

The Changing Nature of Islamic Studies and American Religious History (Part 1*)

Patrice Brodeur

*Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut*

Introduction

Every discipline has its desire, some more or less secret passion that summons its practitioners and captivates them: among the historians this desire is for coherence. We want to believe (although we also often deny or repress this) that the past was ordered in some discernible way that we can discover and describe. Of course, we know that the present is messy and incoherent, but, we usually say, that's because we don't have sufficient purchase on it yet; coherence will emerge in time, when the present becomes the past, the secure domain of our desires. I want to begin by reminding us that none of this is true. Coherence is not out there, in the past, buried with the artifacts of other times and capable of being dug up; instead, we impose our desire for coherence, our refusal and inability to live without it, on the past we construct in our studies, and we accomplish this transformation through the power and instruments of narrative (Robert A. Orsi, from a written presentation entitled "Sex, Pain, and Death, and the American Protestant Establishment: Some Comments on William R. Hutchison, ed., *Between the Times: The Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960*," 1).

The desire for coherence and the use of narrative to achieve it is not unique to historians: it is a basic requirement of any intellectual pursuit, irrespective of the field of inquiry. For this review article of more than twenty books published recently on various aspects of Islam in the United States,¹ I acknowledge my desire to give coherence to an

emerging area of academic investigation that lies somewhere between the sub-discipline of American Religious History, within the History of Religions, and that of American Islam within Islamic Studies. Despite Orsi's reminder of the artificiality inherent in such an endeavor, I propose to call the resulting new field "Islamic American Religious History."² As will be demonstrated in this article, this new field is only in its infancy, although it has already produced important new questions and partial answers worth exploring further.³ Those questions result from the cross-fertilization of a number of older and newer fields of academic inquiry. 'Islamic American Religious History' lies therefore at a cross-road where not only the two major disciplines of the History of Religions and Islamic Studies meet,⁴ but also many others such as, to name but a few, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and political science.

This article is divided into two sections to address the following two questions: What is the nature of the recent growth of academic production in Islamic American Religious History? What is the impact of such works on the normative descriptive categories used within both Islamic Studies and American Religious History? Whatever the answers to both questions may be, they can only be attempted within the framework of two broadly accepted assumptions: the United States now counts some six million Muslims and the present rate of conversion and immigration will make Islam the second largest religion after Christianity within the next five to ten years. Given the long history of antagonism between the West and the Muslim world epitomized in the dichotomy "The West and Islam," and spearheaded by many Americans, especially since the Iranian revolution (1978-1979),⁵ such a growing assumption, previously rooted in 'scientific' statistics, clashes with the stereotype that Muslims are 'over there,' abroad. Muslims are now 'here' too, as pointed out by Jane Smith in the introduction of *Islam in America*. This realization has full implications for the majority non-Muslim citizens of the United States as much as for the majority non-American Muslims around the world. The rapid growth of the Muslim presence at the geographical center of contemporary hegemony in our period of Pax Americana raises numerous questions which other Muslim minorities living in similar post-capitalist societies have begun to raise too, albeit with probably less of a long term impact on the nature of Islam for two reasons. First, despite the wide-spread anti-Islamic prejudice found in many sectors of American society, the speed at which new ethnic/cultural/religious groups integrate into the American fabric is rapid in comparison to that seen in European societies, in particular, with the possible exception of England. Second, the magnitude of the conver-

sion rate among the locally established population, especially for African-Americans, and the widespread geographical diversity in the pattern of Muslim immigration since 1965⁶ create a unique situation in Islamic history. As this intriguing process unfolds, the growing economic wealth and creative possibilities burgeoning in the United States both attract and threaten many Muslims around the world. The result is that the minority Muslim population in the United States is affecting worldwide Islam to a greater degree than other minority Muslim populations elsewhere, even though some of these minorities are vastly bigger in number, such as Muslims in India (over one hundred million according to the 1991 India census) and China (about twenty million). The present geo-political contexts also affect the academic study of Islam: the greater percentage of economic and human resources available for human sciences in the United States in comparison to any other country in the world means that more scholarship is produced about Islam in general. Therefore, it should not be surprising to find that in the last decade part of this attention to studying Islam in majority Muslim areas has expanded to include the study of Islam in minority areas⁷ or, for a new generation of scholars, shifted to focus directly on Islam in the United States within programs in American Religious History.

Three of the most important questions currently debated within the Muslim community in the United States are directly related to our review of the current academic writing on Islam in America. First, what are the historical origins of the Muslim presence in North America? While the traditional majority perception would have located them in late nineteenth century immigration from both the Ottoman empire and British colonial India, the last decade of scholarship has clearly demonstrated the important presence of Muslims among the slave population forcibly transferred during the long period of the Atlantic slave trade. There are also speculations about a small Muslim presence among the early Spanish *conquistadores* in the form of *conversos* (Muslims forced to convert to Christianity but who secretly kept their Islamic faith) as well as Muslim explorers from North Africa having reached American shores two or three centuries prior to 1492.⁸

Second, and of more immediate consequence today, what is the exact Muslim population of the United States and what is the conversion rate? In the absence of any reliable demographic information from the American census, which, for ideological reasons, avoids any question related to religious identity and practice, Muslim and non-Muslim scholars alike have attempted to answer this question with vexed results.⁹

Third, what is the nature of Muslim leadership and Islamic organizations as well as their respective and combined impact on Muslim Americans? These answers are problematized within a spectrum that spans the two extremes of, on the one hand, fear of assimilation into the secular social fabric and, on the other, appreciation for the wide variety of individual and organizational freedoms that allow Muslims to maintain traditional identities and explore new ones within a constantly debated horizon of what Islam is and what it means to be Muslim today.

In addition to being of concern for the general American Muslim public, these questions are important for scholars of American Islam in particular. The major difference with previous periods in Islamic history, however, is that the results of this scholarly attention have become a part of how Muslims understand themselves, whether the scholarship is produced by Muslims or non-Muslims. The direct and often positive role of the non-Muslim Other in shaping American Islamic identities is a new phenomenon in Islamic history and contrasts with the anti-Orientalist bias found in large segments of Muslim majority societies. This new and mutually dependent relationship raises new questions in the interdependency of knowledge and identity formation, for American Muslims in particular and for other forms of identity in general. Through the following exploration of recent academic production within the new field of Islamic American Religious History, the importance of this mutually self-conscious interdependency will come to light.

Part I: The Recent Growth of Academic Production in Islamic American Religious History

Over twenty-five academic books have been published in the last decade on American Islam.¹⁰ This production marks a second generation in book publication, the major increase in numbers being only one of the differences in comparison to the first generation published in the 1970s and 1980s. This first generation of book publication was itself building on a previous generation of scholarship in the form of articles going back to the second decade of the twentieth century. In these articles, published mostly in *The Muslim World* journal from the 1920s up to the 1970s,¹¹ there was an inverse relationship between the language to describe Islam in America and the population of American Muslims: the amount of language that was anti-Islamic was inversely proportional to the number of Muslims known to reside in the United States. From the 1920s to the 1950s, the writing was rife with objectionable terms, descriptions, and tone, as well as biased

toward a Christian viewpoint. While the articles improved in the 1960s, it was not until the 1970s that a real change in perspective occurred, coinciding with the appearance of Muslim participation in scholarly production. Building on those many older articles as well as on an on-going production of newer ones, the 1970s and 1980s saw the slow emergence of a first generation of book publication on Islam in America.¹² Even though many of these books were sociological in methodology, they carved a space for the new field of Islamic American Religious History to be able to develop from the 1990s onward.

The second generation of books on American Islam produced in the 1990s reflects not only a growing variety of methodologies, but also a broadening of scope and a deepening of the myriad levels of possible investigation. There are many ways to classify this increased complexity in academic production. One way would be to review the books chronologically. Another would be to classify them according to their respective primary methodologies. A third way would be to divide them on the basis of the primary religious identity of their respective authors. The approach I will use is different still. I will divide these recent books into five topics, from the more specific to the more general, each topic being subdivided chronologically. These topics include: American politics and Islam, African American Islam, Muslim American auto/biographies, Islamization and leadership, and introductions to Islam in America.

American Politics and Islam

The history of anti-Islamic prejudice,¹³ held by a vast majority of American citizens over more than two hundred years, is not only linked to the European heritage characteristic of the elite of the United States. It is rooted in a history of direct political and economic encounters that are both recent (Iranian revolution) and old (Barbary Wars), going back to the very beginnings of the American republic. In *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, paperback ed. 2000), Robert J. Allison merges both historical and personal horizons by introducing his topic with a personal story about his presence in Iran at the time of the revolution and his return to witness American reactions against Muslims during the Iranian-American hostage crisis:

Bewildered by these events in America caused by a revolution few Americans understood, I went back to study our own, more explicable Revolution and the early national period of American history. But even

here, the specter of the Iranian revolution against progress and liberty would not go away (xiii-xiv).

Such personal experiences are often at the center of scholars' academic projects, and the more transparent the links are, as in Allison's introduction, the greater the possibility of recognizing the direct relationship between personal/institutional contexts and the results of scholarship. For example, both the generalization about Americans and the us/them dichotomy reflected in the above quote continue throughout Allison's historical reconstruction of the legacy of the Barbary Wars.

Americans at the time saw these episodes as part of the contest between Christians and Muslims, between Europeans and Turks or Moors, and ultimately, between what came to be called civilization and what the newly civilized world would define as barbarism. The Americans inherited this understanding of the Muslim world and pursued this enemy more relentlessly than the Europeans had done (xv).

The critical terms 'American' and 'the Muslim World' are not defined, leading to broad generalizations such as "The Muslim world was a lesson for Americans in what not to do, in how not to construct a state, encourage commerce, or form families" (xvii). Fortunately, Allison does not lose sight of the internal contradictions in American perceptions of Muslims.

But though the American people had avoided some evils, they had not avoided them all. How could the United States condemn Algiers for enslaving Americans when Americans themselves enslaved Africans? If slavery was wrong for Americans, was it not also wrong for Africans? Slavery in the United States made the congratulations Americans bestowed on themselves for avoiding political, religious, or sexual tyranny sound hollow, hypocritical, and shameful. Perhaps the war against Tripoli did prove that the Americans had created a different kind of nation. But Americans came home from "slavery" in Algiers, Morocco, and Tripoli to a nation in which slavery was much more deeply rooted than in any Muslim society (xvii-xviii).

Allison's self-conscious historical approach helps keep in perspective this particular piece of history in the relationship between the United States and parts of the Muslim world when he concludes his introduction with the sobering thought that "Slavery's legacy still haunts us, providing a more dangerous and resilient phantom than any genie, sultan, or ayatollah" (xviii). Allison provides an excellent discussion of a formative moment in American perceptions of Islam. He proves beyond doubt how "The Muslim World was a remarkably useful rhetorical device that could be used by libertarians . . . and by conservatives. . ." (xviii). It had little

to do with contrary perceptions which may have been closer to reality and harder to accept, such as Lady Montagu's opinion that Muslim women had more freedom than Western women (65-68) or the discrepancy in the application of the word 'slavery' as applied to American captives in Barbary states versus Africans made captive through the transatlantic slave trade (107 & ff.).

This early Barbary War episode in American history is genealogically linked to more recent historical and contemporary political use of Islam as a rhetorical device. In *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Fawaz Gerges brilliantly demonstrates the link between rhetoric and policy making in American foreign policy towards the Muslim world, especially regarding Egypt, Algeria, Turkey and Iran, from the Carter to the Clinton administrations (mostly its first part). Gerges not only examines how "American opinion makers and academics have tended to define the issues in black and white, polarizing them along confrontationalist/accommodationist lines" (18), but also seeks

to map the public pronouncements and some private musings of the U.S. foreign-policy elite on Islamic revivalism in order to illuminate the various administrations' positions and reveal the continuities and variations in American policy. Careful comparisons of public rhetoric with private statements reveal recurrent themes, values, and resonant notions that are critical to any understanding of the formulation and practical conduct of U.S. Islam policy (1-2).

Despite a very careful analysis, as well as a balanced suggestions for future improvement in U.S. foreign policy towards political Islam, two traces of rhetorical ambiguity remain visible: the distinction between political Islam and Islam as a religion, and the reduction of Islam to a culture. An example of the first ambiguity can be seen at the end of the above quote in that the two overlapping meanings of political Islam and Islam as a religion are conflated in the expressions "the politics of Islam" (236) and "U.S. Islam policy," an expression used alternately throughout the book with the more precise "U.S. policy towards Islamists" (e.g. 227). This limitation is reduced in the concluding chapter by emphasizing how,

In particular, senior Clinton aides, in addition to the President, Vice President, and first lady, have gone out of their way to praise Islam and stress the religious and civilizational ties between Islam and the Western world. . . Clinton and his senior aides have also taken the time to allay the concerns and fears of the Muslim community in the United States by regularly meeting with its representatives. . . . The Clinton

administration's statements on political Islam are much more advanced, nuanced, and complex than those of many opinion makers and the general public at large (230).

The second example of rhetorical ambiguity is more important as it reduces Islam to a culture using anthropological definitions that underplay the transcendent nature of both the object and motivation that often underscores political Islam for Islamists and many other religious Muslims (e.g. 6, 229, 238). Such a masking of religious transcendence reflects the secular ideology which often underpins both normative American political ideologies and the academic discipline of political science. These two limitations, however, do not affect significantly the importance of Gerges' several findings, such as: the gap between idealism and *realpolitik* (xi) or rhetoric and actual behavior (232); the gap between foreign policy elite and opinion makers and the general public, as noted in the above quote; the preference for stability over the promotion of democratic change (xi, 231); the "Iranian complex" and its impact on other Islamic activists (236-238). Although this last finding is no longer as relevant due to more recent changes in American foreign policy towards Iran, Gerges' overall descriptive and analytical book ends with a still generally useful prescriptive section on "What Is to Be Done?" (238-242), in which a number of excellent suggestions are proposed within the context of the book's most important conclusion:

American official pronouncements have seemingly put to rest any lingering doubts in people's minds about the likelihood of a clash of civilizations. The challenge still facing the U.S. government is to pursue policies that are consistent and compatible with the lofty ideas expressed by its officials (238).

The answer to the book's title question is therefore that the clash of interests is more salient than the clash of cultures, although:

Humanist and democratic Islamic voices should assert themselves and be heard. They should also coalesce with their Western counterparts to prevent the hijacking of American foreign policy by those in both camps who are beating the drums of a cultural and civilizational war (242).

African American Islam

The two preceding books on politics and Islam make us aware that the relationship between the United States and Islam has a long history that continues to affect the present. This point emerges even more saliently

from the following analysis of the recent books that focus on African American Islam. As in the previous section, I will present them according to the chronological order of their subject material, describing the general books last.

In *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (New York: Routledge, 1997), Allan D. Austin radically condenses and up-dates his pioneering work entitled *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1984). After an important introductory first chapter, Austin presents over eighty stories of individual African Muslims: "six appear in chapters devoted exclusively to their stories; two share a chapter, and almost seventy-five others—about whom less information has been found—are brought together in Chapter 2" (17). Austin reconstructs fascinating biographies that provide a glimpse into the complexity of African Muslim experiences in relation to the transatlantic slave trade. Each chapter ends with a rich bibliography of selected readings, although not always brought up to date as well as it should have been (see section on 'African Slave Trade,' 26, and 'Africa and Islam,' 27-28). Austin provides detailed information and a magnificent collection of illustrations (photographs, maps, reprints of manuscripts and letters, etc.) to recreate those important biographical narratives so crucial to understanding the variety of personal conditions under American slavery. His book provides students of slavery with rich personal stories framed within a balanced examination of the role of Islam in the transatlantic slave trade.¹⁴

Sylviane Diouf's *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* is a serious study of the presence of Muslims among African slaves in the Americas as a whole. For her references to African Muslims in what was to become the United States, she relies almost entirely on the same people as those mentioned in Austin's book. However, Diouf's narrative extends beyond that of Austin's, describing in more detail the initial African context as well as the African Muslim slave diaspora to the Americas as a whole. She carefully relates how Muslims came to be both victims and participants in the Atlantic slave trade before focusing on the survival of Islamic identity under American (i.e. of the whole of the Americas) slavery, from individual Islamic rituals to communal practices. She also examines the role of literacy in upward mobility, given that African Muslims were more likely literate than African animists who constituted the majority of the slave population. Finally, she extols the stories of resistance, revolt, and return to Africa, before concluding with an overall

assessment of the Muslim legacy during the historical period of slavery in the Americas.

Despite certain apologetic overtones reflecting an orthodox Sunni West African perspective that is hard to avoid when struggling to retrieve such a hidden piece of history within American religious history (198-205), Diouf presents a very balanced scenario for the presence and role of Islam and Muslims in the African slave diaspora throughout the Americas. This carefully reconstructed history is based on a limited number of direct primary sources but a rich array of indirect primary as well as numerous secondary sources. Diouf utilizes this variety of sources to craft precise arguments, such as the following:

African slavery did not follow one model; the institution varied according to region, people, time, and religion. There were, however, similarities among the different African systems and huge differences with American slavery. Whereas kidnapping and straight purchase were the methods by which the Americans and Europeans acquired their African slaves, wars were the principal sources of captives in West Africa (9).

This example reflects a methodological assumption which is at the heart of Diouf's scholarship: "It is beginning from this African historical context, which has been ignored by most scholars of slavery—who place Africa at the periphery of the Diaspora instead of at its center—that the story of the Muslims in the Americas must be explained, understood, and evaluated."¹⁵ Yet, at times, although Diouf does mention at the beginning of her first chapter that "As with any religion, Islam in Africa had a variety of followers—the devout, the sincere, the casual believers, the fundamentalists, the lightly touched, and the mystics," she emphasizes positive Islamic cases rather than those that are more ambiguous. This may well be because the former cases are more easily identifiable in the surviving literature than the latter. However, there seems to be a tension in Diouf's argument

That Islam as brought by the African slaves has not survived does not mean that the Muslim faith did not flourish during slavery on a fairly large scale. "On the contrary, systematic research throughout the Americas shows that, indeed, the Muslims were not absorbed into the cultural-religious Christian world. They chose to remain Muslims, and, even enslaved, they succeeded in following most of the precepts of their religion. With remarkable determination, they maintained an intellectual life in mentally sterile surroundings. Through hard work and communal-ity, they improved their situation while building a tradition of resistance and revolt. Despite being far outnumbered by Christians, polytheists, and animists, they preserved a distinctive lifestyle built on religious cohesiveness, cultural self-confidence, and discipline (19).

The same tone continues on the following page:

A double minority—religious and ethnic—in the colonial world, as well as in the enslaved community, the West African Muslims did not succumb to acculturation but strove hard to maintain their traditions, social values, customs, and particular identity. . . . Because Islam as brought by the Africans did not outlive the last slaves, one might think that the Muslims failed, that their story in the Americas speaks of defeat and ultimate subjugation. Through examining their history, their stories, and their legacy, however, this book reveals that what they wrote on the sand of the plantations is a successful story of strength, resilience, courage, pride, and dignity (3).

This story may well have been successful in the ways mentioned above, but how does this account for the disappearance of visible and self-proclaimed Islamic identity three centuries later? In her final chapter on “The Muslim Legacy,” Diouf answers this question by identifying the barriers to what she calls the vertical (genealogical) and horizontal (conversion) growth of Islam. She adds a number of examples of Islamic traces that have survived in other religions and in music. Finally, she concludes by giving a negative answer to a debated question today: Is there a link between the descendants of African Muslim slaves and the “Black Muslims” of twentieth-century United States?

The same conclusion is implicit in the second and third chapters of Clifton Marsh’s second edition of his 1984 *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Transition from Separatism to Islam, 1930-1980* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press) recently republished under the new but similar title, *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Resurrection, Transformation, and Change of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America, 1930-1995* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1996). A paperback reprint has just come out with a completely different title: *The Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000), a title reminiscent of W.D. Fard’s early 1930s book entitled *Teaching for the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in a Mathematical Way*. Marsh’s approach combines history and sociology to analyze the history of The Nation of Islam as a black nationalist movement in the United States. This second edition is up-dated significantly, especially with the chapters seven through ten mostly covering the additional period between 1980 and 1995 (see bibliographical sections on 215, 218, and 219). However, the bulk of the additional pages come from the two very insightful interviews (with Imam Wallace D. Muhammed and Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammed). Marsh discusses the Nation of Islam with a black nationalist paradigm that provides a closer picture of an insider’s under-

standing of the strength and resiliency of the black nationalist agenda going back to the early nineteenth century. By analyzing Minister Louis Farrakhan in this light (chapter 7), Marsh may be revealing a bias in favor of much of the Nation of Islam's agenda. He consciously uses sociology and history to present another interpretation of the Nation of Islam, avoiding the popular negative portrayals of the movement which disturb so much of both conservative right-wing and liberal left-wing comfortability to the present. Whatever the limitations of his bias, Marsh presents as close to a scholarly partial insider (as an African American) perspective as is possible.

In contrast, the Swedish social scientist Mattias Gardell provides as close to a scholarly outsider perspective as is possible in *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996). Guided by insights from cultural anthropology, Gardell's voluminous and excellent work greatly adds to Marsh's sociological analysis. The two need to be read side-by-side, both to enrich the content of our understanding of the Nation of Islam as well as to contrast the subjectivities inherent in scholarship, as in the following juxtaposition of Marsh and Gardell on the Million Man March:

The black men, women, and children who marched wanted to demonstrate a commitment to self-reliance, family responsibility, and to have a day of atonement. Estimates of the crowd ranged from 800 thousand to over one million. The participants formed the largest demonstration in the history of the nation's capital. This march demonstrated the growing influence of Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam (closing sentences of the afterword, 155).

The Million Man March proved to be the largest black demonstration in the history of black America, dwarfing the famous 1963 march. Police authorities estimated 400,000 participants, while organizers claimed more than one and a half million marchers. . . . Unmentioned in most media reports was the level of solidarity shown by representatives of nonblack communities, such as the Native American and the Latino, who arrived with banners of support. . . . (344).

Gardell's hermeneutical approach allows him to recognize that his being a white man inevitably carries its own bias about the Nation of Islam. The complementarity between this outsider perspective and the partial insider perspective of Marsh, with his pro-Nation of Islam bias, represents an example of the importance of recognizing the scholarly enrichment which emerges from listening to multiple voices and approaches to the same topic.

Two contrasting voices also exist for the broader constituency of African American Muslims: Aminah Beverly McCloud's *African American Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1995), and Richard Brent Turner's *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). Both include sections on the Nation of Islam, but within a much broader spectrum. McCloud provides a good introductory overview of the most important early (eleven with beginnings between 1913 and 1930s) and contemporary (fourteen from 1960 into the 1990s) African American Muslim communities (she has counted more than seventeen contemporary ones, see 6). In addition, she includes a full chapter on family structure and domestic life as well as another one on women in Islam. These two chapters in particular are not found anywhere else because they represent an insider perspective which rarely makes it into scholarly publications. Another chapter worth mentioning is the one on "Social Issues and Challenges: The Tension between *Darul Islam* and *Darul Harb*" (between the 'abode of Islam' and the 'abode of war,' i.e. the non-Muslim world). This chapter provides an overview of many important challenges and alternatives proposed by Muslims today in such areas as education, law, media, economics and politics. As in the rest of her work in general, McCloud clearly speaks from within a Sunni African American perspective that is fully conscious of the world around her, both the non-Muslim American context as well as the broader Islamic world. At times, this consciousness leads to apologetic overtones that convey the plight of many African American Muslims today, especially women. The book nevertheless remains a great entry point into African American Islam, especially given that a vast majority of its practitioners would agree with McCloud's bias towards a more Sunni interpretation of Islam. More importantly, the strength of McCloud's contribution to the study of Islam in the United States is to clarify why Islam is a viable option for so many African Americans. "For African-Americans, the viability of Islam as a worldview hinged largely on its primary emphasis on social justice, and its ability to provide African-Americans with an historical identity independent of slavery." The act of writing her own book reflects not only this new identity but a new understanding of the place of women in the production of knowledge about African American Islam. This new identity represents another contribution African American Muslims are making to the empowerment of women in the worldwide Islamic community, a point not lost to the author as she quotes directly from the work of Fatima Mernissi, Leila Ahmed, and Amina Wadud-Muhsin.

The importance of a woman's perspective in scholarship is made clearer when one reads Turner's book: while he does include a few references to the role of Muslim women in the preservation of Islam during slavery (35-36) and in the early history of both the Moorish Science Temple (104-105) and the Nation of Islam (169), Turner mostly focuses on male leadership. Within that perspective, Turner mostly provides an in-depth overview of four early and contemporary African American Muslim communities, which complements the earlier work by McCloud. The first part of the book focuses on the roots of Islam in America, by describing both the presence of African Muslim slaves (chapter 1) and a new form of Islamic identity linked to pan-Africanism (chapter 2). The second part of the book is divided into four chapters, one for each of the main "prophets of the city," to use this part's title: Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America (chapter 3); Mufti Muhammad Sadiq and the Ahmadiyya Mission to America (chapter 4); W.D. Fard and the early Nation of Islam (chapter 5); and Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and Louis Farrakhan and the later Nation of Islam (chapter 6). Turner contextualizes his analysis of these prophets of the city within both the new urbanization so significant for a growing majority of African American Muslims and the racial and religious politics of identity, within the Islamic world and in the United States.¹⁶

The last book to be reviewed here is Marsha Snulligan Haney's *Islam and Protestant African-American Churches: Responses and Challenges to Religious Pluralism* (San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1999). This in-depth analysis represents the first serious effort at understanding an area which is a growing source of tension among African Americans. A survey of the bibliography reveals two points: first, despite its recent publication, the latest entry dates back to 1994; second, there is no mention of any of the books on Islam in America published in the early 1990s, as cited in this article's introduction. Despite this serious lag between its composition and its publication, this book still represents the best sustained effort within a Christian missiological perspective to raise timely and sensitive questions on a mostly taboo topic. It reveals the heated nature of the competition over African American souls and suggests valuable recommendations for "a culturally specific model of mission in a religiously plural society" (chapter 8), mostly for Christians engaged in dialogue/mission with Muslims. The author's bias as an African-American Christian oscillates between descriptive and apologetic language. For example, contrast these two passages taken from the preface:

As Islam becomes the second largest faith community in the United States, the African-American Protestant community has an unprecedented opportunity to provide leadership and guidance to North American churches as they seek to respond faithfully to this new religious pluralism in our context. . . . However, as Muslims actively engage in mission and ministry within the North American context, they present opportunities as well as obstacles that must be faced by the Church. This historical investigation reveals determining factors both internal and external to the churches that have shaped the growth of Islam in the African-American community, and the multifaceted existential inquiry identifies factors which are responsible for the Islamic appeal among African Americans who see that religious faith is a visible option. The results of the evaluations indicate the areas of change needed for the churches to develop a relevant mission and ministry to Muslims (xv-xvi).

The author's apologetic overtones are visible in the aims as expressed in the above quote. The 'historical' nature of her investigation is motivated by a particular contextual appeal to:

the development of an authentic and appropriate model of Christian contextualization [which] might be identified and formulated as a resource for the mission of evangelization and re-evangelization in the African-American community in the midst of the contemporary challenge of the Islamic faith. (xvi)

Snulligan Haney's book therefore calls for a Muslim response from an Islamic *da'wab* perspective that would give equal weight to the complex questions surrounding religious pluralism in a democratic state.

So why include this book in a review of scholarly books on Islam in America? The answer is simple. In chapters two to five, Snulligan Haney explores the growth of Islam among African Americans from the period of slavery to the contemporary period, covering the same topics addressed by other authors previously mentioned above. A Christian missiological approach as sensitive as Snulligan Haney's is equally insightful as McCloud's perceptive Sunni Muslim approach, both of whose perspectives (as Christian and Muslim respectively) are complementary to Gardell's "hermeneutically oriented emic perspective" (6). The various insider/outsider approaches reflected in the many books recently published on African American Islam in particular enrich our possibility of understanding the myriad facets of this growing religious phenomenon in the United States and its many implications within and beyond its initial national context.

Muslim American Auto/Biographies

Another way of gaining insight into Islam in America is through listening to the many personal voices that usually come out clearer in auto/biographies than in academic writing. This section will examine six that may prove useful in the classroom. The first, not so recent, is Steven Barboza's *American Jihad: Islam After Malcolm X* (New York: Doubleday, 1993). Despite its provocative title, this wonderful collection of over fifty short, personal stories, most of which are autobiographical, reveals more powerfully than any scholarly analysis the multiplicity of voices in the American Muslim community. From the rich and famous to the struggling AIDS activist, from the new immigrants to the African Americans, this book ends with seven conversion stories. Twenty-eight more have been published recently by Muzaffar Haleem and Betty (Batul) Booman in *The Sun is Rising in the West: Journeys to Islam: New Muslims tell about their Journey to Islam* (Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999). These stories include mostly Euro and African American autobiographies. The purpose behind this book is explicitly stated in the first page of the preface: "This book was written as *da'wab* for the West with three different audiences in mind: new Muslims, born Muslims, and non-Muslims" (xv). In addition, it contains both a long article by Robert Dickson Crane on "The Search for Justice and the Quest for Virtue: The Two Basics of Islamic Law" (145-166) as well as nine appendices covering in a straightforward manner basic topics and areas of interest to new converts and non-Muslims interested in learning more about Islam (167-310).

Together as authors, Barboza, Haleem and Bowman represent respectively the three primary groups of American Muslims: African-American, immigrant (or descendant of immigrant), and Euro-American. The same configuration of authors also reflects the production of the three singular auto/biographies to which I now turn. This balanced participation in terms of ethnic diversity within the American Muslim community (though not so balanced in terms of theological diversity) is one of the characteristics of this new wave of publications on Islam in America in the mid to late 1990s.

In *Growth of Islamic Thought in North America: Focus on Isma'il Raji al Faruqi* (Brentwood, MD: Amana Publications, 1994), Muhammad Shafiq chronicles the transformation of one of the leading voices of immigrant Sunni Islam from the 1960s to 1986. The second foreword by Professor Salahuddin Malik introduces Shafiq's book as "an academic biography of his martyred professor's conversion from a Palestinian to an Arab to a committed Muslim scholar determined to jolt and awaken Muslim students" (xv). While this succinct description of al Faruqi is an apt representation of

his intellectual growth, the portrayal of this book as 'academic' is an exaggeration. Shafiq includes numerous biographical elements on both the chronology of al Faruqi's life and the seminal points of his later thought as an Islamist. However, as remarked by Malik himself,

Muhammad Shafiq's volume. . . is [a] genuine effort by a former student of al Farqui [sic] who has congruity of thought with his mentor and teacher. Dr. Shafiq not only details the growth and development of al Faruqi's scholarly pursuits but also finds himself at ease with the positions taken by his late professor (xv).

Shafiq's 'congruity of thought' and 'ease' with al Faruqi's thought may prove the difficulty of writing an academic biography when one is too close to one's subject. The apologetic and hagiographical overtones so frequently encountered in this book make it less than academic, as demonstrated in the following passages:

Isma'il al Faruqi was the first Muslim scholar to devote himself to introducing and developing an Islamic studies program in North America. Before his effort, Canada's McGill University was the only North American university that had Islamic Studies Institute. Its staff, however, consisted mainly of non-Muslim teachers. In the United States, there was no separate Islamic studies program and such programs as did exist were taught by orientalists and concentrated on Muslim philosophy. Islam was presented to Americans as a religion of the sword and possessing no culture and civilization. Muslims were depicted as barbarians, religious fanatics, and uncivilized people (36).

Several of the generalizations and facts stated above are erroneous. Reducing scholarship on Islam in the United States to mostly Muslim philosophy is not substantiated. As for the presentation of Islam as a religion of the sword, it may have been the case in some popular circles; however, in many universities from the sixties onwards, the quality and diversity of the research being carried out on Islam and its teaching do not match the representation above. Nevertheless, Shafiq's book provides important insights into al Faruqi's life and thought, as well as his impressive contribution to the development of Islam in North America. The relationship between his scholarship and his activism, that is, between Islamic Studies and the active promotion of an Islamist ideology through both his classroom and outside engagement with the Muslim community of Philadelphia, in particular, is mirrored in Shafiq's own book on his teacher. They are not the only cases, as most of the books already reviewed participate to various degrees in this often unexplored relationship between the production and the promotion of knowledge.

In *American Islam: Growing Up Muslim in America* (New York: Walker and Co., 1994), Richard Wormser examines Islamic life in the United States as experienced by young Muslim-Americans. His narrative perspective is based largely on an autobiographical methodology which is indicative of a new trend in writings on Islam in America. The first half of the book traces the conflict between the Islamic world and "the West," from the crusades to the present. The often turbulent history between Muslims and Christians (crusades, colonialism, recent Middle East politics) has created a climate of distrust, ignorance, and hostility among Americans towards Muslims. The many young Muslim-Americans discussed in this first section feel such prejudices and hostility. The second half of the book deals with the unique situation of African-American Muslims, from its origins among former Muslim slaves taken from Africa, through the rise of militant Black nationalism, the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan, and, finally, the Sunni Muslim movement among African Americans. This section also describes the positive effects that any and all forms of Islam have had on the black community, especially in prisons and high crime, poverty-ridden neighborhoods. Wormser points out the differences in perceptions among young Muslims, in that some feel that attitudes toward Muslims are improving, whereas others seem to feel they need to go to private Islamic schools to ensure their safety. On the same note, some students feel they could remain "good Muslims" in public schools while others say they could only remain so in Islamic schools. The questions these different opinions raise is what factors, such as geographical location, cultural patterns of upbringing, etc. influence these perceptions. While some scholars may criticize the 'academic' value of such publications, I would argue that they play an important role in providing insights into the unique relationship between insider and outsider narrative voices so unique to the situation of Muslim identity construction in the United States.

In *Little X: Growing Up in the Nation of Islam* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), Sonyrea Tate describes her own childhood in literary terms. Her autobiography is a most useful addition because it provides a perspective never included in surveys and analyses on Muslims in America or on the Nation of Islam. The voice of a child, albeit cast here in retrospect, and of a woman in particular is a unique contribution to our understanding of Islam in America. It opens up many questions about the nature of religious identity from a youth perspective, such as the role of dress and separation from other children in school for the development of

a sustainable religious community that needs to integrate a new generation for its long term survival.

Islamization and Leadership

Recently, Amana publications published two books that deal respectively with Islamization and leadership. The first is edited by Amber Haque and is entitled *Muslims and Islamization in North America: Problems and Prospects* (Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999). This fascinating collection of twenty-six articles ranges from broad topics such as the Islamization of knowledge in North America, economics, politics, education, media, and propagation (*darwah*), to various social issues and concerns such as Islamic fundamentalism, Muslim youth, estate planning, Muslim women in dialogue, and moral law (i.e. the lawful and the prohibited). The book also provides valuable appendices with directories of Islamic centers in the United States and Canada, addresses of Islamic schools, media resources and Muslim financial institutions. As its editor clearly presents at the beginning of his introduction:

The central unifying theme that ties every article of this volume into a unified whole is the process of Islamization—a term, which is more, [sic] misunderstood than understood in the present American context. . . . Despite prejudice, discrimination, conflict and hatred, the Islamic community is on the move. . . . Essays presented in this volume not only record an insider's account, but are scholarly attempts to move away from the subjective to the objective, the critical, and the analytical (1-2).

The strength of this book is derived from the fact that all the articles except for one are insider's accounts. While being articulate experts in their own field, the authors present for the most part unabashedly Muslim perspectives that greatly help understand the many challenges faced in the encounter between American and Islamic identities, the two exerting mutually transformative forces as pointed out in Safi's article in particular (33-48). The book itself is a product of a generation of discussions on the Islamization of Knowledge, an international project started in 1977, with a growing impact on American Muslims from 1983 onwards. This book, while varying in degrees of scholarly depth and in who speaks in the name of Islam (i.e. Isma'ilis are absent even though they play an active and creative role in defining a modern Western Islamic identity that participates in the Islamization process), represents an invaluable complementary companion to more phenomenological methods often preferred

by non-Muslim Islamicists, as will be demonstrated below with Jane Smith's recent book.

The second book published by Amana is co-authored by Rafik I. Beekun and Jamal Badawi, *Leadership: An Islamic Perspective* (Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999). The authors take the popular American concept of leadership and present it from a reified Islamic perspective.

According to Islam, every person is the "shepherd" of a flock, and occupies a position of leadership. *Leadership: An Islamic Perspective* is about how Muslims enact their leadership role. This book is directed at both non-Muslims seeking to understand the leadership paradigm of one billion Muslims globally and at Muslims wishing to understand leadership better (vii).

Although reflecting more of an American context due to its authors' primary geographical location, to the central place the concept of leadership occupies in American culture, and to the "how-to-manual" approach visible in its format, this book's approach serves as a good example of the kinds of intellectual by-products emerging from the international Islamization of knowledge project, given that the book is the result of "our leadership workshops held throughout four continents" (ix). This project is a mostly Sunni apologetic effort at integrating inherited Islamic traditions of interpretation with the many strands of Western hegemonic discourse in a spirit of ideological competition, resulting in a unique pattern of integration that contributes to the uniqueness of an influential segment among American Muslims. In the face of assimilation threats, many North American Muslim intellectuals have developed vibrant responses that seek to preserve Islamic identity above any other form of identity, resulting in a unique integration process. The role of such leadership workshops in training these new elite is undeniable. The accessibility of this method of training through Beekun and Badawi's new book is bound to increase the number of Muslims affected by this approach.

Another recent publication focusing on leadership from an African American rather than a more immigrant internationalist (or some would say "ummatic") perspective as portrayed in the previous book is Mukhtar Muhammad's *Genesis of New American Leadership: Building a Community Life: The Third Resurrection from Decentralization to Interdependence* (Jacksonville, FL: FAMACO Publishers, 2000). It is not a coincidence that this book appeared almost simultaneously with the previous one. Both reflect the influence of leadership and management concepts so prevalent in American culture on their respective Islamic community. While Beekun

and Badawi's approach is an open invitation to all Muslims, wherever they may be around the world, Mukhtar Muhammad's book "is published as a primer on leadership, management and organization and is geared specifically for Muslim American institutions and more precisely, for those Muslims who have inherited Islamic leadership through the transition led by Muslim American Spokesman, Imam Warith Deen Mohammed" (xx). The tone of the book is less apologetic than in the preceding one: "It is my prayer that *Genesis of New American Leadership* will generate greater interest on the role of Muḥammad, the Prophet, as a leader and problem solver and on our responsibility and ability to apply the best methods to the current problems of systems organization" (xxii). The author integrates popular leadership and management approaches such as Total Quality Management (TQM) and Stephen R. Covey's *Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* and applies them to a reading of early Islamic history, with particular focus on the Prophet Muḥammad. In the first chapter, he proposes a movement from centralization to decentralization, advocating self-government reminiscent of an old Black nationalist paradigm. This movement is epitomized by the transition from the centralized administration of the Nation of Islam under Elijah Muhammad to its decentralization under the new leadership of Warith Deen Mohammed, whose movement is now called the American Muslim Society. However, this movement has now embarked upon another transition from centralization to interdependence (chapter 2). Muhammad describes these changes as first an intra-faith process of dialogue within the American Muslim and the broader Islamic community (46-48), then as an inter-faith dialogue with Jews and Christians (49-50), which opens up onto a broader "Relationship with Local, State and National Government" (50-54). The movement towards interdependence is well described and explained, although it is marred at times by examples of the American superiority complex:

The dynamics of Muslim and non-Muslim relations in America must be a pre-eminent example of what is possible for Muslim and non-Muslim relations in other parts of the world (50). Today, the most famous Muslim [Muhammad Ali] and this time I am going to say most famous human being, is of African descent and of American citizenship—he is Muslim American and it foreshadows the role we are to play as new world leaders" (51).

More importantly, the author provides not only a conceptual framework that also includes a contemporary reading of the institutionalization of leadership on the model of the Prophet as Delegator (chapter 3) and the role of a balanced education between revelation and observation or infor-

mation (chapter 4), but a full introduction to leadership and tools of management (chapter 5) in a section he entitles "The Implementation." In addition, the book includes an expository analysis on "Reclaiming our Youth" by Imam Cornelius Hazziez and two family tributes to Muslim pioneers related to the author's family (a grandmother and a great uncle). The first appendix provides six valuable application tools: a masjid organizational model; a suggestion form; a sample operating guidelines and standard of etiquette; a sample guest letter; a employer accommodation for religious obligation form; and an event check-off list. Such material confirms the "primer" nature of this book that reflects an important aspect of American Islam and scholarship on American Islam: the boundaries between insider/outsider, academic/programmatic are often ambiguous. In fact, in the spirit of interdependence suggested by Mukhtar Muhammad, they need not be.

Introductions to Islam in America

In the CD-ROM *On Common Ground: World Religions in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), Diana Eck includes a section on Islam which includes several important sub-sections on Islam in America. This CD-ROM is the most versatile and engaging way of studying Islam in America I have so far encountered. There are six short essays organized chronologically: the first American Muslims, the early American mosques, African-American Islam reborn, new immigration, African-American Islam reformed, and emerging Islamic infrastructure. This infrastructure is also described elsewhere through brief profiles of twenty different American Muslim organizations. There is another seven short essays within a sub-section entitled "Issues for Muslims in America," which include: unity and diversity, women in Islam, Muslims and American politics, public versus private, prison ministry,¹⁷ struggling against stereotypes, and Muslim youth camps. These thirteen essays provide in narrative form the basic information about Islam and Muslim life in America. In addition, the CD-ROM nature of the work is fully exploited through multimedia presentations on American Muslims, including short movies (a misnomer since they are made of successive still photos) on American Muslims in general, the Qur'an, Ramadan and Ī'd al-Fiṭr, *hijāb*, and a new Muslim landscape. Two audio sections profile thirteen American Muslims and allow another eleven voices to speak on Muslim prayer, the Islamic renaissance, Islamic education, Muslim stereotype, and the call to prayer. There is also a very useful list of brief descriptions on over sixty Islamic centers. Finally, there is also a useful timeline of Islam in America for those

who prefer a chronological bullet-point approach to basic information that is not substantiated, given the format, through the classical footnoting of reference sources.

A year later, a similar timeline of significant events was published by Amir Nashid Ali Muhammad in a small book entitled *Muslims in America: Seven Centuries of History (1312-1998): Collections and Stories of American Muslims* (Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1998). This short, sixty-four page historical overview of the Muslim presence on American soil overlaps only in part with Eck's chronology; the two should be read side by side. While Muhammad's timeline is richer than Eck's in details pertaining to the Sunni community, especially in the contemporary section, it lacks her greater academic rigor in the presentation of the information as well as in the inclusion of facts on a broader variety of Islamic identities. Muhammad presents many theories and stories as factual information without any critical sense of the limited nature of much information regarding Muslim life on the North American continent. Compare, for example, the following four entries:

In 1527, Estevanico of Azamor, a Muslim from Morocco, arrived in Florida with the ill-fated expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez.

In 1539, Estevanico was one of the first of three Americans to cross this continent. At least two states, Arizona and New Mexico, owe their beginning to his explorations (Muhammad, 3).

1539 Spanish Explorers and Spanish Refugees

Estevanico of Azamor, a Moroccan Muslim, arrived in Florida with the expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez in 1527. He stayed in America and joined expeditions across the continent to Arizona and New Mexico (Eck, Timeline section on Islam in America).

In 1915, Albanian Muslims opened a mosque in Maine and established an Islamic association. By 1919, they had established another mosque in Connecticut (Muhammad, 47).

1915 Albanian Muslim Mosque in Maine

Albanian Muslims built a mosque in Biddeford, Maine and established an Islamic association. In 1919, they established another mosque in Waterbury, Connecticut. These were among the first Islamic associations in America (Eck, Timeline section on Islam in America).

The differences in precision seen above is consistent with Muhammad's inclusion of a dozen pages of fascinating pictures, maps, and facsimiles of manuscripts, many of which are borrowed from Allen Austin's book, without any acknowledgment. Despite these serious academic limitations, this short book nevertheless serves its purpose of being "the first step toward creating a museum for Muslim Americans" (xi) and can be used as an introduction for a broad audience of both Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Recently, Jane Smith, a long time observer and teacher of the developments that have taken place among Muslims of the United States, published a book entitled simply *Islam in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Smith introduces Muslim faith and practice through the many ways in which American Muslims perceive Islam. She links her presentation of Islam to the historical ties which American Muslims keep with a past and a present whose boundaries go far beyond (but do not exclude) the United States. She includes a chapter on immigrant Islam as well as on African American Islam. She then writes a full chapter on Women and the Muslim American family. Finally, she ends with two sociological chapters looking at 'living a Muslim life in American Society' and 'the public practice of Islam,' thereby balancing the individual and collective requirements implicit in an active Muslim identity.

This book may well represent the first in what I would call the third generation of books on Islam in America: it integrates all the various communities of Muslims found in the United States (from orthodox to heterodox). It also begins to do justice to both genders, although the setting aside of a chapter on women rather than an integration into the whole book reflects the lingering problem. The book also provides a list of profiles of important American Muslims, thereby humanizing the description of Islam in America by providing individual Muslim portraits. In conjunction with Eck's CD-ROM, Smith's book will prove invaluable for introducing Islam in America to a broad and varied audience. These two efforts on the part of non-Muslims are not sufficient, however, to make sense of the complexities of Islam in America. They need to be used side-by-side with many of the Muslim authored books mentioned in this review article. This new relationship of interdependence in the production of knowledge on Islam in America raises many questions which will be explored in the second part of this article.

Appendix 1: List of Books Reviewed

- Al-Ahari, Muhammad Abdullah. *Bilali Mubammad: Muslim Jurisprudist in Antebellum Georgia*. Chicago: Magribine Press, 1996.
- Al-Ahari, Muhammad Abdullah. Edited and rearranged. *Skeikh al-Hajj Daoud Ahmed Faisal's al-Islam, the True Faith, the Religion of Humanity*. Chicago: Magribine Press, 1996, 1998.
- Austin, Allan D. *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Barboza, Steven. *American Jihad: Islam After Malcolm X*. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- Beekun, Rafik I. and Jamal Badawi. *Leadership: An Islamic Perspective*. Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999.
- Diouf, Sylviane A. *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Eck, Diana. *On Common Ground: World Religions in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Gardell, Mattias. *In the name of Elijah Mubammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck and Jane Idleman Smith. *Mission to America: Five Islamic Sectarian Communities in North America*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Haleem, Muzaffar and Betty (Batul) Bowman. *The Sun is Rising in the West: Journeys to Islam: New Muslims Tell about Their Journey to Islam*. Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999.
- Haque, Amber, ed. *Muslims and Islamization in North America: Problems and Prospects*. Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999.
- Manger, Leif. "Muslim Diversity: Local Islam in Global Contexts." In *Muslim Diversity: Local Islam in Global Contexts*. Edited by Leif Manger. Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 1999, 1-36.
- Marsh, Clifton E. *The Lost-found Nation of Islam in America*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press. Reprint 2000 of a 1996 second edition entitled *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Resurrection, Transformation, and Change of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America, 1930-1995*.
- McCloud, Aminah and Frederick Thaufeer al-Deen. *A Question of Faith for Muslim Inmates*. Chicago: ABC International Group, Inc., distributed by Kazi Publications.
- McCloud, Aminah Beverly. *African American Islam*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Muhammad, Mukhtar. *Genesis of New American Leadership: Building the Community Life: the Third Resurrection from Decentralization to Interdependence*. Jacksonville, FL: Famaco Publishers, 2000.
- Roff, William R. "Afterword: The Comparative Study of Muslim Societies." In *Muslim Diversity: Local Islam in Global Contexts*. Edited by Leif Manger. Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 1999.
- Shafiq, Muhammad. *The Growth of Islamic Thought in North America: Focus on Isma'il Raji al-Faruqi*. Brentwood, MD: Amana Publications, 1994.

- Smith, Jane I. *Islam in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Snulligan Haney, Marsha. *Islam and Protestant African-American Churches: Responses and Challenges to Religious Pluralism*. San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1999.
- Tate, Sonyrea. *Little X: Growing Up in the Nation of Islam*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1997.
- Turner, Richard Brent. *Islam in the African-American Experience*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Webb, Mohammed Alexander Russell. Edited by Muhammad Abdullah al-Ahari. *Islam in America: A Brief Statement of Islam and Outline of American Islamic Propoganda*. Chicago: Magribine Press, 1998.
- Wormser, Richard. *American Islam: Growing Up Muslim in America*. New York: Walker and Company, 1994.

Endnotes

* This article is divided into two parts, the second of which will be published in the next issue of *The Muslim World*. This first part is a review article *per se* while the second raises more theoretical questions. For the first part of this article, I would like to thank the following six students who enhanced my understanding of many of the books reviewed in this article during a seminar on 'Islam in North America' held in the first half of 1999 at Connecticut College: Craig Dershowitz, Beverly Kowal, James Lafayette, Danny Liu, Latchman Ramessar, and Timothy Reuter.

1. See Appendix for a complete list of books reviewed in this article.

2. It would have been possible to call this new field "Muslim American Religious History," too. In the cases of Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc., the adjectives Jewish, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, etc. stand as much for the religion as for the people following the religion. In the case of Islam, the adjective for the religion is 'Islamic' and the adjective for the people is 'Muslim,' from the same noun form. The emphasis on "Islamic American Religious History" is therefore an emphasis on the religion rather than the practitioners themselves, although a term inclusive of both such as naturally happens with the other examples above would have been preferable.

3. The increasing number of Ph.D. students focusing their doctoral research on Muslim American Religious History also reflects the rapid growth of this new (sub-) field.

4. For an older description of the relationship between the History of Religions and Islamic Studies, see Richard Martin, ed., *Islamic Studies: A History of Religions Approach* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1982, repr. 1996). For a more recent examination of this relationship, see Jacques Waardenburg, "Islamic Studies and the History of Religions: An Evaluation," in *Mapping Islamic Studies: Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, ed. Azim Nanji (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), 181-219.

5. For a recent example of this trend, especially in journalism, see Jeffrey Goldberg, "Inside Jihad U.; The Education of a Holy Warrior," in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* (June 25, 2000). For an academic perspective, see Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

6. See Phillip Q. Yang, *Post-1965 Immigration to the United States: Structural Determinants* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995).
7. This interest is not unique to American academic production: the *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* has helped popularize among Muslims worldwide this particular area of Islamic Studies.
8. See brief references to those suggestions in Diana Eck, *On Common Ground: World Religions in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
9. In addressing the first and second questions, it is useful to divide the history of Muslims in what is now called the United States into three basic periods. The first period begins at the turn of the sixteenth century with the European exploration of the Americas, especially under the Spanish, and ends with the end of the slave trade in the nineteenth century. This period is characterized by the presence of individual Muslims on American shores, but rarely that of sustainable Muslim communities. The fate of the vast majority of Muslim slaves took the form of complete assimilation, although different degrees of Islamic remains have been uncovered in recent scholarship (as I will describe below). The second period covers the end of the nineteenth century up to 1965. This period is marked by a gradually increasing immigration of Muslims (mostly from the Ottoman Empire and British India), many of whom started to establish small Muslim communities across the United States. The third period goes from 1965 to the present, when new immigration policies allowed Muslims from all over the world to establish themselves in the United States. Prior to this third period, there were fewer than half a million Muslims. In contrast, today's estimates of the Muslim population varies between six and ten, some claiming as many as fifteen millions. Whatever may be the exact number, so important a quest in a society where statistics are commonly used as pseudo-scientific tools for various political agendas, the main point remains the rapidly growing presence of Islam as the third, and soon to become the second, most practiced religion after Christianity.
10. For an extensive bibliography of publications on Islam in the United States up to 1996, see the selected bibliography of Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *Competing Visions of Islam in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 189-98. For a more recent annotated bibliography of books and many other resources, see Jane I. Smith, "Resources for the Study of American Islam," in *Islam in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 219-26.
11. For a list of those early articles, see Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *op. cit.*, 19, footnote 13.
12. Among the most important pioneering academic works of the 1970s and 80s are: C. Eric Lincoln, *Black Muslims in America*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973); Earle H. Waugh, Baba Abu-Laban, and Regula B. Qureshi, eds., *The Muslim Community in North America* (Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 1983); Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Transition from Separatism to Islam, 1930-1980* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1984); Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Adair T. Lummis, *Islamic Values in the United States: A Comparative Study* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Elias Mallon, *Neighbors: Muslims in North America* (New York: Friendship Press, 1989).
13. For the principle account of this history, see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1993).
14. Other primary sources continue to be uncovered and translated, such as the eighteen page leaflet of Muhammad Abdullah al-Ahari, *Bilali Mubammad: Muslim Jurisprudist in Antebellum Georgia* (Chicago: Magribine Press, 1996), 18 pages. Other older sources are also re-printed, such as Mohammad Alexander Russell Webb's *Islam in America: A Brief Statement of Islam and Outline of American Islamic Propoganda*

(Chicago: Magribine Press, 1998), i, 63 pages, edited by Muhammad Abdullah al-Ahari who also edited and re-arranged *Sheikh al-Hajj Daoud Ahmed Faisal's Al-Islam, The True Faith, the Religions of Humanity* (Chicago: Magribine Press, 1996, 1998), 41 pages.

15. *Ibid.*, 19.

16. For a more in-depth review, see in the last issue of *The Muslim World*, Kambiz GhaneaBassiri's review of Turner's book.

17. An excellent small publication on the Islamic requirements and needs of Muslim inmates and their families was written recently by Aminah McCloud and Frederick Thaufeer al-Deen, *A Question of Faith for Muslim Inmates* (Chicago: ABC International Group Inc. and distributed by Kazi Publications, 1999).