

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN ISLAMIZATION RECONSIDERED:
BLACK HISTORY NARRATIVES AND MUSLIM IDENTITY**

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Utilizing recent anthropological and historical approaches to Islamization (here meaning the various historical processes by which humans become Muslims), this article offers a new model for understanding African-American conversion to Islam. The article proposes that the creation, dissemination, and disputation of “black history narratives” have been central elements in black conversion from the 1920s until the present. Showing how African Americans have appropriated various Islamic figures, place names, texts, events, and themes in crafting black Islamic historical narratives, the essay asserts that African-American Muslim identities have often reflected, if not revolved around, the idea that the historical destiny of black people as a whole is linked to the religion of Islam.

For over a decade now, students of Islam and Muslim societies have offered new directions for understanding the various religious, cultural, social, political, and economic processes by which human beings, in various places, have become “Islamized.” Rather than assuming that Islam is a fixed entity that eventually spread from the Arab and

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Persian Middle East to the rest of the Afro-Eurasian landmass, scholars have remapped Islamization, focusing on indigenous processes of identity formations and local appropriations of Islamic traditions. The beginning of this trend can be dated perhaps to a 1979 volume edited by Nehemia Levtzion, who questioned popular Euro-American notions that Islam had spread primarily by the sword (1-23). Levtzion's many contributors emphasized, instead, the multi-layered nature of conversion, examining the role of Muslim traders, legal schools, Sufi (or mystical) Islam, Muslim literatures, and popular culture in the dissemination of Islamic religion. Historian Richard Eaton explained this re-siting of Islamization in the following way: "[I]nstead of adopting the perspective of one standing in Mecca, looking out upon an ever-widening, ever-expanding religious tide that is uniform and monolithic, one adopts the perspective of someone standing in a remote and dusty village, incorporating into his religious system elements considered useful or meaningful that drift in from beyond the ocean, from over the mountains, or simply from the neighboring village" (35).

In addition to questioning the mapping of the Islamic world as "heartland and periphery," Eaton and other scholars have challenged scholarly assumptions about the nature of conversion itself (2). For example, reviewing previous literature on Islamization in Indonesia, William Cummings criticizes the Protestant biases embedded in the assumption that Islamic conversion must be "understood as a fundamental change in beliefs, an act of replacement perfect and complete when all pre-Islamic beliefs disappear in favor of Islamic tenets" (559). Cummings also notes the pervasiveness in past scholarship of false dichotomies between the "true" Muslims of Indonesia and "those who emptily perform Islamic rituals while retaining behind this façade their original

beliefs” (559). Similarly, Devin DeWeese writes about groups of Inner Asians who have often been seen by Western scholars as only nominally Islamized. Their conversions are doubted, he argues, because they are seen as political opportunists, rather than persons who have experienced a “change of heart” (57).

Such critiques of “fake Muslims” are eerily similar to those found in much of the scholarship on African-American Islam and especially the Nation of Islam. C. Eric Lincoln’s classic treatment of the “Black Muslims,” for example, claimed that the group’s Islamic identity was far less important to its success than its black nationalist identity (assuming, as he did, that Islam and black nationalism were somehow irreconcilably different.) “So long as the movement keeps its color identity with the rising black peoples of Africa,” he argued, “it could discard all its Islamic attributes--its name, its prayers to Allah, its citation from the Qur’an, everything ‘Muslim,’ without substantial risk to the appeal to the black masses” (210). This was a movement, Lincoln asserted, in which “religious values have a secondary importance,” whose main mission was to provide a sense of group solidarity in the midst of racist oppression (26, 43, 46, 215). Lincoln’s approach taught us much about the urban milieu that gave rise to the Nation of Islam, as did his conclusion that the group succeeded because it provided a sense of community to its adherents. But his explanation of how this sense of community was accomplished is incomplete. It is strange to claim that the actual forms of creative religious activity were unimportant in the development of group solidarity while also pointing to them as the very means through which group solidarity was achieved.¹

Using more recent studies of Islamization as a theoretical framework, I want to offer a counter-narrative of African-American Islamization by analyzing more deeply

what it meant to African Americans to become Muslims. Rather than evaluating African Americans' "Muslim-ness" by juxtaposing their religious practices with some ahistorical model of the "real" Islam (usually seen to be embedded in authoritative readings of Islamic sacred texts), I seek to chart how African-American Muslims have constructed what is ultimately an imagined communal identity. Following Benedict Anderson, I assume that all human communities are imagined and that "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 6). Further, I expect to discover that African-American Muslim identities, like all human identities, are "dynamic, not stable; negotiated, not given" (Tweed 1997: 164n3). African-American Muslim contests over the meaning of their symbols, texts, rituals, doctrines, and narratives are the discursive arenas in which I hope to trace the historical development of black Muslim identities.

This article focuses on a particularly under-appreciated aspect of African-American religious history that might be called the "black history narrative." American religious historian Laurie Maffly-Kipp argues, in a forthcoming book, that black history narratives, which she labels "communal narratives," constitute a distinct "textual genre" in African-American religious history that includes "reference[s] to a community beyond the self, be it defined by African descent, Christian communion, or most commonly, both; and a more or less explicit linear chronology that situates the community in a wider history." Maffly-Kipp notes that most historians have paid more attention to slave narratives, conversion accounts, and autobiographies than to this genre, which focuses on "collective stories" and includes "tales filled with histories of ancient people, fraternal orders, individual churches, national denominational bodies, Protestant nations, and

eventually, racial histories in the modern sense, that is, stories of people united by a shared biology, history, and sacred purpose.”²

The production and dissemination of modern religio-racial histories, I assert, has been central to the construction of African-American Muslim identities from the 1920s until the present day. African-American Muslims have created, studied, and debated stories that describe the historical relationships between the religion of Islam and their destiny as persons of African descent. From the beginning, these narratives have incorporated various historically Islamic elements, including Islamic figures, place names, sacred texts, theological doctrines, ethical precepts, and more. The content, form, and even functions of these narratives differ, but their diversity and their continual and varied deployment evidence their centrality to African-American Muslim life; they help to explain how some African Americans have come to see themselves as Muslims. In tracing the history of these black Muslim narratives, one can see subtle processes of Islamization at work, and by analyzing the content of these narratives, one discovers some of the major themes of African-American Islamic religion.

The Origins of Black Islamic History Narratives

If religious conversions often involve the “‘creative adaptation’ of the unfamiliar to what is already familiar,” it makes sense to explain African-American Islam partly as a transformation of older African-American religious traditions into new, synthetic religious forms. Decades before the first African Americans began to convert to Islam, the creation and dissemination of black history narratives had already been established as a venerable and familiar religious practice in black America. The most well-known

example of the genre is the biblical Exodus story, which many African Americans appropriated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to explain the origins of black enslavement and to imagine God's ultimate plan for the redemption of the blacks as a nation and a race.³ The themes of Exodus figured prominently in African-American political discourse, spirituals and hymns, sermons, folklore, and everyday speech (Raboteau 1978: 311-2). But the Exodus story was only a small part of a larger genre that included several other explicitly religious themes.

Indeed, one need not look to the twentieth century to identify the first black history narrative that linked the destiny of blacks to Islam. Liberian Edward Wilmot Blyden, a Presbyterian missionary from the West Indies who became President of Liberia College, was the first prominent African American to advocate Islam as an efficacious religious tradition for black people. Blyden's *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* (1967, orig. 1887) argued that Islam had been a civilizing influence among West Africans, that it had extinguished racial differences between Muslims of all colors, and most importantly of all, that it had encouraged an independence of spirit and mind among black Africans (Curtis: 21-43). Islam, he claimed in another piece, had also provided blacks with protection against "undue reverence for the Arab;" when he asked some "educated African Muslims" about the racism of Arabs, they replied by quoting from sura 9, verse 97 of the Qur'an: "The Arabs are most stout in unbelief and hypocrisy, and are more likely not to know the bounds which God has sent to His Apostle" (1902: 21). One could argue with the way that Blyden's informants or Blyden himself translates this Qur'anic verse. "The Arabic word is *a`rab*," notes one contemporary interpreter of the Qur'an, "meaning rural dwellers or nomadic folks or Bedouins who submit politically to

Islamic suzerainty but [who are] not totally spiritually members of the community.”⁴ But the important point here is that Blyden understood his informants as using the verse and Islamic religion more generally to defend their blackness. Islam in West Africa, he argued, was the vehicle of black manhood and independence.

Blyden not only offered his own ethnographic work in the West African interior as proof for his claims about Islam’s positive influences on blacks, but also the stories of several black figures from the classical age of Islam. In so doing, Blyden invoked the names of black male Muslims who are central characters in African-American Islamic history narratives even today.⁵ “The Negro Muslims,” he wrote, “claim a share in some of the most celebrated achievements in Islam” (1905: 162). Under the aegis of Islam, he said, Bilal ibn Rabah, a former black slave, became an important companion of the Prophet Muhammad, and the first *mu’adhdhin*, or prayer-caller, of Islam (1887: 230). Similarly, Wahshi, another black slave, became a Muslim hero when he slew Hamzah, one of the Prophet’s most persistent enemies, at the Battle of Uhud. In addition, Blyden said, a whole chapter of the Qur’an was named for Luqman, a legendary and wise black man. Finally, he claimed, “this recognition of the African in the Koran was natural, because the Prophet of Islam was descended in part from an African woman” (1905: 162-163).

Blyden’s linking of history, Islam, and black liberation introduced themes that have been central to African-American Islam for decades now. Whether these themes were actually discovered and perpetuated by African-American Muslims in the U.S. is still debated (cf. Turner: 82-90 and Curtis: 48-51). What we do know is that by the 1920s, Muslims in the United States were making the same kinds of connections between

Islam and black history. In fact, Ahmadiyya missionaries used these themes as a central element in their missionizing among African Americans. One of the first Muslim groups to attempt the conversion of non-Muslim populations in the United States, the Ahmadiyya were founded in British India in 1889 by Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908), a man seen by many of his followers to be a *mujaddid*, or a renewer of religion, and by still others as a prophet. Though most Muslims reject Ahmadiyya teachings as unorthodox, if not heretical, it is often forgotten that the group was one of the first missionary movements to disseminate information about the five pillars of Islam and the Qur'an in the United States. In fact, the Ahmadiyya are responsible for the first mass distribution of English translations of the Qur'an (see further Turner: 109-146).

In 1920, Ahmadiyya missionary Muhammad Sadiq, a South Asian man, arrived in the United States in 1920 and quickly targeted African Americans for conversion to Islam, repeating many of Blyden's arguments on the usefulness of Islam in the struggle for black liberation. The *Moslem Sunrise*, the official newspaper of Sadiq's mission headquartered in Chicago, said that Islam guaranteed racial equality and brotherhood: "there is no question of color" in the Islamic East, the paper argued (Oct. 1921: 41). Further, Ahmadi missionaries linked Islam to black history, proclaiming Islam and the Arabic language as the true heritage of persons of African descent. "My Dear American Negro," the paper declared, "...[the] Christian profiteers brought you out of your native lands of Africa and in Christianizing you made you forget the religion and language of your forefathers—which were Islam and Arabic" (April and May 1923: 184). This theme, of course, would be repeated by Elijah Muhammad and other African-American Muslims.

African-American Ahmadi converts may have been attempting to “recover” what they viewed as their original and more authentic identities when they took Muslim names after joining the movement. For example, P. Nathaniel Johnson, the black leader of the Ahmadi mission in St. Louis, Missouri, became Sheik Ahmad Din (July 1922:119), and a “Mrs. Thomas,” became Sister Khairat (Jan. 1923: 165). The *Moslem Sunrise* aided this practice by publishing lists of Muslim names and their English equivalents (April and July 1923: 216-7). When Americans joined the movement, their legal names were listed along side their new Muslim names (Jan. 1923: 170-1).

Like Blyden, the *Moslem Sunrise* also featured stories of black ancestors who had distinguished themselves in helping to establish Muhammad’s prophetic mission and the early community of believers in seventh-century Arabia. “To show the heights of spiritual, social, and intellectual eminence [to which] Islam had raised the slave community,” the paper offered the examples of two former black slaves, Bilal and Zayd, who had been companions of the Prophet (Oct. 1932/Jan. 1933: 31-3). Despite “persecutions and privations,” Bilal became an early supporter of the Prophet and “one of the most respected leaders of Islam.” Though freed at an early point by Muhammad himself, Zayd had “remained attached to the Prophet,” and later, figured prominently in early Muslim conquests.

While Blyden and the Ahmadiyya showed the extent to which black history could be linked to Islam in forming new religio-racial historical narratives, it was not until Noble Drew Ali established the Chicago-based Moorish Science Temple that an indigenous African-American Muslim group began to incorporate these narratives as key aspects of their religious and racial identities.⁶ Historian Susan Nance has argued

convincingly that religious practice in the Moorish Science Temple owed far more to black spiritualism, New Thought, and mystical Freemasonry than it did to any historically Islamic tradition (123-166), but Noble Drew Ali's creation of new black Muslim identities should not be dismissed as insignificant to the history of African-American Islam. The Moorish Science Temple, after all, was the first black religious group in the United States to disseminate widely the idea that African Americans were, both historically and biologically, Muslim persons. In his *Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple*, published in 1927, Drew Ali taught that blacks—a racial label that he detested—were actually Moors, descended from a more generic Asiatic race of people (57). Their natural religion was Islam, while the religion of Christianity belonged to those of European or white decent.

Unlike Blyden or the Ahmadiyya, however, Ali neither cited the accomplishments of his black Muslim ancestors as proof of the connection between blacks and Islam nor did he stress the egalitarianism of Islamic religion in his advocacy of Moorish Science. Instead, Noble Drew offered a complicated Biblical genealogy that showed the historical links between Moors, or Moabites, and other Asiatic Canaanites. In so doing, Drew Ali showed how much he owed to his nineteenth-century black Christian forebears, who had used the Bible, especially biblical stories about the Hamites and the Ethiopians, to trace African-American roots to the peoples of the Jewish and Christian holy lands (Nance: 134-6). Like many of his predecessors, Drew Ali also sought an explicitly religious explanation for the downfall of black people and their subsequent enslavement. But rather than pointing the finger at Christian profiteers, as the Ahmadi missionaries had done, he placed blame for black decline on the Moors themselves: “Through sin and

disobedience,” he wrote, “every nation has suffered slavery due to the fact that they honored not the creed and principles of their forefathers.” The Moors, he said, had become known by the pejorative labels of “negro, black and colored... because they honored not the principles of their mother and father, and strayed after the gods of Europe of whom they knew nothing” (59).

That Noble Drew recorded these words in his *Holy Koran* is important, for he was the first American to use a black Islamic history narrative as sacred text. In so doing, he offered a pattern and a theme that would be repeated most famously by Elijah Muhammad: he was a prophet who had come to save his people from the disempowering influences of Christianity and restore them to their original religion, a faith that was part of their very blood, their ancient history, and their greatest successes as a people. The telling of the true history of blacks/Muslims would be a central theme not only in Elijah Muhammad’s teachings, but in the everyday lives of Nation of Islam members, as well.

Black History Narratives in Elijah Muhammad’s Nation of Islam

Several recent studies of African-American Muslims have shown that while the Nation of Islam may have been the most prominent black Muslim movement in the eyes of the American media, it was certainly neither the first, nor the only group that encouraged the conversion of African Americans to Islam. Aminah Beverly McCloud’s *African American Islam* lists ten other organizations that sought black converts before 1960, including the Moors, the Ahmadiyya, the Universal Islamic Society, the First Muslim Mosque of Pittsburgh, the Islamic Brotherhood, the Addeynu Allahe Universal Arabic Association, the African American Mosque, the Islamic Mission Society, the State

Street Mosque, and the Fahamme Temple of Islam and Culture (10). After 1960, their number would grow even more, and come to include Shi`i and Sufi African-American Muslim groups (McCloud: 41-42). An even more recent book by Robert Dannin, *Black Pilgrimage to Islam* (2002), begins to give a more detailed examination of the religious lives of black Muslims not associated with the famous Nation of Islam. There is, as one might expect, much more work to be done.

At the same time, it is also clear that despite the enormous scholarly attention devoted to the Nation of Islam (NOI), very little scholarship has focused on the religious lives of its members.⁷ Moreover, there has been a strong tendency among scholars to draw a clear distinction between “Black Muslims” and other black Muslims, often reifying C. Eric Lincoln’s original claims that the NOI was neither primarily religious, nor Islamic in nature.⁸ As a result, scholars have often missed the obvious connections between the Nation of Islam and other African-American Muslim groups and persons. In focusing here on the NOI, I hope to explore themes common to African-American Muslim experience, in general. Given its limitations as a case study, any hypothesis about black Muslim history as a whole must be tested by future study.

Already clear, however, is the connection between the NOI and the Moorish Science Temple, if not the Ahmadiyya movement, as well. Several scholars have noted that many Moors and perhaps Ahmadiyya eventually joined the NOI (see, for example, Lincoln: 62). In addition, all of these groups shared the same temporal and geographic spaces in Chicago and Detroit. Above all perhaps, there is some basic thematic continuity in the black history narratives disseminated in all of these movements. Take, for example, the similarities between Noble Drew Ali’s black history narrative and that of

Elijah Muhammad, who would emerge after World War II as the popular leader of the Nation of Islam.

Like Drew Ali, Elijah Muhammad argued that black people's Muslim identities could be dated to the beginning of human history and that the recovery of their original Muslim identities was necessary for black redemption. In his famous narrative of black chosenness, Muhammad taught that the black man was the "original" man on earth. These blacks/Muslims lived in an Edenic state until a mischievous and insane scientist named Yacub genetically engineered the white man, an inferior and brutish being. The Prophet Muhammad of Arabia reached out to these whites, trying to save them from their own evil nature. But the cave-dwelling white man, who was bent on violence and conquest, ignored him and set out to conquer the more civilized black man.⁹ Whites succeeded and enslaved blacks. During this enslavement, the black man forgot his religion and his original language, which was Arabic. He forgot "knowledge of self." But God did not abandon His chosen people. Eventually, He appeared on earth in the person of W. D. Fard and elected a Messenger, Elijah Muhammad, to mentally resurrect the black man, preparing him for the real jubilee, an apocalypse in which God would dispense with genetically inferior whites and restore blacks to their original greatness (Muhammad: 1-11, 31, 110-22, and 265-91).

"Yacub's History," as Malcolm X referred to the narrative (Malcolm X and Alex Haley: 167), was explained in Muhammad's publications like *The Supreme Wisdom* (1957) and *Message to the Blackman* (1992, orig. 1965). In addition, it was subject of public addresses and appeared regularly in *Muhammad Speaks*, the official newspaper of the movement. In fact, while this view of history had obvious mythic qualities, efforts

were made in the 1960s to prove its scientific validity. A May, 1962, issue of *Muhammad Speaks* devoted its front page to a story entitled, “Who is the Original Man?” (1, 23).¹⁰ White supremacist scientists, it claimed, had long been engaged in a “super-secret project” to officially “establish earth’s ‘Original Man’ as white.” However, the article continued, Louis Leakey’s recent discovery of the remains of a 14 million year-old man in Kenya had proven conclusively that humankind’s birthplace was Africa. The article juxtaposed his discoveries with other academic efforts that challenged white supremacist arguments; included in the discussion were a Smithsonian exhibit of a basalt sculpture from La Yenta, Mexico; the “fictional” Peking Man and Java Man; and the Southeast Asian digs of Tom Harrison. In addition, the article featured several pictures, one of which depicted a slovenly Neanderthal, and referred to him as the “hairy, dumb, brutal,... [and] idiotic creature... [that] could very well be the forbearor [*sic*] of any of today’s proud caucasians.”

To be sure, Yacub’s history was a core element of NOI religious thought, and it was featured in at least ten separate issues of *Muhammad Speaks* during the 1960s.¹¹ But it was not only black history narrative popular in the movement. Other topics included the historical achievements of pre-historic, ancient, medieval, and modern Africans; the history of blacks in the United States; and classical Islamic history. Often times, articles stressed the connections between Islam and African history. Representative titles of such articles included the following: “While Europe Was in Dark Ages—The Story of Timbuctoo’s Astounding Civilization,” (31 October 1962: 10); “Book Tells Saga of Negro Writer and Muslim Heroes,” (7 October 1966: 17); “Muhammad Brings Film on Life of 1st Black Islamic Convert to Chicago,” (18 November 1966: 17); and “Timbuctu:

Ancient Islamic Center Dispatched Scholars throughout World,” (22 December 1967: 17). In fact, in counting the number of items on black history that appeared in the newspaper from 1961-1968, it is clear that there was nearly as much, if not more coverage of explicitly classical and African Islamic themes than there was of the movement’s unique and decidedly New World mythology.¹²

The coverage of subjects other than Elijah Muhammad’s theory on the original man was in part a result of the newspaper’s editorial staff and its status as a popular source of news among a general audience of African Americans.¹³ Though owned and distributed by the NOI, *Muhammad Speaks* employed a non-Muslim staff that included the award-winning journalist, Richard Durham, who served as its managing editor from 1963-1972. According to Leon Forrest, Durham convinced Elijah Muhammad that the paper should focus on hard news related to the contemporary United States and the “rising tide of color” in the Second and Third Worlds. If the amount of space allotted to movement activities were too large, Durham argued, the integrity of the weekly would be compromised. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the layout of the weekly reflected the formula advocated by Durham. Only a few pages of the often twenty to thirty-page newspaper were devoted exclusively to the NOI. Its emphasis on black history also showed the influence of Durham, who won a Peabody award for “Destination Freedom,” a radio series on Chicago station WNAQ about famous figures in African-American history (Forrest: 86-93). Like other black intellectuals of the period, Durham helped to create a black consciousness movement that stressed the African heritage of contemporary American blacks.¹⁴

Even with the restrictions placed on movement coverage within the paper, however, *Muhammad Speaks* still functioned as a public sphere for the expression and development of African-American Muslim identity. The few pages devoted solely to NOI activity contained a wealth of information, including the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, a “Women in Islam” column, black Muslim poetry, a “Prayer in Islam” column, quotations from the Qur’an, and didactic comic strips. NOI members and other persons more loosely affiliated with the movement used these pages not merely to heap praise on the Messenger, or to repeat his teachings, but to develop their own responses to his message and to articulate their own religious visions. Often times, these expressions engaged elements of Islamic history through the prism of Elijah Muhammad’s teachings; in so doing, they added even more historically Islamic themes to a growing corpus of black history narratives within the movement.

Perhaps the greatest example of this trend is a series of entertaining and artfully done comic strips that recounted stories from the classical and middle periods of Islam. During 1965 and 1966, two series of comics about classical Islamic topics appeared under the title “Muhammad’s Message.” While the narratives themselves are drawn from Islamic history, a close reading suggests that certain parts of the stories were altered or embellished by the cartoonist, Majied. For example, Majied’s rendering of the conversion of ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second Caliph of Islam, is framed as a history lesson taught by a black male teacher at the University of Islam, the movement’s primary and secondary school in Chicago. Appearing before a group of boys and girls, the teacher stresses that Elijah Muhammad “is giving us the knowledge of ourselves, and our true history. Our black fathers,” he tells the students, “had many civilizations before the

whiteman had come out of Europe's Darkness" (24 September 1965: 27). In the next installment, the same teacher reminds students that, "[a]s Mr. Muhammad teaches us, the root of civilization is in Arabia, at the Holy City of Mecca." Explaining Mecca's importance as the birthplace of the Prophet Muhammad, the instructor links the Prophet's mission to that of Elijah Muhammad. "Just as Muhammad of Today is opposed by unbelievers, and hypocrites in establishing Islam in the Wilderness of North America, so was the Messenger of that day opposed" (1 October 1965: 27). Here was an explicit link between the prophetic mission of the Arabian Muhammad and that of Messenger Elijah Muhammad.

According to the comic strip, the challenges facing Prophet Muhammad of Arabia were so great that the Prophet asked God for a helper. In response, Allah sent an unlikely candidate. "Having been born in the 'upper class,' Omar was at first **opposed** [emphasis in the original] to Islam" (8 October 1965: 27). In fact, the so-called St. Paul of Islam, a man destined to become a great defender of Muslims was at first one of their greatest persecutors. According to Majied's comic strip, 'Umar beat his servant when he discovered that she had converted to Islam. But the spread of Islam would not be stopped, even by violence. Islam, the cartoonist explained, offered converts "meaningful salvation... salvation from ignorance, from spooky and superstitious idol-worship" (22 October 1965: 27). This explanation of Islamic salvation reiterated Elijah Muhammad's critique of African-American Christianity, which he said encouraged blacks to delay their quest for this-worldly freedom and wait for other-worldly salvation.

The Prophet's success, according to Majied, infuriated 'Umar, who pledged to silence the Message, even if it meant killing the Messenger himself. As 'Umar "whirled

toward the Safa Hills, vowing to kill the Holy Prophet,” a man cried out to him (29 October 1965: 27). “Omar! You ride like a madman! Where to?”

“To kill that meddling Prophet! ... Before he snares another follower!”

“Perhaps,” the man screamed, “you should start at your own house! Your sister, Fatima, is now a follower!”

‘Umar rushed to his house, where he found his sister, Fatima, in prayer. He struck her. Then, filled with regret, he paused to question himself. “Have I lost my senses—attacking my own flesh and blood?” (12 November 1965: 27). Pleading the forgiveness of his sister, he asked to see the book that she held in her hand. “Surely there must be some great truth in the book Muhammad has given to you.” He then “retreated to a corner of the room. . . and as he read pages of the Holy Qur’an, the Divine truth and beauty of Allah’s word gripped his heart” (19 November 1965: 27). After this epiphany, ‘Umar rushed once again to the Prophet—not to harm him, but to embrace Islam.¹⁵

The last of the series on ‘Umar appeared December 3, 1965, when the cartoonist concluded his work with what might be seen by a movement outsider as a rather anticlimactic gesture. Pointing to a picture of Elijah Muhammad, the classroom teacher counseled that “we must remember, children—this history of the Prophet of 1400 years ago was a foreshadow of what was to come today... But Muhammad of today is doing a greater work than Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad of 1400 years ago! He is raising a dead nation to become the guiding stars of the nations! ... From a people that has been crushed beyond recognition!” (3 December 1965: 27). The story thus ends as it began—by explaining the importance of classical Islamic history in relation to Elijah Muhammad’s own esoteric teachings.

The way that the story of ‘Umar itself is told, however, bears a closer look. Majied takes a tale from classical Islam and highlights themes that speak in special ways to his African-American Muslim audience. For instance, the cartoonist emphasizes the regret that ‘Umar felt when he struck Fatima. In Majied’s comic strip, this act is understood as unnatural, an attack on his “own flesh and blood.” It jars ‘Umar’s conscience and prompts him to ask for his sister’s Qur’an, which in turn leads to his conversion. The story demonstrates, of course, that even a most unlikely figure can be redeemed, if he or she will only be led to trust innate instincts of familial, and by implication, racial bonds.

Another related theme in the story is the strong opposition faced by the Prophet among his own people. One of the Prophet’s greatest persecutors, ‘Umar, is a member of the upper class, a fact that is stressed in the comic strip. ‘Umar is presented as a figure similar to middle or upper class blacks who virulently opposed Elijah Muhammad’s message, especially at the height of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and early 1960s. Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and other NOI leaders often portrayed the opposition of “Uncle Tom” and “Stool Pigeon” blacks as a main barrier to black unity, which was seen as a necessary step towards the empowerment of all blacks (Muhammad: 282).

Moreover, this theme of the persecuted prophet has obvious parallels to stories about Jesus in the African-American Christian traditions from which many NOI members converted. In these cartoons, however, Elijah Muhammad is portrayed as Savior, divinely designated to resurrect God’s *truly* chosen people. Part of the richness of NOI religious discourse was that Christian narratives, symbols, and even scriptures existed

side by side with Islamic elements. But NOI members generally reconfigured Christian meanings within an Islamic order, blending the resonance of the old with the truth of the new (see Curtis: 64-79).

In addition to melding classical Arab Islamic themes with Elijah Muhammad's prophetic teachings, some cartoons fashioned a black Islamic history narrative inspired by the historical achievement of sub-Saharan black Muslims. Once again linking Elijah Muhammad's mythology to Islamic history, Majied composed a series of comic strips about the Songhay Empire of West Africa. This series begins with a picture of a small black male child, dressed in coat and tie, asking his father, who is similarly dressed, about his people's identity. "Daddy, since we arn't Negroes, Who are we?" (4 March 1966: 27). After hearing an explanation that "we are members of the great aboriginal nation of black man," the son asks, "Did we ever have Presidents, or Kings, Generals and soldiers?" (11 March 1966: 27).

"Certainly, son!" the father answers. "We are members of the great Black Nation... the original owners of the Earth." Even more, he continues, "the greatest rulers and soldiers on Earth were from our Black Nation of Islam!... One such ruler was Sonni Ali." Sunni `Ali established the Songhay empire in the 1400s, taking over Timbuktu in 1468 (Lapidus: 404). "This great soldier-King," the father explained, "conquered almost all of Africa from Lake Chad to Tripoli, stretching to the Atlantic Ocean! He ruled with justice the empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, and was patron of a great center of learning [Timbuktu]."

This was a highly romanticized version of Songhay history. Maurice Delafosse notes that "the chroniclers of Timbuktu accuse him [Sunni `Ali] of having been cruel,

impious, and a libertine, and of having persecuted men of learning and religion, although [he was], nominally at least, a Muslim himself” (488-89). But whether the cartoonist chose to ignore or was simply unaware of these accusations, what is important here is his linking of Islam to the military and spiritual strengths of an exclusively black empire. “You see,” the father pictured in the comic strip concludes, “Mr. Muhammad teaches us the truth! We have a glorious history, and we can only disgrace ourselves by begging to integrate with others!” Once again, we see key elements of Islamic history being read as supportive of official NOI doctrines, including ideas of black chosenness and support for black separatism.

What speaks to the centrality of the black history narrative as a key element of African-American Muslim life, however, is that the genre did not (and does not) have to be tied to these specific constructions of Muslim identity in order for it to be embraced by African-American Muslims. After Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, for example, his unique Islamic traditions were questioned and quickly abandoned. W. D. Mohammed (née Wallace D. Muhammad), the sixth son of Elijah, inherited the mantle of leadership from his father on February 26, 1975. Influenced at an early age by Arab Muslim teachers at the NOI’s University of Islam, he repudiated those ideas that most Sunni Muslims found to be heretical, including Yacub’s history.¹⁶ Whites, he announced, would be allowed to join the NOI. Practices like the December celebration of Ramadan, the month of fasting, would be abandoned or reinvented; in this case, Mohammed asked his followers to celebrate Ramadan in accordance with the Muslim lunar calendar. At the same time that the Imam was dismantling the racialism of the movement, he was also decoupling the NOI from black nationalism.¹⁷ Rejecting calls for a separate black nation,

he placed American flags in the NOI's temples, which became known as *masjids*, or mosques. He also changed the name of the organization from the Nation of Islam to the World Community of Al-Islam in the West (WCIW), and in 1980, to the American Muslim Mission.¹⁸ In abandoning the myth of Yacub as a root paradigm, the Imam stopped talking about black identity in terms of race, which implied genetic determinism, and started using the vocabulary of ethnicity, which stressed culture and history.

Despite all of these dramatic changes, however, the black history narrative continued to be a main referent in movement discourse. In fact, it was invested with new vision and strength. Perhaps the best and most ubiquitous examples of the black history narrative were stories surrounding Bilal ibn Rabah, the black figure from classical Islam whom Edward Blyden had cited a century prior as an exemplar of black historical achievement. On November 1, 1975, W. D. Mohammed said that he would call himself "Bilalian," a new religio-ethnic label that he recommended to other persons of African descent. Mohammed also changed the name of the *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper to the *Bilalian News*. He explained that Bilal was "a Black Ethiopian slave who was an outstanding man in the history of Islam. He was the first *muezzin* (Minister) of Prophet Muhammad (may peace be upon Him). He was so sincere and his heart was so pure that the Prophet Muhammad and the other leaders of Islam under him addressed him as 'Master Bilal'" (7 November 1975: 1).

Various published sources about Bilal, written by Muslims and non-Muslim alike, circulated in the movement.¹⁹ The newspaper marketed Bilalian styles of dress, including the "Bilalian" fez. And the *Bilalian News* children's page offered a word puzzle about the historic figure. Placed next to an illustration of a man performing the

call to prayer, the puzzle read: “I was once a slave/Who was very brave/I was a man without fear/who gave the first prayer/in a land where Arabia lay/And though there were great odds/I was not afraid/to proclaim the religion of God. Who am I?” (28 November 1975: 25). All of these activities can be fruitfully understood as practices whereby members of the movement engaged the story of Bilal to construct, or in some cases to deconstruct, their Muslim identities.

Oral history interviews conducted by the author with followers of W. D. Mohammed in the 1990s indicate that believers interpreted this particular black history narrative in several different ways, alternately emphasizing the social, political, cultural, and religious importance of calling themselves “Bilalian.” Above all, these interviews show that many black Muslims have conceived their identities in historical terms, often emphasizing the parallels between their black Muslim ancestor, Bilal, and their own destiny as Muslims and persons of African descent. For instance, Imam Samuel Ansari, the leader of St. Louis’ Masjid al-Mu’minun, the former Nation of Islam Temple No. 28 now aligned with W. D. Mohammed, explained that he used the label because “African Americans suffer from an identity crisis.” I quote extensively from my interview with Ansari:

Our circumstances are very parallel to what his was, and he came to a station of dignity through accepting Islam and became a very close companion of the Prophet... And it’s synonymous, I think that’s the proper term, it’s synonymous with us trying to gain our dignity and our station of dignity in America—that if we would come to right guidance, come to a call, whether you become Muslim or not is not important, but it means coming to the call that is calling you to dignity, to integrity, to live to employ principles in your life... I heard the Imam [W. D. Mohammed] talk about it once. He said that Bilal wasn’t just a slave; Bilal was an obedient slave. You know, he was a good slave... He obeyed his master up until he heard

the call to Islam and the message of what Islam offered, and then, after that, he could no longer accept it. See, and that's they way most of the people, the African Americans who truly convert or revert back to Islam... they can no longer be willing subjects of the Caucasians or people who want to employ or put them in subjected situations, you know. And now you have to treat me with the same respect that you treat anybody and everybody else, and I will not accept anything short of that... So, I still feel that Bilalian is a better term to identify as ethnic group than even African American.²⁰

Ansari's rich explanation of the term "Bilalian" shows that for him the figure of Bilal modeled the connections between proper ethical behavior, self-determination and liberation, submission to God, and self-respect. Imam Ansari emphasizes the historical parallels between Bilal and African Americans by juxtaposing Bilal's circumstances in Arabia with the challenges faced by African Americans in the United States: like Bilal, African Americans can "gain our dignity and our station of dignity in America," he says, if African Americans come "to the call that is calling you to dignity, to integrity."

Ahmed Ghani, echoing some of Ansari's claims, stressed that the recognition of this Ethiopian's contributions to Islam could be seen as a source of ethnic pride and identity for blacks; as an ethical example for all persons, regardless of racial or religious orientation; and finally, as proof for the strength of multicultural societies. "When you get a lot of ethnic groups of people together," he claimed, "they can advance the human society to a greater plateau" (Ghani). Lorene Ghani, his spouse, added during this interview that the use of the term Bilalian was part of a larger trend of Muslim naming: "[M]ost of the African American people in this country today do have slave names. And he [W. D. Mohammed] wanted us to feel good by taking on a name of our culture at that time... And from then on we had a book of Muslim names, and we chose names based on the kind we thought was suitable for us with a good meaning" (Ghani).

Khadijah Mahdi, who during the 1990s served as Principal of the Clara Muhammad [Primary] School attached to the Masjid al-Mu'minin, emphasized the importance of Bilal not only in celebrating the idea of multiculturalism generally, but in claiming black contributions to Islam. Mahdi, who converted to Islam in the 1970s in New York, said that she, too, had called herself Bilalian. She explained, as did Ansari, that the term was the result of African-American needs for an identity, "belongingness in America," and a spiritual exemplar. But she also argued that anti-black racism, especially among Muslims, helped to create the need for a term like "Bilalian": "[No one wants to] be said to be black, ... even when you have some [Asian] Indians who are blacker than I am... It just seems as though the Arabs or the Muslims from other countries—immigrants—they want to make this [Islam] seem as though it's more of an immigrant religion or religion for the Arabs. And so that means that all of the darker people that were in it are not given the same credit basically. You have Abu Bakr [the first Caliph of Islam], you have the companions, and mostly, well, Bilal was not a companion, but why wasn't he? Why wasn't he thought of being a companion? Why was he just written as though all of his function was to do the *adhan* [call to prayer]?"

Of course, one could take issue with Mahdi's claims. Muslims scholars have for centuries considered Bilal to be a companion of the Prophet. And immigrant Muslims, as this article has shown, have used the story of Bilal to encourage African-American conversion to Islam for decades. Moreover, many Muslim missionaries have stressed the nonracial character of Islam as one of the religion's central tenets.²¹ But what should not be missed is Mahdi's feeling that Bilal had been excluded in Islamic history because he was black and her view that the recognition of Bilal was an important step not only in

telling a more racially inclusive history of Islam, but also in showing how race itself is an unimportant category in God's eyes. By recognizing the existence of skin color, cultural difference, and racial prejudice, one could ultimately transcend the bonds of race and ethnicity. When I asked Mahdi whether she was proud of being black, she responded by saying that "I'm proud of who I am and basically, you know, to say you don't see skin color, you can't say that... in America... [But] my skin is not going to do anything for me. It's just my exterior. It's what's inside that's going to get me to paradise or take me to hell" (Mahdi 1994).

Abdul Shakir, however, offered a very different interpretation, claiming that Bilal symbolized the special and particular role of African Americans should take in leading the *umma*, or worldwide community of Muslims, toward more proper Islamic practice and Muslim unity. Shakir, a former captain in St. Louis's chapter of the Fruit of Islam, the all-male elite of the NOI, converted in the 1950s. I quote extensively from the interview:

Prophet Muhammad say, Bilal has a beautiful voice, and everyone loves to hear him sing, and he said what better instrument than the human voice to summon people to prayer... And we liken the role, we could relate to the role we was playing, being ex-slaves and having embraced Al-Islam, wanting to be right, and we could see a lot of fallacies in the Saudis and the Egyptians, you know, in the difference between the Shi'ites and the Sunnis... So you need someone, someone summons them all together that they all respected and they would... Get behind when the summons [was issued]... The Imam say we want to set a good example, we want to follow the exact dictates of Prophet Muhammad, we want to follow the command to the letter. We say that Islamic states have accepted too much too much of European cultures... And then this racism, you know, most of them, the foreign believers at the Islamic Center [in St. Louis] and cross country too, because of what had been said about the African

Americans, the uncouth: “When you go to America, don’t associate with them. They so corrupted and they drink wine and they commit adultery and they are dope fiends...” But we, knowing that this was what was being said about us, Imam Muhammad said, we want, now that we in mainstream Islam, we want to inherit this Qur’an one hundred percent, so be it. We step on whoever’s feet we step on. If the Saudis are not adherent to this book one hundred percent and to its ideas, we’ll be free and we can feel free to make them aware that where they have gone and strayed from the Qur’an. And, if we adhere to these teachings and to the Qur’an, a lot will bless us undergoing what we have went through and come out of slavery and through what Elijah taught. And now we’re on the right path. We want to set good examples (Shakir).

African American Muslims, in other words, could offer moral leadership to all Muslims, who were too divided, who had adopted too much European culture, and who were too racist. Because of the African-American Muslim journey from slavery and Elijah Muhammad’s incorrect Islamic teachings to the “exact dictates” of the Qur’an and the Prophet Muhammad, he argued, African-American Muslims could be moral examples for all. To Shakir, Bilal was a poetic symbol calling African Americans to lead and unite the *umma*.

But not all followers of W. D. Mohammed enthusiastically embraced the title of Bilalian. Abdul Shabazz, a carpenter who originally converted to Islam under Elijah Muhammad’s leadership and remained in the movement through W. D. Mohammed’s reforms, asserted that skin color and ethnic identity were ultimately unimportant. Saying that he “agreed” with the term, he also cautioned that the search for identity was a “waste of time”: “In order for me to really say where my ancestry lies at or—all I know is that my ancestors were kidnapped, right? To go into Africa or city to find out definitely my roots or my origin would be like a non-stop challenge.” Instead, Shabazz argued, “Islam

solves the identity crisis. Be a Muslim, and secondly, I am of African descent and I am in America.” When I followed up by asking him whether the term Bilalian was important to him personally, he responded: “No, not really, you know, because I figure, you know, in the end all of us return to our Creator” (Shabazz). These comments are significant, for they remind us that Muslim identity in W. D. Mohammed’s community, much less in African-American Muslim communities as a whole, cannot be defined in any monolithic way. As important as black history narratives are, it is clear that African-American Muslims need not to have participated in their production or dissemination in order for them to become Muslims.

But whether Islam would have become such an important and popular religious tradition among African Americans without black history narratives is another question. At the least, it is clear that black history narratives helped to shape the Muslim identities that African Americans have experimented with, debated, and adopted. In the case of the Nation of the Islam, it might also be argued that the use of black history narratives facilitated the transition from Elijah Muhammad’s black particularistic view of Islam to W. D. Mohammed’s Sunni reformation of the movement. In the course of a few years, Imam Mohammed convinced thousands of African Americans to change the way that they thought about and practiced Islam. In so doing, it must be recognized, he was working with human beings who already thought of themselves as Muslims. Years before 1975, NOI members had imagined their Muslim identities as being linked to the greater history of Islam, and that style of being Muslim endured after the break with Elijah Muhammad’s unique mythologies.

Conclusion

I have argued that black history narratives played a significant role in African-American Muslim identity formation during the 1900s. The black history narrative was an imaginative space where African Americans could explore, debate, and dispute what it meant to be Muslim. As mentioned, however, the development of this genre is only one chapter in the larger story of African-American Islamization. A more detailed analysis of how African Americans have become Muslims must engage issues of ritual activities, religious thought, the gendered nature of Muslim identities, and more. In addition, a more complete view of the importance of the black history narrative in African-American Islam must reach beyond my focus on the Nation of Islam to encompass the many other African-American groups and individuals who have come to call themselves Muslims.

The limitations of this study notwithstanding, my argument has affirmed the usefulness of a re-sited approach to Islamization that does not view Islamic conversion necessarily as a change in a human being's theological perspective or even adherence to certain canonical formulations like the five pillars of Islam, but as the various historical processes by which human beings come to define themselves, sometimes slowly, sometimes suddenly, as Muslims. In this study of Islamization, like many of those cited in the introduction, converts constructed their Muslim identities by creating or reinterpreting stories about their collective past. African-American Muslims imagined that their identity as a people, a race, a nation, or an ethnic group—they constantly debated the very nature of their particularity—was linked to the religion of Islam. They produced and circulated stories that located communal authenticity in a shared past that was both black and Muslim. In many cases, they imagined that God had intended for

them to convert—or revert to Islam—and that their ultimate destiny as a people would be determined by how well they realized God’s plan.

One might protest, of course, that the religion of Islam had little to do with these persons calling themselves Muslims, that their conversions were superficial, and that they “used” Islam to accessorize their cosmological and historical understandings of what it meant to be black. Such an approach, I have argued, reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of the local and necessarily indigenous nature of Islamization. The mere fact that these persons decided to call themselves Muslims represents a dramatic break with the past; in the context of an African-American culture defined or at least influenced by Christian institutions, language, symbols, rituals, and doctrines, these human beings crossed a key social boundary (cf. Bulliet 9). As Devin DeWeese writes of Inner Asian converts to Islam, “[t]o adopt a name [in this context] is to change one’s reality, and in this sense there is hardly a *deeper* ‘conversion’ than a *nominal* one” (55). Of course, in so doing, they retained aspects of their old selves, and explained their new identities by appropriating and reinterpreting key narratives, symbols, doctrines, and rituals from their past. But that should not disqualify these Muslims from being included in the history of Islam; in fact, it offers scholars a unique opportunity to explain how and why these human beings from the recent past have become Muslims.

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NOTES

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¹ Lincoln's lack of emphasis on the content of black Muslim religiosity can be explained partly by his overwhelming concern for the social functions of the Nation of Islam. For an extended critique of the role of functionalism in Lincoln's analysis of African-American religion, see Trulear: 44-55.

² Maffly-Kipp's work, *African-American Communal Narratives: Religion, Race, and Memory in Nineteenth-Century America*, is forthcoming from the University of North Carolina Press.

³ For treatments of the Exodus story in African-American religious history, see Raboteau 1995: 17-36 and Glaude: 44-62.

⁴ I am indebted to Ebrahim Moosa for this point. Personal correspondence, Moosa to Curtis, 3 October 2003.

⁵ Simply do a Google search on any of these names and several narratives appear.

⁶ The date of the movement's founding is still disputed. While most sources on African-American Islam record 1913 as the date of origin, I doubt that this is true. See further Curtis: 47-8, 145-6n3.

⁷ The most-detailed ethnographic treatment of the Nation of Islam is by E. U. Essien-Udom. Other analyses focus on the religious thought of the leaders (Clegg, Turner, and Curtis), the sociology of the movement (Lincoln), and the history of organizational leadership (Clegg).

⁸ A recent example is Robert Dannin, who sets out to focus on "normative Islamic worship" rather than the "cultlike Nation of Islam" (4).

⁹ Muhammad's teachings about the white cave man and the comparatively civilized black man had precedent in nineteenth-century black history narratives. For example, in 1848 black Presbyterian minister Henry Highland Garnet compared civilized Africans to Anglo-Saxons, who "abode in caves, either naked or covered with the skins of wild beats." See further "The Past and Present Condition, And the Destiny of the Colored Race," in Bracey: 115-120.

¹⁰ Another article on the same topic, entitled “After the Africans... came the cave dwellers,” included an interview with Louis Leakey. See *Muhammad Speaks*, 8 May 1964: 11-12.

¹¹ See also “Blackman’s Origins Verified,” April 1962: 25; “Cave Savage... Modern Savage [cartoon],” 31 December 1965: 15; “Muhammad’s Message [cartoon],” 4 March 1966: 27; “True History of Black Man in Africa and America Featured by New Detroit Museum,” 20 January 1967: 16; “Scholar Says Truth of African History,” 8 September 1967: 22; “Christian West Searching For Origin of ‘White Man’ in India and Pakistan,” 1 March 1968: 4; and “Early South Arabian and East African Cultural Ties,” 29 March 1968: 28.

¹² In fact, if one includes the number of comic strips published during this period, there was far more coverage historically Islamic themes than of Yacub’s history—I count twenty eight separate items that feature classical and African Islamic themes and nine that feature theories on the Blackman’s origins. If one excludes the comic strips, however, there are only five articles on classical and/or African Islamic themes.

¹³ Former editor Leon Forrest estimated that its circulation was 70,000 weekly, a number indicating that the paper was read by thousands who were not NOI members (100).

¹⁴ For an intellectual history of black consciousness and the African-American engagement with black history during this period, see Van Deburg: 272-5, 292-3.

¹⁵ The story of Umar’s conversion was canonized by Ibn Ishaq in *Sirat Rasul Allah*. Majied may have found this story in Guillaume’s translation of this work called *The Life of Muhammad* (155-9). For a contemporary and widely available rendering of the story, see Denny: 71. To date, I have been unable to find additional evidence on the sources used in composing these comic strips or on the composer, Majied. Thanks to Juan Campo, Gordon Newby, Ahmet Karamustafa, and Amir Hussain for helping me locate the Arabic source of this story.

¹⁶ For a biographical sketch of Imam W. D. Mohammed, see Ansari: 245-262, and cf. Curtis: 109-113.

¹⁷ The changes in the religious character of the NOI were accompanied by other ideological shifts and structural reorganization, as well. Beginning in 1976, the Imam attempted to retire the NOI’s debts and back taxes by selling off parts of a multimillion dollar empire that included a lucrative fish import business. This reflected the Imam’s desire that the NOI be a “nation of fellowship rather than business,” though it

also threatened to remove one of the movement's universally acknowledged bases for success, namely measurable economic achievement. By 1985 the Imam divested himself entirely from movement businesses and properties, instructing mosques to take responsibility for these holdings at the local level. See further Curtis: 113-127.

¹⁸ For various accounts of these dramatic changes, see Mamiya: 138-152; Turner: 223-227; and McCloud: 72-78.

¹⁹ See Muhammad Abdul-Rauf, *Bilal ibn Rabah: A Leading Companion of the Prophet Muhammad* (1977); *Bilal: The First Moezzin of Islam*, trans. Z. I. Ansari (1976); and H. A. L. Craig, *Bilal* (1977).

²⁰ Ansari 1994. I conducted this interview during a semester-long fieldwork project with the Muslim community at Masjid al-Mu'minun, located on North Grand in St. Louis, Missouri. The interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed.

²¹ One excellent example can be found in Malcolm X's interactions with Arab Muslims both in the United States and abroad. See further Curtis: 85-105.