and Gardiner (Alford 1998, 132–152).

[112] Spady (1970, 28–29 [citing Charles Seifert's papers, Schomburg Library]) describes an incident where, in the course of a heated class discussion in which Hansberry contested Reisner's assertions that the Nubians "were not Negroes," Reisner stated, "I do not believe Negroes founded these great civilizations. You are a brilliant student Hansberry, but you are a product of our civilization."

[113] Letter from Dows Dunham to W. L. Hansberry, 2 February 1932, Hansberry Private Papers, quoted by Harris (1974, 13); also quoted in Alford (1998, 140–142).

[114] Harris 1974, 14.

[115] Harris 1974, 14, quoting Dunham.

[116] I spent the summer of 2010 in the Griffith Institute, going through all of Griffith's papers related to the Kawa and Sanam temple excavations, and there was no mention of Hansberry.

[117] Alford (1998, 172–225) details Hansberry's postgraduate studies at the University of Chicago and Oxford University from 1936 to 1938 (also discussed in Spady 1970, 31–32; Dunnavant 2004, 36). Hansberry also received a Fulbright grant that allowed him to spend 1953 studying at the University of Cairo and researching in Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia and throughout southern Africa (Crawford 1961; Spady 1970, 35). It was during this time, while out of the country, that Howard's administration finally moved to create the African studies department that he had spent thirty years developing and advocating for it creation. They misguidedly created it without his curriculum, without his input, and without him (Harris 1979, 16–17).

[118] Dunnavant 2014, 42.

[119] Jackson 1985 [1939].

[120] Diop 1974 [1967], 1991 [1981]; Obenga 1973, Clarke 1974, and Carruthers 1984.