

SUFISM IN THE SOUTHEAST: THE MUSTAFAWIYYA ṬARĪQAH OF MONCKS
CORNER, SOUTH CAROLINA AS A MANIFESTATION OF SHERMAN JACKSON'S
"THIRD RESURRECTION" IN PRACTICE

by

LANE SMITH

(Under the Direction of Alan Godlas)

ABSTRACT

This project seeks to understand contemporary Sufism in the United States by examining the Mustafawiyya *ṭarīqah*, a Sufi community in South Carolina. To do so, I demonstrate how Sufism in the United States is a living practice that links Islam in America to traditionally defined Islamic lands, institutions, and practices. In harmony with Sherman Jackson's idea of the "Third Resurrection" as defined in his book, *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward a Third Resurrection*; I demonstrate that by practicing Sufism within Sunni tradition, via a Senegalese Sufi sheikh, the members are appropriating Sunni Sufi Islamic tradition and fitting it with their particular circumstance and culture.

INDEX WORDS: Mustafawiyya Ṭarīqah, Islam, Islam in America, Sufism, Sufism in America, Dhikr, Nation of Islam, American religion

SUFISM IN THE SOUTHEAST: THE MUSTFAWIYYA ṬARĪQAH OF MONCK'S CORNER,
SOUTH CAROLINA AS A MANIFESTATION OF SHERMAN JACKSON'S "THIRD
RESURRECTION" IN PRACTICE

by

Lane Smith

B.A., University of South Carolina at Columbia, 2015

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

© 2018

Lane Smith

All Rights Reserved

SUFISM IN THE SOUTHEAST: THE MUSTFAWIYYA ṬARĪQAH OF MONCK'S CORNER,
SOUTH CAROLINA AS A MANIFESTATION OF SHERMAN JACKSON'S "THIRD
RESURRECTION" IN PRACTICE

by

LANE SMITH

Major Professor:	Alan Godlas
Committee:	Kenneth Honerkamp
	Nanette Spina

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2018

DEDICATION

I dedicate this to anyone who may happen to read it and learn something they did not know before.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praise is first due to God, without His care and blessings this would have never come to fruition. May any ounce of truth found between these pages be credited to Him; all mistakes and inaccuracies are my own.

I would like to thank Zain Abedin, Sheikh Harun, and the entire community in Moncks Corner. I cannot thank you enough for opening your doors to me and allowing me to learn from you all. May God bless you all individually and the community as a whole, both here and around the world.

Next, thank you very much to the religion department at UGA. Dr. Alan Godlas, thank you for your time and guidance over the last few years. Your knowledge and willingness to help at all stages of my time here are impossible to put into words and for that I am incredibly grateful. I am also indebted to Dr. Kenneth Honerkamp. Thank you for your assistance, patience, and open door for the past 3 years. Without you I am certain this project would not have been completed. Your help, guidance, and encouragement are more meaningful than the words on the following pages. Dr. Nanette Spina, thank you for your time during this project. I much appreciate your willingness to join my committee and your assistance in both the crafting and analyzing of the surveys. And to my close friend and colleague, Arash Aboutorabi. Thank you for all you have done—not only for this project, but for your counsel and companionship over the years. I feel like I have nearly monopolized all your free time the past few years and I cannot thank you enough. It has been an honor to be a student of you all.

To all of my colleagues—Nasim, Hamid, Sarah, Tyler, Hisham, and everyone else, thank you. I couldn't have asked for better, more encouraging, friends and colleagues to surround myself with since coming to UGA.

To my dearest Heidi, without your seemingly endless patience, care, kindness, and love I am certain this project would have never been completed. Thank you so much for your daily encouragement and willingness to support me and all my endeavors. Your moving to Athens to support me means the world, I hope that one day I can repay you.

To my parents, your endless support, patience, and care for my short 25 years cannot be appreciated enough. Without you two, I would have never pursued the quest for knowledge and education. Logan, my dear brother, you have been my biggest influence my entire life; it would be near impossible to have a better brother.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 ISLAM COMES TO AMERICA.....	5
Islam in Antebellum America—A Case Study of Omar Said and Ibrahim Abdurrahman	5
Islamic Practice in Antebellum America	9
Conclusion and the Beginnings of Islam as a Protest Religion	13
3 THE FIRST AND SECOND RESURRECTION	16
The First Resurrection.....	16
Islam as the True Religion	18
NOI and Race.....	19
NOI Political, Economic, and Social Programs.....	20
Death of Elijah Muhammad and the End of the First Resurrection.....	22
The Second Resurrection	23
Wallace Muhammad, the WCIW, and Mainstreaming American Islam	24
The Nation of Islam Under Louis Farrakhan	26
A Resurrected Nation.....	27

Nation of Islam and Sunnism.....	29
4 THE THIRD RESURRECTION AND SUFISM IN AMERICA.....	34
The Third Resurrection as Defined by Sherman Jackson.....	34
Sufism in America	37
African American Sufi Inspired Groups	44
Conclusion	47
5 The MUSTAFAWIYYA ṬARĪQAH	48
The Mustafawiyya <i>Ṭarīqah</i>	49
Literature of the Mustafawiyya <i>Ṭarīqah</i>	50
Sheikh Harun Faye Al-Faqīr.....	52
Demographics of the <i>Zawiya</i> in Moncks Corner, SC	53
Racial and Religious Identity	55
Reasons for Embracing Islam	60
Embracing Sufism and the Sufi Community	62
Communal Practice, “Glocalization,” and Conclusion.....	64
6 CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	67
REFERENCES	69
APPENDICES	
A Survey	74

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Religion of Members Prior to Conversion to Islam.....	54
Table 2: When Asked if One Had Converted and Joined Simultaneously	55
Table 3: Importance of Race to Individual Identity	56
Table 4: Most Important Factors to Individual Identity.....	59
Table 5: Top Reasons for Converting	60
Table 6: Top Reasons for Embracing Sufism	63

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand any facet of Islam today it is important, in some respects, to approach the religion historically. Yet stories of caliphs, sultans, philosophers, theologians, and conquests of years past, which have largely been the focus of historical writing, largely bypass the intimate conversion experiences and religious convictions that allowed Islam to blossom into the world's fastest growing and second largest religion. This is precisely the argument of Richard Bulliet in his book, *Islam: A View From the Edge*. Rather than regarding Islamic history from the "center" outward, that is, from relatively and traditionally defined "Islamic lands" to areas and peoples yet to be included in that group, "the edge in Islamic history exists wherever people make the decision to cross a social boundary and join the Muslim community, either through religious conversion, or...nominal Muslims rededicating themselves to Islam as the touchstone of their social identity."¹

Bulliet analyzed the growth of Islam through the ages in areas that are not connected to the origins of Islam. Yet this approach is not only useful for historical study; it can also be applied to many Muslim communities today, especially in America. America can now be seen as the "edge," not only because of immigrant populations from the Islamic world but also due to the rise of converts from various religious backgrounds. It is precisely this that makes manifestations of Islam in America so unique. Specifically,

¹ Richard Bulliet, *Islam: A View From the Edge* (New York: Columbia University Press), 9.

it is the particularities of American Christian religious hegemony and understandings of race throughout American history that have forced Islam to be understood along those social constructions.

Throughout the history of Islam in America, Islam has had an element of race whether from the slave trade to the nascent United States continuing through the Nation of Islam and other groups of the 20th century. For example, in antebellum America, Muslim slaves were understood as occupying a space that was not quite Christian and civilized but neither was it African “barbarism.” Nonetheless, Muslim slaves carried on their religion as best they could under such harsh circumstances; eventually, however, the religion among slaves had effectively died out only to be “resurrected” in the 20th century by various black nationalist Islamic movements. Yet these groups also occupied a space in both America and also withing understandings of Islam that were neither totally accepted by the respective categories (that is, “American” and “Muslim”). Scholar Sherman Jackson argues this much in his book, *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection*. He continues his argument by proposing that for Islam to survive and speak to American issues, American Islam must master and appropriate the Sunni tradition of years past and then use it to speak to particularly American problems. Sufism, he proposes, is a good starting place.²

Jackson admits that these ideas are based solely off of his own observations as a Blackamerican Muslim. It is the goal of this project to analyze the history of Islam in America while being cognizant of the dilemma between “Americanness” and

² While the bulk of this work will primarily focus on the history of Islam in America among African Americans (Blackamericans), the history of Islam in America more generally may follow the same patterns but is not the focus of this thesis.

“Islamicness” as seen in American Islamic movements of the twentieth century, and then seek to view the “Third Resurrection” in practice by examining and learning from the Mustafawiyya *Ṭarīqah* in Moncks Corner, South Carolina. This Sufi order is significant because it is mainly comprised of African American converts to Islam under the guidance of a Senegalese Sheikh. I argue that through embracing Sufism via the tutelage of the Sheikh and a process of “glocalization,” this community is living the “Third Resurrection.”

Chapter 2 surveys and analyzes the first Muslims in the New World. Here I look at Islam during slavery in the American south, how it was practiced, and how it was perceived by slaveholders. I then turn to discuss the disappearance of Islam from the American stage except for a few minor cultural survivals including names and family oral histories. Finally, I discuss the beginnings of Islam being preached as the cure to American racism by the Ahamadiyya movement in the early 20th century.

Chapter 3 surveys the first and second resurrection. That is, the beginnings of the Nation of Islam under Elijah Muhammad and the subsequent leadership of his son, Warith Deen Muhammad, and Louis Farrakhan. Here I compare the approaches of these two to normative Islamic practice and lay the groundwork for a discussion on the Third Resurrections.

In chapter 4, I discuss the Third Resurrection as defined by Sherman Jackson. In addition, I survey the scholarly literature on Sufism in America and I follow this up with a discussion of the Mustafaiwyya *Ṭarīqah* in chapter 5 in which I discuss its history, teachings, leadership and literature. I then discuss the community in Moncks Corner, South Carolina. I conducted fieldwork with the community in preparation for the

compilation of the thesis. My fieldwork consisted of surveys and participant observation, which provides the data and sources to understand the Third Resurrection in practice.³

³ I modeled and at times borrowed my survey questions from the work of Julianne Hazen. For her study on the Alami Ṭarīqah of New York, see her recently published book, *Sufism in America: The Alami Ṭarīqah of Waterport, New York* (Maryland: Lexington Books) 2016.

CHAPTER TWO

ISLAM COMES TO AMERICA

Scope

In order to discuss a resurrection, the death must first be analyzed and understood. This chapter will lay the groundwork for understanding the resurrection of Islam in America in the 20th century and the Mustafawiyya ṭarīqah as a manifestation of the “Third Resurrection.” By tracing Islam in the nascent United States, I will discuss the particularities of Muslim slaves and the unique space they occupied in pre-Civil War America. Next, I will briefly discuss the changes that occurred that caused Islam in America to no longer be envisioned or understood as a religion of African Americans, which was primarily caused by an influx of Asian immigrants into the United States. As an example, I will look specifically at Mufti Muhammad Sadiq of the Ahamadiyya movement, demonstrating that since the beginning of the 20th century, Islam found a particular niche in the US by proclaiming to be the solution to race relations in the US.

Islam in Antebellum America—A Case Study of Omar Said and Ibrahim Abdurrahman

The transatlantic slave trade was ruthless in its impartial abduction of Africans and it should come as no surprise that Muslims from West Africa were victims of such an atrocity and brought to America. From royalty to commoners, African Muslims forced into slavery had to then wrestle with continuing their religion in the face of such oppression and dehumanization. They did so in a number of ways either through

demonstrating their religious practices and/or by appropriating any confused understandings of race and civilization of slaveholders to their advantage.

Despite the circumstances, Muslim slaves continued to fast, engage in charity and keep their daily prayers.⁴ Literacy was also a marker of Muslim slaves, as many had studied the Qur'an from a young age and subsequently used this knowledge to help them cope with their new environment. For example, Omar ibn Said from modern day Senegal was captured and sold into slavery in Charleston, SC in 1807.⁵ Omar ibn Said's autobiography, written in Arabic, strongly condemned and protested his situation. He began this work by writing the entirety of *Surat al-Mulk*, which Ala Airyyes, author of *A Muslim American Slave: The Life of Omar Ibn Said*, argues was done intentionally, "Omar writes from memory the suras that best fit the context within his Life."⁶ Thus, in some respects, Muslim slaves used their religion as a means to protest and delegitimize the racist social structures of early America and this is not unlike the same strategies and hermeneutic lens used by African American converts a century later. Yet, the population of Muslim slaves extends well beyond only Omar Ibn Said. Another well-known Muslim slave was the prince, 'Abdurrahman ibn Ibrāhīm.

'Abdurrahman was born in 1762 and hailed from Futa Jallon, in modern day Guinea. He was well educated in a center of Islamic education and was from a highly esteemed family. His father was a military and religious leader, who helped consolidate

⁴ Sylviane A. Diouf "The First Stirrings of Islam in America" in *The Oxford University Handbook* ed. Yvonne Hadad and Jane Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). 18.

⁵ Akeel Ismail Kahera "Gods Dominion': Omar Ibn Said's use of Arabic Literacy as Opposition to Slavery" in *South Carolina Review* vol. 46 Issue 2 2014, p. 128-129.

⁶ Ala Airyess *A Muslim American Slave: The Life of Omar Ibn Said* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2011), 25.

power against non-Muslims in the area. However, around 1788 he was kidnapped and sold into slavery on the Gambia coast. He would spend nearly 40 years in slavery before being freed after advocates around the globe worked to attain his freedom. While his personal story is undoubtedly interesting; it is the way that slave masters and other white Americans understood him that reveals important historical insights.

In the eyes of many white writers, journalists, and politicians ‘Abdurrahman was not quite a negro but a peculiar Moor:

Prince is a Moor. Of this, however, his present appearance suggests a doubt...It is true his lips are thicker than are usually, those of the Moor; but the animal frame is not that of the negro; his eye, and, in fact, his entire physiognomy is unlike that of any negro we have ever seen. And if the facial angle be an infallible criterion the point is established, his being equal and perhaps greater, than most of the whites.⁷

Aside from the less than desirable language, the above quote demonstrates that in some cases, African Muslims, in the eyes of slavers, were more “advanced” than their non-Muslim contemporaries. Ghanem Bassiri calls this process, “de-negroification”⁸ in which slaveholders and the United States more generally separated Muslims and non-Muslims and decoupled the former from being purely “African.” Muslim slaves passively participated in this process out of self-interest. As Ghanem Bassiri points out,

⁷ Allan Austin, *African Muslims In Antebellum America: A Sourcebook*, (New York, NY: 1984) 139-140.

⁸ Kambiz Ghanem Bassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 18.

being removed from the Africanness ascribed to them, and instead being labeled as “Moors,” Muslim slaves stood to gain favorable treatment.

Being labeled as a Moor had connotations of an intrinsic higher intellect, slaveholders therefore saw Muslims as cultured and not as “savage” as other slaves. Being Muslim confused white America’s perception of race and society as it was understood as a moderating religion, taming the “savage” spirit of the Africans. Moreover, some Muslims were understood to be friendly toward Christianity (an absolute necessity for being cultured and intelligent). One letter from Natchez, Mississippi, the city in which Adburrahman was held slave, reads:

Prince is really a most extraordinary man—born to a kingdom—well educated, for he now writes Arabic in a most elegant style—brought a slave in a foreign country, he has sustained a character for honesty and integrity which is almost beyond parallel...and although he adheres strictly to the religion of his country (Mahometism) he expresses the greatest respect for the Christian religion.⁹

If the justifications of slavery rested on the uncivilized nature of Africa and Africans, Muslim slaves posed challenges to this idea and to overall understandings of race, religion, and society. To slaveholders and white Americans more generally, race was intrinsically tied to intelligence, civilization, and culture. According to these slaveholders, perceived racial inferiority greatly diminished the probability of creating and contributing to a good, upstanding society. Simultaneously, religion was used as a

⁹ Austin, *African Muslims*, 151.

marker of intelligence. Christianity was believed to be the pinnacle religion and Jesus the guide to proper society and civilization and the means by which Africans could be saved from their savageness. Yet, Islam greatly complicated these understandings of race and religion. As demonstrated in the above quote, the role of Jesus in Islam and the inclusion of him in the prophetic lineage, at least caused some whites to wrestle with their views of religion. Through Abdurrahman, Islam became seen as neither a savage religion nor a civilized one, which placed Muslim slaves and Islam in general in liminal spaces according to GhaneaBassiri. In sum, Islam and its practitioners in antebellum America caused some white, slaveholding, Americans to reevaluate their understanding of religion which then made way for Islam to be seen as a semi-civilizing belief system.

Despite this occasional interest and endowed prestige, Islam among African descendants faded nearly completely. Christian hegemony and the lack of personal freedom given to former slaves and their families prevented the continuation of Islamic practice among Muslim slaves and their ancestors.

Islamic Practice in Antebellum America

Scholars today believe that the number of enslaved Muslims in antebellum America reached well into the thousands. With such numbers it is not inconceivable to imagine the religion persisting in such a difficult environment. Even so Muslims held in the bondage of slavery were able to maintain Islamic practices, despite the harsh environment of American slavery, enslaved Muslims continued to recite Qur'an, pray,

fast when able, and engage in charity.¹⁰ However, the hegemony of white Christianity and the immense restrictions of slavery doomed, almost completely, the practice of Islam in this context.

This did not completely halt religious practice as Michael Gomez points out in his book, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*, that, “Muslims made genuine and persistent efforts to observe their religion, and, even through the continuation of their faith took place primarily with their own families, they were instances in which others may have converted.”¹¹ For example, there are two extant diaries of two Muslim slaves, Omar ibn Said and Bilali Mahomet (Ben-Ali). The latter presents an interesting case whose legacy is still evident today among his descendants. Bilali was originally from Futa Jallon, sold into slavery and bought by Thomas Spalding of Sepelo Island, Georgia. Allan Austin wrote that he had many sons and daughters and passed on to them many African Muslim names and traditions. In addition, he “regularly wore a fez...he prayed the obligatory three times a day facing the East on his carefully preserved prayer rug.”¹² Thus, it is clear that enslaved Muslims did continue to practice their religion while enslaved. Nonetheless, however, it is improbable that this practice continued to eventually form a separate *community* as white Christian hegemony caused any differing religious practices to cease to exist, grow, and persist on a wide scale. Gomez summarizes this point insofar that the conditions in early America did not allow for African Muslim culture to flourish, “the gradual loss of Islamic knowledge, combined

¹⁰ Sylviane A. Diouf “The First Stirrings of Islam in America” in *The Oxford University Handbook* ed. Yvonne Hadad and Jane Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). 18

¹¹ Michael Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*, (New York, NY: 2005). 143.

¹² Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America*, 265.

with the parochial application of Arabic to religious discourse, constituted a blow to the continuation of Islam in the early American South.”¹³

This does not mean, however, that every aspect of Islamic or African culture has been lost. In fact, a series of interviews published in 1940 revealed that the descendants of Bilali Mahomet on Sapelo Island remember the religious and cultural practice of Bilali himself and his children. In one interview, a descendant relays her knowledge of Belali and his immediate family:

He hab plenty daughtuhs, Magret, Bentoo, Chaalut, Medina, Yaruba, Fatima, Hestuh...Magret an uh daughtuh Cotto use tuh say dat Belali an he wife Pheobe pray on duh bead. Bey wuz bery puhticluh bout duh ime dey pray an dey bery regluh bout duh hour. Wen duh sun come up, wen it straight obuh head an wen it set das duh time dey pray. Dey bow tuh duh sun an hab lill mat tuh kneel on. Duh beads is on a long string. Belali he pull bead an he say ‘Belambi, Hakabara, Mahamadu.’ Phoebe she say, ‘Ameen, Ameen.’¹⁴

¹³ Gomez, *Black Crescent*, 160.

¹⁴ Interview with Katie Brown, Georgia Writers’ Project Savannah Unit (Work Projects Administration), *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, (Athens: University of Georgia, 1940), 161.

In one interview, one of Belali's great grandchildren spoke about her relation to Belali and how her grandmother used to pray:

Muh gran wuz Hestuh, Belali's daughtuh. She tell me Belali wuz coal black, wid duh small feechuhs we hab, an he wuz bery tall. She say Belali an all he fambly come on same boat frum Africa. Belali hab plenty daughtuhs, Medina, Yaruba, Fatima, Bentoo, Hestuh, Magret, and Chaalut...Hestuh an all ub um sho pray on duh bead. Dey weah dug string uh beads on duh wais. Simetime dug sting on duh neck. Dey pray at sun-up and face dug sun on dug knees an bow tuh it tree time, kneelin on a lill mat.¹⁵

The above quotes both show and do not show an important historical point. Scholars today believe that from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century there was no Islamic *community* among African Americans. However, this does not mean that there are not survivals from Muslim ancestors within their families. As seen in the excerpts above, those interviewed remember stories of their ancestors engaging in prayers on matts and being "very regular about the hour." In addition, the names passed down from generation to generation also reveal how aspects of African and Islamic culture survived.

Although these cultural survivals remained, some scholars including Sherman Jackson and Sylviane Diouf, maintain that they have had little impact on the later Islamic movements of the twentieth century. For instance, in the interviews previously described, it is clear that the descendants of Muslim slaves only had stories about the religious practices of their ancestors, devoid of a larger understanding of Islamic prayer.

¹⁵ Interview with Shad Hall, Georgia Writers' Project Savannah Unit, *Drums and Shadows*, 166.

In addition, they proclaim they are Christian. These two facts together demonstrate the power of Christian hegemony of the antebellum and early post-antebellum period. It is highly improbable, if not impossible, for an Islamic or Muslim community to continue given the particular social pressures.

Conclusion and the Beginnings of Islam as a Protest Religion

Beginning in the early twentieth century, Islam began to resurface in the America. However, this time it was due to an influx of immigration from traditionally defined Islamic lands. Between the years 1899 and 1910, nearly 70,000 immigrants from Syria and Turkey entered the United States; effectively bringing Islam back to North America yet reshaping the American notion of Islam from being “African.” That is, at this point, Islam in the US was no longer a religion “owned and operated” by African descendants; the religion now became the faith of new faces in America, through which African Americans, with Muslim ancestors, could only be converts.

By the 1920s, Islam began to become institutionalized through various missionaries, including Satti Majid, a Sudanese born missionary—later to be known as the “Sheikh of Islam in America”—and Muhammad Sadiq of the Ahmadiyya movement, the first missionary to convert “thousands of African Americans to Islam”¹⁶ and by new indigenous movements, the first being the Moorish Science Temple of Noble Drew Ali. Although the mere fact of Satti Majid in America is important, it was the Ahmadiyya movement that made the most impact by spreading Islam to American populations.

¹⁶ Patrick Bowen, “Satti Majid: A Sudanese Founder of American Islam” *Journal of Africana Religions* 1, no. 2 (2013). 197.

The Ahmadiyya movement under the leadership of Muhammad Sadiq in America began to publish a newspaper, “The Muslim Sunrise” in 1921. The early issues taught about the Quran, Islam practice, Ahmadiyya traditions, and celebrated converts. Almost immediately the articles addressed the distinct race problem in the United States. In the inaugural issue, the paper contains a message from Mirza Mahmud Ahmad welcoming converts to the community and calling them the “pioneers in the Spiritual colonization of the western world”¹⁷ implying that it was their duty to bring spirituality and to turn from materialism. In the second issue, Islam is stated directly as the religion to solve the issue of race in America:

In Islam no church has ever had seats reserved for anybody and if a negro enter first and takes the front seat even the Sultan if he happens to come after him never thinks of removing him from the seat...I believe and it is a well proven fact that Islam is the only religion that has ever destroyed color and race prejudices from the minds of the people. Go to the East and you will find the fairest people of Syria and Turkestan eating at the same table with darkest Africans and treating each other as brothers and friends¹⁸

Thus, even at this point in the early twentieth century, before the rise of the Nation of Islam and the Moorish Science Temple, Islam was used as a means to circumvent the racial animosity in America. Despite being a movement of ethnicities and races yet it was, “a religion in which blacks had an alternate universal history to which to

¹⁷ *The Muslim Sunrise* ed. Dr. Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, no. 1, July, 1921.

¹⁸ *The Muslim Sunrise* ed. Dr. Mufti Muhammad Sadiq no. 2 Oct. 1921.

pledge allegiance.”¹⁹ This fact could qualify the black American converts to Islam under the Ahmadiyya movement as an example of “Black Religion” in practice. The conversion and subsequent adherence to Islam under these auspices forms a political, social, and spiritual protest against the prevailing social norms of American society while simultaneously enabling converts to become part of a community separate from the negative perceptions and histories of America. However, a distinction must be made between these indigenous movements and “orthodox” Sunnism. As I will demonstrate in the coming chapters, the Blackamerican semi-Islamic, nationalist movements of the 20th century involve a process of decoupling their religious movement and the Sunni tradition. It is this that creates the space for the “Third Resurrection” whereby African American converts to Islam master and appropriate the Sunni tradition to fit new particularities and circumstances as seen with the Mustafawiyya community in South Carolina.

¹⁹ Mustafa Bayouni “Ease of the Sun (West of the Moon): Islam, the Ahmadis, and African America” in *Black Routes to Islam* ed., Manning Marable and Hishaam D. Aidi (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) 72.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FIRST AND SECOND RESURRECTION

Scope

Despite the apparent disappearance of Islam in America as a solely black religion, it was nonetheless “resurrected” in the African American context during the early 20th century. These new religious movements included the Moorish Science Temple of America, and even more so, the Nation of Islam. This chapter will focus on the latter. Here I will trace the founding and spread of the Nation of Islam under Elijah Muhammad and after his death. These two distinct periods of leadership mark the first and second resurrection, respectively, and lay the groundwork for the so-called Third Resurrection. This chapter will discuss the Nation of Islam under Elijah Muhammad and subsequent leadership with special focus on the movement’s message and its relationship to Islam around the globe.

The First Resurrection

The Nation of Islam began around 1930 in the Detroit ghetto. The Great Migration and the Great Depression moved millions of African-Americans from the south to the urbanized north. Yet, this was not the Promised Land nor was it the great relief many African Americans sought. Instead, widespread racism and the weak economy segregated northern cities by race and Detroit was no exception. In and around

these migrants were immigrants, many from the Middle East and North Africa including a mysterious, and later deified man, WD Fard.

Fard was the founder of the Nation of Islam. Although his background is mysterious, as there is no consensus on his nationality or origin, it is known that he was a peddler in Detroit, who actively sold wares and goods to the black population. Over time, Fard developed a rapport with the population of the ghetto and began to preach a new Islam. Fard claimed to be from Mecca with the mission of spreading the Nation of Islam to the black population of North America.²⁰ As Fard began to win followers, the new community opened a temple and began to become more institutionalized, “members were examined before acceptance and were then registered, and a hierarchy was established.”²¹ Here, he began teaching about the grand history of black Africa and the “deceptive character of whites.”²² The Nation’s next leader, Elijah Muhammad, further advanced this anti-white absolutist view of race.

Elijah Muhammad, born Elijah Poole, converted to Islam after he met Fard in 1931 and by 1934, the same year Fard disappeared, he was named Minister of Islam. From there, Muhammad, “was almost single-handedly responsible for the deification of Fard and for the perpetuation of his teachings.”²³ This is why he was often referred to as the Prophet Elijah Muhammad. After travelling the east coast, and a brief stint in jail, Elijah Muhammad focused on developing a Nation of Islam character and identity based on the message of Fard. Central to this identity was black solidarity, economic and social

²⁰ Doane Beynon Erdmann “The Voodoo Cult Among Negro Migrants in Detroit” in *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 43 issue 6 p. 896

²¹ Lincoln, Eric C. *The Black Muslims in America 3rd Ed.* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1994) 14.

²² *Ibid.*, 14

²³ *Ibid.*, 15

self-determination, and anti-white, black nationalism. By the 1950s the Nation claimed dozens of temples in twenty-eight cities, and had thousands of members.²⁴ Under Elijah Muhammad, the Nation had self-run temples, schools, apartments, grocery stores, restaurants and farms.²⁵ Furthermore, it was under Elijah Muhammad and based on his teachings that the Nation of Islam began to grow. Elijah Muhammad was able to use the Quran and the Bible to create a religious movement incorporating tenants including black solidarity, black economic liberation, segregation over integration, and most importantly, the awakening of Blackamericans to their true religion, Islam.

Islam as the True Religion

Elijah Muhammad actively taught that Islam was the natural and rightful religion of Blackamericans. In his book, *Message to the Black Man in America*, Elijah Muhammad wrote, “The so-called American Negroes have been so gravely deceived by the white man’s Christianity and Bible that they doubt everything that does not have the white man’s approval. Again, the time has arrived for a change. This time is universal, and the great problem now is to awaken the American so-called Negroes.”²⁶ By “awaken” the Honorable Elijah Muhammad was referring to a reminder of their natural religion, a religion stolen from them by white European Christians, “Why do I stress the religion of Islam for my people, the so-called American Negroes. First, and most important, Islam is actually our religion by nature. It is the religion of Allah (God), not a

²⁴ Edward E. Curtis. *Islam in Black America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002) 72.

²⁵ Eric C. Lincoln. *The Black Muslims in America 3rd Ed.* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1994) 16.

²⁶ Elijah Muhammad, *Message to the Blackman in America*, (Newport News: United Brothers Communications, 1965) 81.

European organized white man's religion.”²⁷ From there, Elijah Muhammad explains six other reasons why Blackamericans should embrace Islam. These reasons include “protection against our enemies,” dignity, black solidarity, “it heals both physical and spiritual ills,” and finally, Islam grants divine protection.

At a time when American racism sought to disenfranchise an entire race at nearly every aspect of civic life including voting, housing, and work, an indigenous movement that spoke to and protested these injustices resonated. Furthermore, the Nation of Islam as a religious movement allowed adherents to find and formulate a belief system that was effectively “owned” and “operated” independent of outside coercion and intrusion. This is crucial because it provided the basis for all other teachings, beliefs, and practices.

NOI and Race

Elijah Muhammad believed and recognized all races other than white to be of the same Asiatic religion. According to the mythology of the Nation an enemy of Allah known as Yakub created the white race. Yakub was believed to be the creator of the white race—a race that was created in defiance of God, “The entire creation of Allah (God) is of peace, not including the devils who are not the creation of Allah (God) but a race created by an enemy (Yakub) of Allah. Yakub rebelled against Allah and the righteous people and was cast out of the homes of the righteous into the worst part of our doomed planet to their way of life until the fixed day of their doom.”²⁸ This creation story provided a divinely mandated reason for the segregation of black and white in society.

²⁷ Ibid., 84.

²⁸ Ibid., 68.

Yet, Elijah Muhammad understood the dichotomy of white and black most prevalent in the United States' race relations a bit differently. According to him, the black race was the precursor to all others and all others were produced by the black race.²⁹ From the beginning of time, all races had once ruled justly but now, according to divine mandate, the world is ruled by the white race whose mission is to destroy the black race. Thus, according to the racial ontology of the Nation of Islam, the black race is too rise up, be reminded of their once righteous station, and reclaim it. It must be reclaimed, however, through political, economic, and social programs derived from Islamic teaching.

NOI Political, Economic, and Social Programs

As the Nation of Islam spread, this new religious community stressed the importance of political, economic, and social independence. This can be easily seen in their newspaper, "Muhammad Speaks." This newspaper was first printed weekly beginning in 1962. It offered unique perspectives on American politics, society, and current events including the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War. At the same time, and more pertinent to this discussion, the paper focused on the Nation of Islam itself including events, conversion stories, fundraisers, businesses owned by members, and social programs implemented by the NOI. It was through this newspaper that the Nation was most effectively able to promote their agenda of economic, social, and political independence.

²⁹ Ibid., 106.

The back of the Muhammad Speaks newspaper often featured what was called, “The Muslim Program” consisting of two sections: 1) “What the Muslims Want”, and 2) “What the Muslims Believe” authored by Elijah Muhammad. The former focused on a separate state or territory for the descendants of slaves, “either on this continent or elsewhere” or, if that is not possible, equal protection under the laws of the United States. This included a demand for the ending of police brutality, tax exemption, and separate schools. The latter focused on the religious beliefs of the Nation, and on social and political beliefs. That is, how the Nation understood their socio-historical context, and their proposals and positions. In terms of theology, the Nation believed in “One God whose proper name is Allah...in the Holy Quran...the truth of the Bible, be we believe that it has been tampered with...We believe that Allah (God) appeared in the person of Master W. Fard Muhammad...the long awaited ‘Messiah’ of the Christians and the ‘Mahdi’ of the Muslims.”³⁰ Thus they were able to syncretize eschatological beliefs of Islam and Christianity with their belief in W.D. Fard who taught and influenced later beliefs and positions of the Nation of Islam regarding integration and racial equality. It was the teaching of Fard that gave such beliefs a divine ordination.

However, the Nation of Islam also focused on praxis not solely messaging. Through the newspaper, the Nation was able to focus on the importance of socio-political independence by advertising new projects such as the development of a farm. The March 8, 1968 issue featured the title of a speech given by Elijah Muhammad entitled, “Can We Survive? How Strong is the Foundation?” accompanied by a cartoon depicting a farm

³⁰ Ibid., 28.

producing jars of food, with one of the jars reading, “THE FARM IS FIRST.”³¹ In the speech, Elijah Muhammad rebukes other Civil Rights leaders for not having a solid “foundation.” The Nation however, does. Elijah Muhammad points directly to the positions and proposals put forth by the Nation on segregation and a new, separate state for the descendants of slaves. At the same time, Elijah Muhammad understood that this is only practical if members actively work towards their goal, thus the importance on the farm and other socio-economic projects. This is also why the newspaper praised hard work and labor because without these the dream of a new state would never be actualized. Thus, having a foundation, rooted in Allah via WD Fard, preached segregation from whites politically, economically, and socially, and the only way to achieve these goals was to actively work towards them.

Death of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the End of the First Resurrection

In 1975, Elijah Muhammad passed away due to heart failure. Under his leadership the Nation of Islam saw massive growth in converts necessitating more temples in more cities and other aspects of life to work towards an ultimate goal including schools, farms, and grocery stores. For many converts, the NOI under the guidance of Elijah Muhammad provided a means for believers to “be themselves” as one convert wrote in the “What has Islam Done for Me?” section of Muhammad Speaks. In other words, the Nation opened the space for converts to create their own religion and everything that entails from theology to society. Elijah Muhammad worked tirelessly to

³¹ *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper, March 8, 1968. Vol. 7—No. 25.

ensure the survival of this unique and semi-independent religion; however, after his death and the dispute over succession, mass amounts of change took place.

The NOI under the guidance of Elijah Muhammad is known as the First Resurrection. That is, it is a reminder and a recall back to the Islam of their ancestors in Africa and in early America. Although the NOI was not the first Islamic movement of the 20th century, it was by far the most successful among African Americans, and a period of spiritual awakening “during which blacks were said to have been delivered from the darkness of their slave mentality into the light of their true Blackamerican selves.”³²

The Second Resurrection

After the death of Elijah Muhammad, the Nation of Islam underwent a number of changes whereby the Nation under the subsequent leadership either divorced itself from the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, or had to rebuild the Nation both in terms of adherents and institutions. The former was largely due to the work of Elijah Muhammad’s son, Wallace Muhammad, who was named the new leader of the NOI after his father’s death; and the latter was the work of Louis Farrkhan. Wallace worked to bring the doctrine and practices of the Nation to mirror mainstream Sunni Islam. For example, he sought to shift the understanding of his father to that of a preacher and to no longer deify WD Fard. In addition, Wallace Muhammad had to manage and reorganize many NOI businesses that left the nation in millions of dollars of debt all while

³² Sherman Jackson *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 4

simultaneously fighting factions within the organization hesitant to such changes, including minister Louis Farrakhan.

Wallace Muhammad, the WCIW, and mainstreaming American Islam

After taking control of the NOI, Wallace Muhammad, later named Warith Din Muhammad, began to change the teachings and practice of the Nation of Islam. Instead of having a movement incorporating a racial hierarchy and the deification of man, WD Muhammad began of process of “de-mythologizing.”³³ That is, he worked to rid the Nation’s teachings of the racism and the deification of WD Fard that took place under the leadership of his father. For example, while Elijah Muhammad consistently defined white people as the devil and vice versa, his son took a radically different approach. In the latter’s 1975 article, “The Destruction of the Devil,” he tasked his community to look inward, not outward, if they sought to understand the devil, “When we speak of a devil, we are not talking about something physical. We are talking about the person within the physical body. You can destroy a devil by destroying the mind that the person has grown within them. If you can destroy that mind, you will destroy that devil. As long as the person keeps the same mind, they will be the same devil.”³⁴ By changing this definition, by preaching that devils are not external, rather internal, he is removing the element of race, allowing for a more inclusive definition of American Islam. Furthermore, in a 1979 interview, Muhammad reveals that the changes to the NOI’s theology had changed completely by abandoning the teachings of his father:

³³ Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam in America*, 285.

³⁴ Wallace Deen Muhammad, “Destruction of the Devil” in *Muhammad Speaks* July 11, 1975. Found at <http://www.newafricaradio.com/articles/7-11-75.html>

Q: Three of the basic principles of the Nation of Islam were Master Fard Muhammad is God, the white man is the devil, and Elijah Muhammad is the prophet of God. Has this changed since your administration?

A: Certainly, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the way he discussed his own messianic prophet image, made it possible for us to reestablish the honorable Elijah Muhammad as a minister.³⁵

In addition, under his leadership, the Nation of Islam formally changed names in an effort to help disassociate the old from the new. A year after he took over as the leader, the Nation of Islam officially became the World Community of al-Islam in the West. At this time, he began working and partnering extensively with the newly founded Muslim Student Association, using their publishing networks for general outreach. In her book *A History of the Nation of Islam*, Dawn Marie Gibson summarized this relationship as such:

He established good rapport with its leading figure...and employed a number of its members in the WCIW. Warith's relationship with the MSA and its affiliates helped bring the WCIW into the larger Islamic community in the United States.³⁶

Thus the leadership of Warith Deen Muhammad was centered on a more universal understanding of Islam. He sought to place Nation of Islam into more a more universally

³⁵ Interview with Clifton E. Marsh published Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Resurrection, Transformation, and Change of Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America, 1930-1945* 2nd Ed.. (Boston: Scarecrow Press, 1996) 164.

³⁶ Dawn-Marie Gibson, *A History of the Nation of Islam: Race, Islam, and the Quest for Freedom* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2012) 83.

understood and orthodox understanding of Sunnism by removing from it the heresies taught by his father and earlier leadership. By working with the MSA on a national and international scale, and by transforming the NOI from within, he was able to place American Islam into a broader understanding of Islam. Within America specifically, by transforming the NOI, Islam became a universal religion that was both “Islamic” and “American.” In the same interview mentioned above, Muhammad was asked that if he could look into the future, where would he see the WCIW. In response he answered, “I hope the year 2000 the World Community of Al-Islam in the West will be called American Muslims. I hope Muslims will be so comfortable in America that we won’t have to introduce any structure or anything, just be American Muslims.”³⁷ Warith Deen Muhammad worked to universalize American Islam and bring it to orthodox Islam, away from the theology, eschatology, and restrictiveness of the Nation. However, not all from the Nation were ready to follow; shortly after WD Muhammad’s leadership began, Louis Farrakhan sought to resurrect the religion under the teachings of WD Fard and Elijah Muhammad back to the Nation’s roots.

The Nation of Islam Under Louis Farrakhan

In 1977, Louis Farrakhan left the WCIW with little support to rebuild the Nation of Islam of Elijah Muhammad. In addition significant challenges posed by the WCIW and the Muslim Student Association threatened the “Islamicness” of the Nation’s teachings.³⁸ The socio-political context of America also challenged the rhetoric of

³⁷ Interview with Clifton E. Marsh published Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims*, 168.

³⁸ Dawn-Marie Gibson, *A History of the Nation of Islam*, 85.

segregation, “white devils,” and Black Nationalism as the results of the Civil Rights Movement improved the lives of African Americans. Despite all of this, Louis Farrakhan was able to rebuild the Nation of Islam on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad helped largely by entering the political sphere endorsing Jesse Jackson for president in 1984 and global outreach beginning a year later.

A Resurrected Nation

Elijah Muhammad was against any involvement in American politics and did not allow members of the NOI to engage with politics of the state. This can be seen in the silencing of Malcolm X for his comments on the Kennedy assassination and members of the NOI being sent to jail for avoiding the draft. Yet, the new resurrected Nation used politics as a means for name recognition and as a way to recruit new followers.

Louis Farrakhan became well-known after he endorsed Jesse Jackson and often praised him for his social activism and political outlook. For example as Jesse Jackson publicly sympathized with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) against the policies of the Israeli government. This echoed a larger sentiment African American’s held against the latter. Farrakhan continued to support Jackson but due to his inflammatory rhetoric, Jackson was forced to disassociate himself from the controversial preacher. Despite this, Farrakhan continued to support the democratic nominee and this in turn galvanized African Americans to take action in the political process.³⁹

³⁹ Much has been made of the relationship between Farrakhan and Jackson. For a good, detailed analysis within a larger historical context of the Nation of Islam, see Dawn-Marie Gibson, *A History of the Nation of Islam*, 89-96.

This newfound recognition led to the Nation becoming more involved in international affairs. In 1985, Louis Farrakhan traveled to Libya to meet with Colonal Gaddafi who later granted Farrakhan a \$5 million dollar interest free loan rejuvenating an organization that was nearly dismantled completely. Gaddafi would later go on to speak at the Nation's annual Saviour's Day. Farrakhan also travelled to Ghana, meeting with the president, Jerry Rawlings, and giving a number of speeches.

His activity abroad helped bring international and national recognition to the Nation of Islam. The loans from Gaddafi provided the funds for the organization and the work in Ghana, that helped connect African Americans to a larger black identity, helped keep the Nation afloat under such difficult times. At home, Louis Farrakhan's message was helped by the NOI newspaper, *The Final Call*, and by his relationships with prominent African American artists including California rapper, Snoop Dogg.⁴⁰

Farrakhan's message at home was largely centered on personal and socio-economic empowerment. The Nation sought to rid urban areas from crime and drug related problems while offering an alternative. For example, in a 1994 interview Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad, the National Spokesperson for Minister Louis Farrakhan and Minister of Health and Human Resources for the Nation of Islam, he emphasized the importance of this work, "You're sitting in the reality of the Nation of Islam... You come in here and there's green grass, trees, and children are playing and its peaceful and quiet and you see the recent renovations of a housing project. That's the Nation of Islam!... This place here, Paradise Manor was considered one of the ten worst drug markets in America. And we came in by the grace of Allah and cleaned it up. So we can set up a clinic and

⁴⁰ Ibid., 100-103.

take care of the health needs of our people. That's the Nation of Islam!"⁴¹ In the same interview, he emphasized the importance of the *Final Call* newspaper and the ways in which the Nation is focusing on economic independence by buying farmland and running small businesses.

Under the leadership of Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam has been resurrected. Just like in the years under Elijah Muhammad, the Nation is focusing on social and economic independence, while also offering a "spiritual awakening" for its constituents. Considering where the Nation was when Farrakhan took control, it has grown immensely both nationally and internationally. In 1982, the New York Times published a story, "Nationalist Faction of Black Muslim Movement Gains Strength" the report emphasized the popularity of the NOI in contrast to the dwindling numbers of the American Muslim Mission.⁴² Thus despite having to rebuild the Nation of Islam after the leadership of WD Muhammad, Louis Farrakhan went back to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, recruited new members, and became a nationally and internationally recognized figure.

Nation of Islam and Sunnism

With a rise in immigrants from "Islamic lands" coupled with WD Muhammad's embrace of mainstream Sunnism, the Nation of Islam had a difficult time broadcasting itself as Islamic. In addition to that, the NOI had to convince African Americans that the NOI was a better alternative to orthodox Islam. To do so, Farrakhan focused on the

⁴¹ Interview with Clifton E. Marsh published Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims*, 179.

⁴² Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims*, 127.

particular African American struggle, “There is no Arab that can understand what it is like to be a Black man in America...”⁴³ At the same time, he focused on the importance of Elijah Muhammad’s message, how that message “saved” his people, and how turning away from it resulted in “drinking alcohol, smoking reefers, eating pork, and boogie-ing. All the progress we made has been lost.”⁴⁴ Most striking, he made the Islamic world complicit in the degradation of Africans. In fact, he blamed all religions and political systems for ignoring the well-being of Africans, “If you [Sunni Muslims] are so interested in the Black Man in America, why don’t you clean up the ghettos in Mecca. The ghettos in the Holy City where the Sudanese and other black African Muslims live are some the of the worst I’ve seen anywhere...I see racism in the Muslim world, clean it up!”⁴⁵ By focusing on racial disparity in the Islamic world, Louis Farrakhan was able to portray the Nation of Islam as the only religious movement that could free black Muslims from poverty and the ills of a racist society. While he was undoubtedly aware of Sunni Islam he still relied heavily on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, whose relationship with a broader Sunni orthodoxy was questionable. In practice, however, this was not as important as Elijah Muhammad took it upon himself to interpret scripture, and relay the teachings of God in human form, W.D. Fard.

The Nation of Islam began as a religious movement, undoubtedly based on serious religious conviction. However, the niche this new religion occupied was particularly difficult to navigate. The Nation began as a semi-Islamic, American born religion that originated with limited knowledge of a rich Islamic tradition. In addition to

⁴³ Louis Farrakhan, *In Defense of the Messenger* (Final Call, 1980), audio cassette tape, cited in Gibson, *A History of the Nation of Islam*, 87.

⁴⁴ Ghanem Bassiri, *A History*, 289.

⁴⁵ Ghanem Bassiri, *A History*, 290.

that, the American context in which this religion was born provided significant challenges for the African-American followers. It was this very context that denied the Nation of Islam a rich tradition, or foundation, on which to build this new movement.

Throughout its history, the Nation of Islam has not developed a systematic study and appropriation of the scholarly traditions of Islam. Instead, the nascent religion has relied extensively on the interpretations of the Quran from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and then continued by Louis Farrakhan. Despite this, however, Elijah Muhammad did take it upon himself to act somewhat as a *mufassir* (Quran commentator) for his community insofar as he engaged with the Quran and interpreted it to best fit a specific context or to teach a specific lesson. In other words, he had the sole power to use the holy text to extract a specific *truth* in order to guide the Nation.

This is seen in how he used the Qur'an to legitimize some of his claims. For instance, Elijah Muhammad consistently preached his belief of whites as the enemies of God. In his book, *Message to the Blackman in America*, Muhammad wrote, "The Adamic race is still the enemy of the Muslims (the black man). Nevertheless, Allah did not deprive the Adamic race right guidance through His prophets, whom they persecuted and killed. The history of the Adamic white race is proof that they are the enemies of God and the righteous."⁴⁶ This quote alludes to, although not immediately quoted by Muhammad, Qur'an 16: 36, "For We assuredly sent amongst every People a messenger, (with the Command), "Serve Allah, and eschew Evil": of the People were some whom Allah guided, and some on whom error became inevitably (established)." Thus, much

⁴⁶ Elijah Muhammad, *Message*, 133.

like in the long history of *tafsir* literature, Elijah Muhammad looked to explain what the Qur'an means and how it remains relevant in a new socio-historical context.

Another example includes Elijah Muhammad's interpretation of Qur'an 2:30, "And when your Lord said to the angels, I am going to place in the earth one who shall rule, the angels said: 'what will thou place in it such as shall make mischief in it and shed blood, we celebrate they praise and extol thy holiness.'" After quoting this Quranic passage, Elijah explains its meaning, "The devil race has and still is doing just that—making mischief and shedding blood of the black nation whom they were grafted from."⁴⁷ He then continues by quoting another Quranic verse with an accompanying explanation, "Your Lord said to the angels, 'Surely I am going to create a mortal of the essence of black mud fashioned in shape' (Holy Qur-an Sharrieff, 15:28) (Message, 128) This "black mud," according to Elijah Muhammad, is the "sperm of the black nation" and despite being divinely created, whites refused to see an equal man. This demonstrates how Elijah Muhammad used the Quran to explain the social circumstance of African-Americans in a way that is divinely mandated and how Islam provides the answers to social ills.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid., 128.

⁴⁸ Herbert Berg's article, "Elijah Muhammad: An African American Muslim Mufassir?," *Arabica* 45, no. 3 (1998): 320-346. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4057315>. Is a long discussion on the role of a *mufassir* throughout Islamic history across a variety of contexts, it is within this framework that he places Elijah Muhammad. He determined that under some definitions of the word and the role of certain individual *mufassir*. Moreover, he references the work of John Wansbrough who noted three techniques in narrative exegesis—exegetical, parabolic, paraphrastic. The exegetical approach involves using scripture to enforce the framework of a narrative. Parabolic the narrative serves as a lens to view scripture. The paraphrastic approach uses anecdotes to understand a specific verse. Berg proposes that Elijah Muhammad uses these three techniques throughout his writings.

While this unique understanding of Islam was employed to fit this particular circumstance, it was not attached to nor was it congruent with the much longer and richer Islamic intellectual tradition under the guidance of Elijah Muhammad and, later, Louis Farrakhan. This could be due to a number of reasons including: the intellectual gap between the writings of Elijah Muhammad and other Muslim intellectuals, and the copious use of the Bible to create eschatology and ontology. And herein lies a larger problem as posited by Sherman Jackson in his book, *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection*, “Blackamerican Muslims found themselves increasingly unable to address their cultural, political, and social reality in ways that were either effective in an American context or likely to be recognized as ‘Islamic’ in a Muslim one.”⁴⁹ The solution lies in what Jackson has deemed the “Third Resurrection”

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 4

CHAPTER FOUR

THE THIRD RESURRECTION AND SUFISM IN AMERICA

Scope

This chapter will discuss the “Third Resurrection” as defined by Sherman Jackson followed by a history of the Mustafawiyya, Ṭarīqah of Mocks Corner, South Carolina. Although his definition is based on his own personal experience as a Black Muslim and his observations of Islam in America, this chapter will contribute to his theoretical framework by analyzing the Mustafawiyya Ṭarīqah to see how American converts to Islam negotiate the relationship between race, religion, and nationality. By observing and studying this community, it is possible to see how American Muslim converts, predominantly African America, are able to connect with a rich Islamic tradition.

“The Third Resurrection” as Defined by Sherman Jackson

Scholar Sherman Jackson, in his book, *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection*, discusses the challenges and questions posed by these changing dynamics. As the demographics of Muslims in America changed, Blackamericans no longer had a monopoly over Islam and its interpretation. Instead, the rise of Muslim immigration into the United States caused the legitimacy of Islam in America to shift to the “sources, authorities, and interpretive methodologies of historical Islam,”⁵⁰ over which these immigrant populations had presumed mastery, “meanwhile Blackamerican Muslims found themselves increasingly unable to address their cultural,

⁵⁰ Sherman Jackson *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 4.

political, and social reality in ways that were either effective in an American context or likely to be recognized as 'Islamic' in a Muslim one."⁵¹ Furthermore, questions of religious and intellectual property arose, "For...not only would Blackamerican Muslims' ability to self-authenticate their view drastically decline, their very 'Islamicity' would be judged on the bases of criterion that anteceded Blackamerican Islam, was alien to the Blackamerican experience and was the presumed intellectual property of non-Blackamericans."⁵² Thus, an indigenous Islam partially created within the context of Blackamerican experience in America, and Islam that is "owned" and "operated" by Blackamericans has been challenged and questioned by an increase of Muslim immigrants who brought with them the idea of an "authentic" Islam.

Jackson argues that a way to couple "authentic" Islam with black experience lies in what he has deemed, "the Third Resurrection." This resurrection is not only the entrance of Blackamericans to Sunni Islam; it is the wholesale mastery and appropriation of that tradition. That is, Blackamerican Sunni Muslims must use the Sunni tradition and relate it back to their experience as Blackamericans. Old interpretations of this tradition or interpretations that reflect the experience of Muslims abroad further the subversion of Blackamerican voices and their authenticity.⁵³ In other words, this ideal, as defined by Sherman Jackson, will prevent feelings that "Blackamerican converts from Christianity had simply moved from the back of the bus to the back of the camel."⁵⁴ By appropriating classical Sunni tradition and applying it to Blackamerican experience, African Americans

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4

⁵² *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5-6

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

can enter into larger discussions of Islamic tradition and its application in their own histories providing both the credibility and reinforcing the universality of Islam.

Jackson posits that Sufism is a perfect vehicle to attain this goal. Within Sufism, Jackson sees two major advantages that connect Blackamerican Muslims to Islamic tradition and salvation. First, with Sufism, comes tradition. The tradition that comes with adopting the Sufi path, according to Jackson, attaches adherents to “a respository of tried and tested wisdom.”⁵⁵ This, in turn, provides the advantage of looking back through history for “trusted insights and answers that they can embrace as their own.”⁵⁶ At the same time, because Sufism is rich with literature, practice, and wisdom, Blackamerican Sufis have the advantage of being able to peruse this history, take what they deem necessary and pertinent to their socio-historical context, and co-opt it for their advantage. In addition, Sufism is not solely about speaking to socio-historical ills, it even more so speaks to matters of the spirit. The Sufi tradition, focusing on the spirit, “culminates in a régime of critical self-analysis, discipline, and character building that is independent of one’s grievances against the world.”⁵⁷ Thus Sufism offers both the Islamic tradition and tested methodologies and philosophies focusing on spiritual well-being, self-analysis, and discipline.

Sufism does not have a long history in the United States and has predominantly been popular among white converts, however recently there has been an growing numbers joining the Tijaniyya and Muridiyya orders, both predominantly African. The Mustafawiyya order is similar in this way but before discussing this specific ṭarīqah it is

⁵⁵ Sherman Jackson, *Third Resurrection*, 193.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 193.

important to understand the manifestations of Sufism, and similar spiritual movements in the US.

Sufism in America

Although various forms of Sufism have existed in America for nearly a century, it was not until relatively recent that scholars began to study these movements. This is partly because Sufism has been seen as among academics as “cults, ‘New Age’ or ‘unorthodox.’”⁵⁸ Furthermore, according to Marcia Hermansen, American Sufi groups were understood as “marginal to the concerns of most Muslims living in the United States and insignificant in terms of their impact on American culture and institutions.”⁵⁹ Since the 1990s, however, the study of Sufism in America has carved out a particular niche in fields including anthropology, sociology, and religious studies more broadly.

Gisela Webb’s chapter in *America’s Alternative Religions* summarizes the beginnings of Sufism in America. In this piece, she defines the growth of this path into three distinct phases. The first occurred in the early twentieth-century, which is characterized by the interest of westerners in the wisdom of the east. Although westerners during this period saw the “orient as the other” Webb notes that it did produce “a number of teachers trained in both traditional learning and European institutions, who saw a lack and longing in the West.”⁶⁰ These teachers were of two types, the first could be westerners who learned eastern spirituality and promoted it in the west, or easterners

⁵⁸ Gisela Webb, “Sufism in America,” in *Americas Alternative Religions* ed. Timothy Miller (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) 249.

⁵⁹ Marcia Hermansen, “Hybrid Identity Formations in Muslim America: The Case of American Sufi Movements.” *The Muslim World* no. 1-2 (2000): 158.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 252.

educated in the west. Among the former, the most well known Sufi from this period is Hazrat Inayat Khan who founded the “Sufi Order in the West.” Within this group, William Rory Dickson, author of *Living Sufism in North America*, also includes George Gurdjieff and his mystical, Sufi inspired, teachings.⁶¹

The second phase was wrapped in the counterculture movement of the 1960s when many young, largely middle-class Americans believed the cause of, “racism, the Vietnam War, and the evils of technocracy in a spiritual sickness that established religions in America had not only failed to solve, but had fostered.”⁶² This population searched for teachers from the east and it was during this time that more Sufi groups blossomed. One of the most prominent and notable groups, the Bawa Muhaiyadeen Fellowship in Philadelphia began. Also, interest in Zen and yoga boomed often coinciding with Sufism. The Sufi movements of this period varied in terms of their relationship with Islam, which can be seen in more recent scholarly categorizations.

The third phase of contemporary Sufism in America is the continued existence of previous Sufi movements coupled with the rise of Muslim immigrants of the 60s and 70s. It is not uncommon for these Sufi immigrants to establish mosques and bring others who formerly did not associate with the Path into the fold, “some Muslim immigrants say that they are attracted to Sufi communities because they affirm their Islamic religious heritage while allowing them to cultivate a form of religiosity different...than what they would have had in the native countries.”⁶³ While Webb does not talk extensively about American converts to Islam via an introduction to Sufism this process must also be

⁶¹William Rory Dickson. *Living Sufism in North America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2015) 81-86.

⁶² Ibid., 252

⁶³ Ibid., 252

accounted for as seen, for example, in Julianne Hazen's dissertation, *Contemporary Islamic Sufism in America*. This phase and the current Sufi movements in America have produced a wide range of scholarly literature, which seeks to understand the functions of these movements and their relationship to Islam.

Published in 1994, Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith's anthology, *Muslim Communities in North America* contains two articles on American manifestations of Sufism. One, by Frances Trix is on the Bektashi Tekke in Detroit. Trix provides an overview of both the Albanian-American-Muslim experience, and of the *tekke* itself including its social function.⁶⁴ Additionally, this same anthology includes an article on the Bawa Muhaiyadeen fellowship in Philadelphia by Gisela Webb.⁶⁵ Haddad and Smith also edited *The Oxford Handbook of American Islam* that contains an article by Marcia Hermansen, who has written extensively on Sufism in America. Her article, "Sufi Movements in America," provides a review of the history and varying orders found in America including the peoples attracted to distinct orders.⁶⁶

David Westerlund's anthology, *Sufism in Europe and North America*, contains one article from Marcia Hermansen, "What's American about American Sufi movements?" She argues here that Sufism in America is "one manifestation of Islam that

⁶⁴ Frances Trix, "Bektashi Tekke and the Sunni Mosque of Albanian Muslims in America" in *Muslim Communities in North America* ed. Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994) 359-380.

⁶⁵ Gisela Webb, "Tradition and innovation in Contemporary American Islamic Spirituality: The Bawa Muhaiyadeen Fellowship" in *Muslim Communities in North America* ed. Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994) 75-108.

⁶⁶ Marcia Hermansen, "Sufi Movements in America" in *The Oxford Handbook of American Islam* ed. Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) 119-136.

quickly adapts to the local cultural context.”⁶⁷ As the author points out, Sufism has a long history of adaptation to local cultures and contexts and America is no different. For example, she points to Schuon’s group and their interest in Native American ritual in association with their penchant for Islamic spirituality. Yet, it is not only the perennial outlook of Schuon that provides insight to the particularity of American Sufism.

Hermansen does an excellent job of taking topics that are deemed *American* such as consumerism and religious diversity and finds elements within Sufi movements that enforce or co-opt such paradigms. For the former, Hermansen notes public performances, lectures, seminars, publications, and use of media. For the latter, outlines the demographics of American Muslim communities including African Americans, SE Asians, and Arabs, among others. The diversity of this one religious group implies a diversity of teachings, beliefs and practices all under the umbrella of Islam.

Hemansen has also written on the variety of literature published by Western Sufi groups. She concluded that Western Sufi literature codes, “struggles of identity, authority and location.”⁶⁸ That is, the Sufi orders must wrestle with the dichotomy of traditional methods with more “modern” contexts and this struggle is manifested in their writings. For example, Hermansen noted that Western Sufis interested in psychotherapy are inclined to merge classical Sufi teaching with other fields including science, New Age beliefs, and comparative religion. Additionally, there is a distinction between the writings of *shari‘a* inclined movements and universal movements. The former prefers translations and instruction manuals while the latter is more attune to novels and quest

⁶⁷ Marcia Hermansen, “What’s American about American Sufi Movements?” in *Sufism in Europe and North America* ed. David Westerlund (London: Routledge, 2004). 62.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

narratives. This, again, points to the variety of orders found in the west, where various genres are employed to teach *murīds* (disciple) and others aspiring to the path depending on their national origin.

In addition to the work of Hermansen, other researchers have published on Sufism in the West. One anthology, *Sufism Today*, edited by Catharina Raudvere and Leif Stenberg seeks to understand Sufism as a lived reality. That is, instead of viewing Sufism and Sufis within a closed structure eternally tied to a master or order, this anthology focuses on the lived experience of this approach, “Sufi life today is to an increasing extent lived outside the *ṭarīqah* and is more independent in relation to the traditional authorities.”⁶⁹ Diasporic communities are a great example of this where traditional interpretations and approaches to the path have to be reimagined to fit a new context. Oluf Schönbeck’s article, “Sufism in the USA: Creolisation, Hybridisation, Syncretisation?”, attempts to explain the variety of Sufi movements in the US and their relationship with Islam more broadly.⁷⁰

The role of the Sufi sheikh in western Sufism has also received attention from academics. William Rory Dickson’s book, *Living Sufism in North America: Between Tradition and Transformation*, details his research travelling the United States visiting and interviewing Sufi leaders. He found that among the variety of Sufis he interviewed, all are “Islamic” in the sense that they all “traced their path to the Prophet Muhammad

⁶⁹ Catharina Raudvere and Leif Stenberg, “Translocal Mobility and Traditional Authority: Sufi Practices and Discourses as Facets of Everyday Muslim Life” in *Sufism Today: Heritage and Tradition in the Global Community* ed. Catharina Raudvere and Leif Stenberg (London: IB Tauris, 2009) 10.

⁷⁰ Oluf Schönbeck, “Sufism in the USA: Creolisation, Hybridisation, Syncretisation” in *Sufism Today: Heritage and Tradition in the Global Community* ed. Catharina Raudvere and Leif Stenberg (London: IB Tauris 2009) 177-188.

and the Qur'an and all expressed an understanding of Islam.”⁷¹ Insofar as the “non-Islamic Sufis” displayed Islamic knowledge and had a connection with Islamic tradition and the Islamic Sufis maintained a broadly universalistic interpretation.

Dickson's findings provide a good segue into how scholars have understood the variety of Sufi movements in America today. Today, Sufi movements have largely been defined into varying categories and scholars have classified them in different ways. Alan Godlas, professor of religion at the University of Georgia, has defined them according to their relationship to Islam; these include Islamic Sufi orders, quasi-Sufi order, and non-Islamic Sufi orders. For Islamic Sufi orders, the sheikh and the disciples (*murīd*) proclaim an “avowed adherence to Islam and specifically to the Shari'ah.” The quasi-Islamic orders however have a sheikh who has not made Islam a “condition for receiving instructions of following the Sufi path.” Additionally, the sheikh's of these orders may not follow the Shari'a in a way normative to Sunnism and Shi'ism. Thus, these lie between the Islamic Sufi orders and the non-Islamic orders. Finally, the non-Islamic orders have “disconnected their teachings from Islam.” Non-Islamic orders typically were founded in the west and the disciples are typically non-Muslim.⁷²

Although this taxonomy may be taken to task because it prioritizes Islam, which may be seen as delegitimizing the path of those considered non-Islamic thus limiting the definition of Sufism, it seems universal that all classifications of this group are defined by their relationship to Islam. Marcia Hermansen proposes that Sufi orders in America be

⁷¹ Dickson, *Living Sufism*, 13.

⁷² Alan Godlas, “Sufism, the West, Modernity” Sufism—Sufis—Sufi Orders, accessed November 13, 2017.

defined as “perennial,” and “hybrid.”⁷³ Hybrid movements are generally founded by a sheikh born in a Muslim majority country while perennial movements “de-emphasize Islamic identification,” the categories emphasize the diverse collection of Sufi movements or Sufi inspired movements within the West.

Despite Sufism’s far reaching application and universalizing approaches to religion, it has made less of an impact on African Americans. This is not to say Sufism has not made inroads into these communities, in fact the Tijaniyya and the Muridiyya orders have both sparked interest among African Americans.⁷⁴

Both the Tijaniyya and Muridiyya have West African roots and have gained numerous followers across the United States largely due to the number of West African immigrants. A Senegalese sheikh and graduate of Northwestern University, Hassan Cisse, spurred the Tijaniyya presence in the United States. By initiating a number of native-born *muqaddam* the Tijaniyya order was able to spread around the Eastern Seaboard, the south, and the Midwest. Tijanis focus on “virtues and moving toward selflessness” and seeking to improve their spiritual lives by focusing on personal deficits.⁷⁵ Additionally, many African American Tijannis, due to the efforts of the order, send their children to Quranic schools across West Africa. Similarly, the Muridiyya order has a significant number of African American members. Prevalent in Harlem,

⁷³ Marcia Hermansen, “In the Gardens of American Sufi Movements: Hybrids and Perennials” in *New Trends and Developments in the World of Islam* ed. Peter Clarke (London: Luzac Oriental, 1997) 155-178.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁷⁵ Amina McCloud, *African American Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1995) 6.

Senegalese and African American Muriddis gather in study and worship and “operate in a vibrant transnational community.”⁷⁶

African American Sufi Inspired Groups

While Sufism has made smaller impacts on African American Muslims, that is not to say there have not been Sufi influenced, semi-Islamic movements among this community. Most recently are the conferences held by the Nation of Islam under Louis Farrakhan which hold discussions on Sufism.⁷⁷ However, spirituality within these movements are much older and more diverse than Louis Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam. The first and most prominent may be the Moorish Science Temple of America founded by Noble Drew Ali in the 1920s. . This new dispensation asserted a Moorish identity for all African Americans with Islam as their original, indigenous religion.⁷⁸ Additionally, adherents were also encouraged to change their considered slave name and take surnames such as “Bey” and “El.”⁷⁹

However, this new religious movement was not solely a Black Nationalist movement, it was simultaneously deeply spiritual. Noble Drew Ali saw himself as a prophet and produced a “Holy Koran” in 1927 borrowing elements of Christianity, Islam,

⁷⁶ Marcia Hermansen “Sufi Movements in America” in *The Oxford Handbook of American Islam The Oxford University Handbook* ed. Yvonne Hadad and Jane Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). 127.

⁷⁷ Marcia Hermansen, “What’s American about American Sufi Movements?” in *Sufism in Europe and North America* ed. David Westerlund (London: Routledge, 2004). 46.

⁷⁸ Curtis, Edward E. *Islam in Black America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002) 46.

⁷⁹ Syviane A, Diouf, “The First Stirrings of Islam in America” in *The Oxford University Handbook* ed. Yvonne Hadad and Jane Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). 23.

and Freemasonry.⁸⁰ Ali borrowed extensively from occultist literature across traditions, most notably from Levi Dowling's *The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ*.⁸¹ Ali's "Koran" only mentions the Prophet Muhammad twice as the fulfillment of the works of Jesus.⁸² He was, however, adamant that his new religion was in line with *some* Islamic precepts including an all-powerful, all-knowing, unified God.⁸³ The Moorish Science Temple of America was a religion built on occultist Christian sources and Islamic language and precepts, Americanized to fit within its social context.

Another prominent movement similar to the Moorish Science Temple was the movement, which underwent a series of name changes and identities, founded by Dwight York. In 2010, scholar Susan Palmer published her book on this community titled, *The Nuwaubian Nation: Black Spirituality and State Control*. This movement was founded by Dwight York around 1970 as the "Ansar Pure Sufi" They focused on Black Nationalism, and spirituality, with at least some connection to Islam. In fact, upon his release from jail York became a disciple of Sheikh Daoud Faisal whose mission was to establish "a peaceful Muslim community...under the laws of Allah."⁸⁴ Faisal attracted many African Americans but was adamant that they not join or be affiliated with the

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 23

⁸¹ Edward E. Curtis, *Islam in Black America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002) 58. *The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ* by Levi Dowling (1908) is an account of Jesus sourced from the "akashic record," a record of all human experience in a non-physical plane only accessible when one's spirit is in full accordance with the universe.

⁸² Peter Lamborn Wilson, *Sacred Drift: Essays on the Margins of Islam* (San Francisco: City Lights Press 1993) 25.

⁸³ Ernst Allen Jr. "Identity and Destiny: The Formative Views of the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam" in *Muslims on the Americanization Path?* ed., Yvonne Y. Haddad and John Esposito (Atlanta, Scholars Press 1998) 220.

⁸⁴ Susan Palmer, *The Nuwaubian Nation: Black Spirituality and State Control* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) 5.

Nation of Islam, which he saw as non-Islamic. However, they remained close after York went to establish his own Islamic organization, the Ansār Allah Community in Bushwick, New York.

This community was influenced by three distinct religious movements all happening in New York in the 60s and 70s—orthodox Sunni groups with emphasis on outreach to African Americans, Black Nationalist movements, and esoteric, spiritual movements found in New York ghettos.⁸⁵ As York attracted followers, his community effectively turned a block in Brooklyn into their own neighborhood complete with a security force. Children of the community were taught Arabic, Hebrew, and a language invented by York. York was eventually seen as the Mahdi who would instill upon his followers “the knowledge.” This group actively proselytized across the US teaching classes on esoteric philosophy and a black nationalist theology.⁸⁶ Eventually, however, in 1994 they abruptly left New York. They then settled in Georgia becoming a religion with influenced by Islamic, Egyptian, and UFO religions. York was arrested in 2002 for child molestation. What is most important about York’s movement, however, is its focus on spirituality and the emphasis on “Sufi.” This shows a general trend in smaller semi-Islamic movements that spirituality was crucial and the way the term “Sufi” was adopted indicates at least a minute relationship with Islam but also the need for metaphysical, spiritual beliefs, not just socio-political philosophies.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 5-6.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 48.

Conclusion

Spirituality and Sufism have each developed in a myriad of different orders and orientations across American religious landscape. While African Americans have developed a number of indigenous movements inspired or influenced by Islam, Sufism itself has not been as popular in their communities compared to white converts, despite a tradition of pseudo-Islamic, spiritual movements within their own histories. Recently, however, West African Sufi orders have grown in the United States, with the most prominent being the Tijaniyya. In addition, the Mustafawiyya tariqah, a lesser-known, yet still significant, order has attracted American *murīds* throughout the US. This order began in Senegal but has communities across North America and around the globe. The concluding chapters will examine this order including its history, teachings, and followers while also examining Jackson's "Third Resurrection" in practice.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MUSTAFAWIYYA ṬARĪQA

Scope

Despite the numerous publications and studies on Sufism and spiritual movements in the United States, the Mustafawiyya Ṭarīqah has hardly been studied and discussed.⁸⁷ Knowledge of this community in Moncks Corner can broaden scholarly understanding of Sufi practice in the United States while simultaneously contributing to current conversations about religion in the American south, African American religious experience, and Islam in America more broadly. In addition, this chapter will provide the proper background information on the order, which will facilitate the discussion on the *zawiya* of Moncks Corner, SC. In order to perceive the “Third Resurrection” in practice, I developed and distributed a survey for the community, participated in their Sunday *dhikr*⁸⁸ sessions, and engaged in formal and informal conversations with the sheikh and other community members.

⁸⁷ Few publications have discussed, in detail, this community. Those that have include the work of Youssef Carter, and the memoirs of Maryam Kabeer Faye.

⁸⁸ The practice of *dhikr* is long associated with Islam in general and Sufi brotherhoods in particular. Within a Sufi context, it is the process or practice of remembering God, whether quietly or loudly. Furthermore, within Sufism, many orders have *dhikr* sessions. These sessions typically involve reciting together the first half of the *shahādah*, Quranic verses, or prayers written by the founder of that order. In the case of the Mustafawiyya, the *dhikr* sessions are often done in a call and response style using a prayer book written by their founder. Across Sufism, *dhikr* sessions can be quiet or loud and can be done individually or communally. For more information see: L Gardet, “Dhikr” in *Encyclopedia of Islam* ed. by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online: 2012.

Mustafawiyya Tarīqah

The Mustafawiyya Tarīqah was founded relatively recently in Senegal. In Senegal today, Sufism is all-pervasive where an overwhelming number of Senegalese Muslims adhere to a Sufi order, the two most prominent are the Tijāniyya, and the Murīdiyya. Such was the context that birthed the Mustafawiyya order, named after its founder, Sheikh Mustafa Gueye Haydar (1926-1989). Sheikh Haydar began his life immersed in Islamic sciences, as his father was a prolific, well-known scholar. By age 12 he had memorized the Quran and would go on to author over 300 works. Through a dream, the Prophet Muhammad commissioned him to begin the Mustafawiyya Order. His followers consider him to be “proficient in all of the inner and outer knowledges of Islam...a rare beacon of genuine Sufism at a time when many *ṭarīqahs* had become diluted and merely movements or folkloric organizations.”⁸⁹ Upon his death, the leadership fell to his nephew, Sheikh Harun Faye Al-Faqir. Sheikh Harun has begun to spread his uncle’s teachings and the Mustafawiyya *ṭarīqah* around the globe, from Senegal to Indonesia, to Europe, and the United States. Many of his uncle’s works have been published and translated for *murīds* and others under the direction of Sheikh Harun including, *Al-bahr-ul-muḥīṭ* (The Vast Ocean), *jilbāb al-ḥimāyah wa jund al-‘ināyah* (The Cloak of Protection and the Soldiers of Divine Care), and *ya-llah ‘ajib lanā kullānā yāllāhu yāllāhu* (O Allah! Answer all of Our Prayers, O Allah!).

⁸⁹ Shaykh Mustafa Gueye Haydar, *The Vast Ocean*, (Indonesia, 2006) Back Cover.

Literature of the Mustafawiyya *Ṭarīqah*

It is common for Sufi orders to produce literature from spiritual guides along the path as previously noted by Marcia Hermansen. The Mustafawiyya Order likewise translates and publishes the work of the founder. The writings are commonly sung during *dhikr* sessions offering praise upon the Prophet, and asking God for guidance. In addition, there are prayers printed in each book, which ask for guidance, acceptance, mercy and forgiveness. The literature serves many purposes, to connect each *murīd* to the lineage of their *ṭarīqah*, to reinforce knowledge of Arabic, and as a remembrance for their sheikh.

The Vast Ocean is a *qasīdah* written in praise of the Prophet Muhammad and a response to those who criticized him for not following the norms of his day.⁹⁰ It consists of 288 short supplications and praises, organized as verses, upon the prophet. The first of these reads, “Leave me with my love of the Prophet. I am guided by the ways of my father. The lights of this love are the source of my inner profound perception and its *jalāl* (glory) is my safeguard.”⁹¹ It is important to note that Sheikh Mustafa had a deep, personal connection with the Prophet Muhammad despite living centuries apart. It was the latter that commissioned the former to begin the Mustafawiyya *Ṭarīqah* and bring guidance to his people. This relationship is apparent throughout the text, for example in verse 236, “I have a pact with the one who, out of his love, shields me from his opponents. The love of him pervades our midst, full of delight and bountiful pleasure.”⁹² This text was written to show the love and relationship Sheikh Mustafa had with the

⁹⁰ Ibid., 65

⁹¹ Ibid., 66

⁹² Ibid., 101.

Prophet Muhammad, and is now read by those following his path for inspiration, guidance.

Similarly, *The Cloak of Protection and the Soldiers of Divine Care*, is written by Sheikh Mustafa and read by his community. In this text, Sheikh Mustafa “beseeches Allah to draw toward him all forms of goodness.”⁹³ This is also set up in a series of verses and while *The Vast Ocean* focuses on a relationship with the Prophet, *The Cloak of Protection*, asks God for guidance, goodness, and for protection from evil, both physical and spiritual. He suggested that one should recite it in the morning and evening, with good intention, to attract “goodness and blessings repelling harm.”

It is important to bring attention to the unspeakably important role Sufi Sheikhs have in Sufi practice. It is not uncommon within Islam for non-Sufis to criticize Sufism, whether it be due to political worries, perceived heresy, or innovation. However, as Chittick points out in his book, *Sufism: A Beginners Guide*, Sufi theoreticians maintain that Sufism is, “the living spirit of the Islamic tradition.”⁹⁴ For them, this spirit has been an integral part of Islam since its inception. The role of the Sheikh, then, is to mediate this living spirit and make it attainable for seekers. This is exemplified in the writings of Sheikh Mustafa by passing on spiritual wisdom to his followers—followers then seek to understand the teachings and implement them both inwardly and outwardly. That is, to build proper comportment that is in line with religious conviction and proper praxis, implementing religious conviction in practice, respectively.

⁹³ Shaykh Mustafa Gueye Haydar, *The Cloak of Protection and the Soldiers of Divine Care*, (Indonesia, 2008), 3.

⁹⁴ William Chittick, *Sufism: A Beginners Guide*, (Oxford: One World Publishing, 2000) 24.

Sheikh Harun Faye al-Faqir

Today the nephew of Sheikh Mustafa, Sheikh Harun Faye, leads the order. Since inheriting the legacy of his uncle, Sheikh Harun has attracted followers across the globe including the United States, West Africa, Europe, and SE Asia. While he lives in the United States, at each community he has a representative to oversee and guide the community in his absence.

He was born into a family of religious men and women. Maryam Kabeer Faye's book, *Journey through Ten Thousand Veils* provides context for his upbringing beginning with how his grandfather "made of his home a school of divine teachings that was filled with students day and night. The students in this school of light were seared in concentric circles, each circle receiving a different level of knowledge and training. The Sheikh's daughter, his first-born, Khadijah (ra), and his son, Shiekh Mustafa (ra) were, as God willed it, at the epicenter of this transmission and transformation."⁹⁵ It was this knowledge and upbringing that prepared him to become the leader of the Mustafawiyya order after the passing of his uncle.

Since becoming the head of the order, Sheikh Harun has grown the *tariqah* outside of Senegal and across the world. For over 20 years, however, he has made home and built a substantial community in Moncks Corner, South Carolina. Prior to his coming to Moncks Corner, there was no Muslim community. However, when he arrived he began to establish a mosque and make himself available to seekers. Based on informal conversations with me, he related how he began to attract people to Islam through praxis. That is, aiding those in need and developing a rapport with many citizens of the town.

⁹⁵ Maryam Kabeer Faye, *Journey Through Ten Thousand Veils: The Alchemy of Transformation on the Sufi Path*, (New Jersey: Tughra Books, 2009) 281.

Similar stories are related in Maryam Kabeer Faye's memoir, "I was standing in line with the Sheikh at Rite Aid. Behind us was a young woman in a wheel chair, handicapped, both physically and mentally. His first impulse was to put her before us, then he paid her bill, and then he put money in her hand...to be profoundly inclined to goodness, kindness, and charity for the sake of God, Who is Most Loving and Kind, is the *sunnah* of the Prophet (saw), divine knowledge manifested continuously in action."⁹⁶ It was through such actions he related to me, that he became well known throughout the town.

Many members of the community today converted and joined decades ago. In addition, the community spans generations. That is, not just in terms of members of various ages, but members are raising their families within the community under the guidance of the sheikh. For example, one story was related to me that a community member, the son of an early convert, who is now in his early twenties often serves as the *khaṭīb* at their *jumu'ah* prayer service. Through the guidance, teaching, and example set by the sheikh, the converts have created and sustained an Islamic community that has, so far, been passed to the next generation.

Demographics of the Zawiya in Moncks Corner, SC

As I mentioned before, prior to the sheikh settling in Moncks Corner, there was no centralized Muslim community in this town. However, today this small town holds a substantial Islamic community comprised of both converts and lifelong Muslims. While my data can only account for members present when I distributed the survey, the data nonetheless provides insights into the demographic make-up of this congregation.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 297-298.

Out of the 17 respondents, 10 identified as male, 5 as female, and 2 left the question unanswered. Their ages ranged from 25 to over 71, the majority, however, are between 25 and 50 years of age. In addition, the majority relates they are originally from the United States yet there is a minority within the group originally from various African countries as well as Europe.

With regards to religion, all respondents identify as Muslim and all follow the guidance of the sheikh, demonstrating that the community is uniform in its adherence to Islam and the Mustfawiyya ṭarīqah. While all members of the community are Muslim, 5 of them have been Muslim from birth while others have converted as recently as 2013. Prior to conversion, not including those Muslim by birth, the majority of respondents indicate they followed Christianity, for a complete breakdown of this, see the chart below:

Table 1:

Religion of the members of the Mustafawiyya Ṭarīqah Prior to Conversion	
Christian	9
No religious belief	1
Muslim by birth	5
No Answer	2

In addition, those that converted into Islam, only 2 indicated they had prior knowledge of the religion. One respondent indicated that they had learned about Islam through a friend, while another indicated that they were only familiar with Muslim rituals including prayer and veiling.

The amount of time each respondent has been a member of the Mustafawiyya order ranges greatly, from 5 months to 23 years. A vast majority of respondents converted prior to joining the ṭarīqah, but there is still a minority of members who converted and joined simultaneously.

Table 2:

When asked if one had converted to Islam and joined the <i>ṭarīqah</i> simultaneously	
Yes	2
No	15

This community is diverse in some demographics including age and conversion to Islam, the community is nearly uniform in other areas. The following sections will delve deeper into these topics including the near uniform racial makeup of this community, their reasons for conversion to Islam and their reasons for embracing Sufism.

Racial and Religious Identity

As previously noted, various scholars have pointed out that Sufism has made less of an impact among African American converts. While this may be the case, this is not to say that there are no predominantly African American Sufi communities in the United States including the *Tijaniyya* and *Muridiyya*, both of which are well-known, international Sufi orders. The lesser-known *Mustafawiyya* community in Moncks Corner, is also a predominantly, but not exclusively, African American Sufi community. Out of the 17 respondents, 12 of them identified as black and/or African American.

Throughout the history of Islam in America, race has been central to American-Islamic identity. This is seen and has already been demonstrated through the teachings of the Ahmadiyya movement and the Nation of Islam. In order to understand contemporary African American converts within a larger context of race and Islamic American history, I asked about the importance of race to identity. The chart below summarizes the responses:

Table 3:

How important is race to your identity? (5 being the strongest)	
5	4
4	6
3	2
2	1
1	1
N/A	2
Unanswered	1

A majority of respondents indicate that race is an integral part of their identity while only a few indicated that it was not. However, when asked to elaborate, respondents on both ends of the data share similar answers. For example, one respondent who marked “5” on the question elaborated by saying, “race is a spiritual identity that man has no control over, but God love diversity, and he love colors to show His powers of creation and His love for mankind. God said in the Quran, I have created you into tribes and nations so that you can understand each other.” Likewise, another respondent

who also marked a “5” noted, “Because Allah says he separated us into nations and tribes so I am within the groups where Allah places His servants.” Interesting enough, a respondent who indicated a “3” referenced the same verse, “Race is a created concept. Indeed we are different tribes and created that way so we may come to know each other (49:13). However, race is not important until it should bring us to harm one another in addition I am proud of my race but I will not cast someone aside because of theirs.” This notion of God creating race also served as the basis for race not being as important to identity. One respondent indicated the question was not applicable and expanded upon that saying, “because God does the coloring, not me.” It is interesting to note how God is used to explain the importance of race across the spectrum of the survey. This demonstrates that race is understood as a divine construct, that is, race becomes understood as a sign of God, which demonstrates his power but does not imply a racial hierarchy unlike understandings of race in previous American Islamic movements.

For many who marked race as less important, their reasoning was less spiritual than they were political or social. For example, one participant who marked a “2” elaborated by saying, “I wish that people were not identified with the way they looked.” While another who did not directly answer the question stated, “I try not to identify with race, it is one of the qualifying problems for society today.” Thus for these participants, race is viewed as a divisive construct that is detrimental to society. I do not want to caste these respondents into a post-racial ideology, but it is worth noting that it is perhaps their experience with regards to race that renders it as unimportant or not worthy of being a building block of identity due to its perceived divisive nature.

However, one answer to this question may serve as a link between these two camps. This respondent indicated race as a “4” and elaborated by writing, “Its important because we come from a mindset of oppression. Through the light of the Quran we are able to live in unity, humility, understanding, and beauty.” I interpret this response to mean that 1) racial identity is important because of the history of race in America and 2) the Quran provides a path to both be proud of one’s race while being able to circumvent the racial tension of American history and society. This notion that Islam transcends American views on race is hinted at in other responses as well. For instance, one respondent wrote, “As I indentify being Muslim and Islam as my religion/way of life Action, words, deeds are extremely important as a human being 1st and foremost. Our creator will judge us by these above mentioned 1st—Race is 2nd to my way of life.” In addition, “God ordained us all to be who we are. Race is of no importance in Islam. We were all created of God’s image, different languages, tribes, but we are just mankind in his image. There are no distinguished differences between one and the next on the day of judgment.” Thus, for a majority of participants race is interpreted based on their understanding of Islam. Their religion does not allow for division and prejudice between races.

While race is important to many within the community, the importance of race pales in comparison with the importance of Islam and it seems all other aspects of life are interpreted through their understanding of Islam. For a similar question I asked the importance of a variety of factors to one’s identity. All 17 respondents marked Islam as one of the strongest factors to personal identity:

Table 4:

On a scale of 1-5 (5 being the strongest) which of the following are most important to your identity? ⁹⁷						
	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Muslim	17	0	0	0	0	0
American	4	1	3	1	5	0
African	7	2	2	0	0	3
Caucasian	0	0	2	0	0	9
Male/Female	9	1		0	0	1
Other	0	0	1	0	0	0

As all respondents indicated a 5 for Islam for this question, their reasoning was similar throughout each answer. A large number of participants stated that Islam encompasses and influences all other aspects of life including both actions and beliefs and therefore it is most crucial to their individual identity. For example, one participant elaborated saying, “Muslim (5) for being Muslim is the most significant because Islam eliminates many of the barriers we put between ourselves such as race and nationality...Islam gives us core values and methods of living in every facet of life from using the restroom to eating to marriage there are no gaps.” Thus Islam for these community members is the hub of their identity and they seek to ensure all other aspects of life are in congruence with Islamic ideals.

⁹⁷ Note that not all respondents answered each category thus the reason for a variety of totals per row.

Reasons for Embracing Islam

For a large portion of the history of Islam in America, American Islamic movements were entangled with race and political and/or social protest. This is not to say that there was not a genuine religious belief among members of the Nation of Islam, for example, but racial identity, or a precedent of believed ancestral religion was central to their message. For this portion of the survey, I sought to understand this community's top reasons for converting to Islam:

Table 5:

If applicable, on a scale of 1-5 (5 being the strongest), rate your top reasons for converting							
	5	4	3	2	1	n/a	Unanswered
Strong Moral Values in Islam	10	1	1	0	0	1	2
Respect Given to Other Religions	3	2	3	0	2	2	3
Parents became Muslim,	0	2	2	0	2	10	2
Personal Experience	8	1	1	0	0	0	3
Similarity of Message to Previous Religious Path	2	1	1	1	3	2	4
Heritage of Ancestors	2	0	1	1	1	5	4
Dissatisfaction with Previous Religious Path	5	3	0	0	2	1	3
Dissatisfaction with Dominant Social and Moral Norms	6	1	1	1	1	2	2

The top reasons were the strong moral values they had found in Islam and personal experience. For the latter, many of the participants elaborated on their personal experience. In many responses, participants spoke of their lives prior to knowing Islam and how their lives changed after embracing the religion, “Going through life in struggle not knowing the Creator only to find the truth in Islam is amazing.” In addition, another respondent noted, “I had no purpose or direction and had so many negative ways, Islam strengthened my morals and life.” From reading these experiences, Islam is not only the religion of the community, but also the vehicle to a better, more secure life. Converting to Islam also served to cultivate a new moral awareness, “Islam brought about a moral awareness and respect of God, yourself, and the relationship with all in the creation.” Similarly, embracing Islam brought to community members a sense of belonging, “I can simply say for me I feel I was blind and without purpose. Now through Islam/Quran I see clearly and I know who I am and why I’m here.” Another mentioned the importance of the community itself, “growing up in a community of new converts they try to set up a safety and spiritual environment, when Reason started working on my mind I saw their intentions and why.” These responses demonstrate the importance of the social and personal sides of conversion. Islam and becoming part of the religious community brought many out of perceived immorality.

Other responses exhibit theological reasons for converting and many respondents discuss the importance of the simplicity of a unified God that attracted them. A few respondents talk about their own personal religious journeys and how, until they found Islam, none of their past religious affiliations made complete sense to them. For example, “To me, Allah gave us a 6th sense. That is common sense. There are no questions in

Islam that goes unanswered. Jesus worshipped Allah so he cannot be God. A man could not create the moon, stars, planets, clouds, trees, sun, planets, and beach. I studied many beliefs, always on a search for truth in guidance Jehovah's Witness, Christianity, Catholicism. And Islam made sense. There is only God. One Creator. Without partners."

The two most common trends on explaining embracing Islam included both personal changes facilitated by Islam and the simplicity of a unified God in comparison to the Christian trinity. Sufism, by extension, provided a deeper understanding of the religion while securing and creating a sense of community, both spiritual and neighborly.

Embracing Sufism and the Sufi Community

The Muslim community in Moncks Corner cannot be decoupled from Sufism as, according to the surveys, all community members are followers of Sheikh Harun and the Mustafawiyya *ṭarīqah*. In order to situate and observe this community with Sherman Jackson's discussion of the Third Resurrection manifesting in Sufism, I sought to understand why members embraced the mystical path of Islam.

Table 6:

If applicable, please rank 1-5 (5 being the strongest) your top reasons for embracing Sufism							
	5	4	3	2	1	N/a	Unanswered
Desire for more meaningful, personal certainty of God	9	1	1	0	0	1	1
Personal Experience	5	2	0	0	0	1	5
Leadership of the Sheikh	11	1	0	0	0	1	0
Spiritual Development	10	3	0	0	0	0	0
Supportive Faith Community	8	3	1	0	0	0	1
Spiritual Healing	8	4	0	0	0	0	1
Dissatisfaction with Previous Religious/Spiritual Path	5	0	3	1	1	1	2
Dissatisfaction with Dominant Social and Moral Norms	5	0	3	1	1	1	2

For those that elaborated on their primary reasons for embracing the Sufi path, a majority of them mentioned the importance and centrality of the sheikh. For example, “I was Muslim but I had lost some of the love I had for learning more about Quran and when I met Sheikh Harun he reignited the flame from my youth in learning Islam.”

Likewise another respondent wrote, “The Sheikh developed a way to help his students become better human beings for the service of God and to fine tune the mind to think properly regarding God.”

With regards to the teachings of the Sheikh, one participant wrote, “The most valuable is the *wird* (liturgy)⁹⁸ and the *bayat* (allegiance to a sheikh) and learning Quran. In the *wird* to take *bayat* you cannot take the *wird* unless you are serious with your 5 daily prayers the *wird* is only Quran and Sunnah.” Another said, “I am appreciative of his spiritual teachings and guidance in Islam.” Thus, Sheikh Harun, trained in the Islamic tradition in Senegal, sanctioned to carry the message of the founder of the *ṭariqah*, Sheikh Mustafa Gueye, teaches and grows Islam based on Islamic understanding from Senegal. In other words, by performing traditional Sufi practices, Islam in America, through Sufism, is able to grow in conjunction with Islam in traditionally defined Islamic lands.

Communal Practice, “Glocalization,” and Conclusion

There is a large emphasis on community and caring for the community at this *zawiya*. Many participants noted that emphasis on community was a large part of their embracing of Sufism. Communal gatherings take place every Sunday, which typically involve a *dhikr* session. During these sessions the writings of the founder of the order are recited together. Typically done in a call-and-response form, one member will lead the rest of the community in reciting these writings. Many respondents noted the importance of the *dhikr* sessions, “zikr...it changes the heart and brings light into the heart and

⁹⁸ A *wird* is typically unique to each Sufi order.

guidance to the mind.” Similarly, one participant wrote, “dhikr is wonderful because to look your brother in his eyes as he calls on Allah is soften and humbling.”

It is through the *dhikr* sessions that the community engages in what scholars note as, “glocalization.” That is, “a worldwide exchange of social and cultural ideas that contributes to the transformation of local realities and cultural behavior.”⁹⁹ It is through participating in the religious performance of the *ṭarīqah* including the *dhikr* sessions that members are able to have a shared religious experience with members across the globe. Thus, the community in Moncks Corner is both local and global in scope. For the former, the narratives of conversion and individual’s lives prior to and after entering Islam are shaped by specific American socio-historical contexts. Yet, the community is also global insofar that they experience and engage with religious performance with members across the globe.

In addition to religious performance, including *dhikr* sessions, the community becomes “glocalized” through other means including the sheikh himself. Scholar Youssef Carter has also written on the Mustafawiyya order in Moncks Corner and his article, “Traveling Ode of the Faqir: Song Transmission and Spiritual Genealogies in a Sufi Community” provides great insight into this matter. For instance, by looking at a specific ode and how it is understood and adapted by Mustafawiyya communities all across the United States he suggests that, “through looking in depth at the exchange and transmission of this tribute song, we can better identify the precise manner by which religious observances, particularly those of (African- or Anglo-) American Muslims, are

⁹⁹ Marta Dominguez Diaz, “Shifting Fieldsites: An Alternative Approach to Fieldwork in Transnational Sufism” in *Fieldwork in Religion* 6, no. 1 (2011) 73.

rerouted and indigenized into Senegambian traditions.”¹⁰⁰ The engagement with and adoption of both the material and teachings of an international Sufi order in conjunction with the sheikh himself, the community becomes glocalized. Meaning, the community adopts Senegambian religious traditions into their own religious culture and understanding, thus putting them in contact with traditions not indigenous to their geography, however, this fact does not erase the distinctness of the community itself.

A process of glocalization exemplifies the Third Resurrection because it places American Muslims in contact with a larger, organic Sunni (in this case also Sufi) tradition. This allows for American Muslims to take these traditions and coopt them to fit a certain particular American context, simultaneously remaining both fully Muslim *and* fully “American” whereas the manifestations of Islam in America before had much difficulty getting the recognition of either.

¹⁰⁰ Youssef Carter, “Traveling Ode of the Faqir: Song Transmission & Spiritual Genealogies in a Sufi Community” *CrossCurrents* 65, no. 4 (2015) 412.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The history of Islam in America is complicated and encompasses insights into American racism, politics, economics, and society at large. Beginning with the slave trade when Islam was first brought to the New World, there was a racial divide. This racial divide was cognizant of Muslim leaders who immigrated to the United States in the early 20th century and who used this divide to frame Islam as a cure to American racism, as seen with the Ahmadiyya movement.

Afterward, African Americans came to Islam through unique and indigenous Islamic movements such as the Nation of Islam. However with this movement and others, the “Islamicness,” or authenticity, were questioned. In addition, the viability of traditional Islam to assist in racial equality in America was viewed as impossible. To leaders such as Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan, traditional Sunni Islam was treated and accepted at arms length. Only they could guarantee black liberation from American injustice, Sunni Islam did not understand the problem of American racism and therefore could not appropriately address it. In addition, as immigrant populations from Muslim societies increased, it became increasingly difficult for the Nation to be considered Muslim as did not possess the Islamic knowledge now seen with these immigrant populations. Thus, their ability to be seen as Muslims was threatened and reduced, including those believers who had left the NOI and became part of the Sunni community.

The “Third Resurrection” seeks to change that. Sherman Jackson’s “Third Resurrection” enables Islamic tradition to speak to American society. The Mustafawiyya community in Moncks Corner is an example of this in practice insofar as it provides African American converts with a vehicle to engage with traditional Islamic sources, traditions, and institutions. By doing so the Islamicness of their practice is not questioned, the members are able to interact with a living Sufi tradition that is effectively “owned and operated” by the community itself retaining American particularities that can then be approached and understood through “orthodox” Islamic means.

Bibliography

- Airyess, Ala. *A Muslim American Slave: The Life of Omar Ibn Said*. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2011.
- Allen, Ernst Jr. "Identity and Destiny: The Formative Views of the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam" in *Muslims on the Americanization Path?* edited by Yvonne Y. Haddad and John Esposito. Atlanta: Scholars Press. 201-266.
- Austin, Allan. *African Muslims In Antebellum America: A Sourcebook*. New York: Garland Publishing. 1984.
- Bayouni, Mustafa "Ease of the Sun (West of the Moon): Islam, the Ahmadis, and African America." In *Black Routes to Islam* edited by Manning Marable and Hishaam D. Aidi, 69-78. New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2009.
- Berg, Herbert article, "Elijah Muhammad: An African American Muslim *Mufassir*?" In *Arabica*, 45, no. 3 (1998) 320-346.
- Bowen, Patrick "Satti Majid: A Sudanese Founder of American Islam." In a *Journal of Africana Religions* 1, no. 2 (2013). 194-209.
- Bulliet, Richard. *Islam: A View From the Edge*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1994.
- Carter, Youssef. "Traveling Ode of the Faqir: Song Transmission & Spiritual Genealogies in a Sufi Community." In *CrossCurrents* 65, no. 4. 2015. 410-421.
- Chittick, William. *Sufism: A Beginners Guide*. Oxford: One World Publishing. 2000.

- Curtis, Edward E. *Islam in Black America*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Dickson, William Rory. *Living Sufism in North America*. Albany: SUNY Press. 2015.
- Diouf, Syviane A, "The First Stirrings of Islam in America." In *The Oxford University Handbook* edited by Yvonne Hadad and Jane Smith 15-28. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Diaz, Marta Dominguez. "Shifting Fieldsites: An Alternative Approach to Fieldwork in Transnational Sufism." In *Fieldwork in Religion* 6, no. 1. 2011. 64-82.
- Erdmann, Doane Beynon "The Voodoo Cult Among Negro Migrants in Detroit." In *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 43 issue 6 894-907.
- Gardet, L. "Dhikr" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 17 April 2018. Brill Online: 2012
- GhaneaBassiri, Kambiz *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 2010.
- Gibson, Dawn-Marie. *A History of the Nation of Islam: Race, Islam, and the Quest for Freedom*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2012.
- Godlas, Alan. "Sufism and Sufi Orders in the West."
<http://islam.uga.edu/sufismwest.html>
- Gomez, Michael. *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005.
- Haydar, Mustafa Gueye. *The Cloak of Protection and the Soldiers of Divine Care*. Indonesia. 2008.

_____. *The Vast Ocean*. Indonesia. 2006.

Hazen, Juliane. *Sufism in America: The Alami Tarīqah of Waterport, New York*.

Maryland: Lexington Books. 2016.

Hermansen, Marcia. "Hybrid Identity Formations in Muslim America: The Case of

American Sufi Movements." In *The Muslim World* no. 1-2 (2000).

_____. "In the Gardens of American Sufi Movements: Hybrids and Perennials." In *New*

Trends and Developments in the World of Islam edited by Peter Clarke. London:

Luzac Oriental. 1997. 155-178.

_____. "Sufi Movements in America." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Islam*

edited by. Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith. New York: Oxford University Press.

2014. 119-136.

_____. "What's American about American Sufi Movements?" In *Sufism in Europe and*

North America edited by David Westerlund. London: Routledge. 2004. 36-63.

Jackson, Sherman. *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third*

Resurrection. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005.

Kabeer Faye, Maryam. *Journey Through Ten Thousand Veils: The Alchemy of*

Transformation on the Sufi Path. New Jersey: Tughra Books. 2009.

Kahera, Akel Ismail, "Gods Dominion': Omar Ibn Said's use of Arabic Literacy as

Opposition to Slavery." In *South Carolina Review* 46 no. 2 2014, p. 126-134.

Lincoln, Eric C. *The Black Muslims in America*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1994.

Marsh, Clifton E. *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Resurrection, Transformation,*

and Change of Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America, 1930-1945. Boston:

Scarecrow Press. 1996.

- McCloud, Amina. *African American Islam*. New York: Routledge. 1995.
- Muhammad, Elijah. *Message to the Blackman in America*. Newport News: United Brothers Communications. 1965.
- Muhammad, Wallace Deen "Destruction of the Devil." Newspaper article, *Muhammad Speaks*. July 11, 1975. <http://www.newafricanradio.com/articles/7-11-75.html>
- Palmer, Susan. *The Nuwaubian Nation: Black Spirituality and State Control*. Farnham: Ashgate. 2010.
- Raudvere, Catharina and Leif Stenberg, "Translocal Mobility and Traditional Authority: Sufi Practices and Discourses as Facets of Everyday Muslim Life." In *Sufism Today: Heritage and Tradition in the Global Community* edited by Catharina Raudvere and Leif Stenberg. London: IB Tauris. 2009. 1-12.
- "Sapelo Island." Interview with Katie Brown and Shad Hall. In *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1940.
- Shönbeck, Oluf "Sufism in the USA: Creolisation, Hybridisation, Syncretisation." In *Sufism Today: Heritage and Tradition in the Global Community* edited by Catharina Raudvere and Leif Stenberg. London: IB Tauris 2009. 177-188.
- Trix, Frances. "Bektashi Tekke and the Sunni Mosque of Albanian Muslims in America." In *Muslim Communities in North America* edited by Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith. Albany: State University of New York Press. 359-380.
- Webb, Gisela. "Sufism in America." In *Americas Alternative Religions* edited by Timothy Miller. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1995. 249-258.

- _____. "Tradition and Innovation in Contemporary American Islamic Spirituality: The Bawa Muhaiyadeen Fellowship." In *Muslim Communities in North America* edited by Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. 75-108.
- Wilson, Peter Lamborn. *Sacred Drift: Essays on the Margins of Islam*. San Francisco: City Lights Press. 1993.

APPENDIX A

SURVEY

Research Survey

Salam alaikum,

My name is Lane Smith. I am a graduate student pursuing a Master's degree in religion from the University of Georgia. To complete the degree, I am required to complete a thesis project of original research. With your help, I would like to write my thesis on your community and individual experiences with respect to Islam and Sufism. This survey is designed to give me anonymous statistical data about those who are part of or affiliated with this community. I hope to use the information gained from this survey to contribute to a broad understanding of Islam and Sufism in America. If you have any questions or concerns, please call or email me.

Thank you,

Lane Smith

LHS46893@uga.edu

(864)907-8927

Procedures: Please complete this survey and return it to me by March 11th. It should take about 20-30 minutes. It can returned to me directly.

Discomfort: If you feel uncomfortable by any question, you may decline to answer.

Anonymity: This survey is completely anonymous. Although the data gained will appear in my final thesis project, all identifying answers will remain strictly confidential. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure confidentiality.

Consent: I have read or been verbally informed about the survey, including its use and purpose. I understand that I can decline to answer any question and/or elaborate on my discretion. I understand that I may ask questions at any time. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw my participation at any time. I can confirm I am at least 18 years old.

[] (Please check box)

Date:

Gender:

Race:

Age:

In which country were you born?

How do you self-identify with regard to nationality? (American, Senegalese, etc.)

Comments (optional)

Are you Muslim?

If so, what year did you convert?

What religion did you follow prior to Islam?

Were you raised by Muslim parents or family member?

Were you familiar with Islam prior to conversion? If so, how?

Are you a *murid* (follower) of Shiekh Harun?

If so, how long have you adhered to his guidance?

Did you join the ṭarīqah and convert simultaneously?

On a scale of 1-5 (5 being the strongest), which of the following are most important to your identity?

Muslim	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
American	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
African	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Caucasian	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Male/Female	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Other _____	5	4	3	2	1	n/a

Of those that are most important, why do you identify with them most strongly?

How important is race to your identity? (5 being the strongest) 5 4 3 2 1 n/a
Why?

If applicable, on a scale of 1-5 (5 being the strongest), rate your top reasons for converting.

Strong moral values in Islam	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Respect given to other religions	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Parents became Muslim so you followed their example	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Personal experience (please explain if able)	5	4	3	2	1	n/a

Similarity of message to previous religious beliefs	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Heritage of ancestors	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Dissatisfaction with previous religious path	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Dissatisfaction with dominant social and moral norms	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Other reasons:						
	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
	5	4	3	2	1	n/a

Of those that are among your top reasons, can you elaborate on why they are most significant?

If applicable, please rank 1-5 (5 being the strongest) your top reasons for embracing Sufism

Desire for a more meaningful, personal certainty of God	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Personal Experience (please explain if able)	5	4	3	2	1	n/a

Leadership of the sheikh	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Spiritual Development	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Supportive faith community	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Spiritual healing	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Dissatisfaction with previous religious/ spiritual path	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Dissatisfaction with dominant social and moral norms	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
Other:						
	5	4	3	2	1	n/a
	5	4	3	2	1	n/a

Of those that are among your top reasons, can you elaborate on why they are most significant?

Regarding the guidance of the sheikh, what teachings, values, or learning experiences have been most valuable to you?

What are the primary practices of the community?

Which are most meaningful to you? Why?