

Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

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Introduction: 18th century Africa and the Americas

Martha Frederiks

As to his Religion, 'tis known that he was a Mahometan, but more moderate in his Sentiments than most of that Religion are. He did not believe a sensual Paradise, nor many other ridiculous and vain Traditions, which pass current among the Generality of the Turks. He was very constant in his Devotion to God; but said, he never pray'd to Muhammad, nor did he think it lawful to address any but God himself in Prayer. He was so fixed in the Belief of one God, that it was not possible, at least during the Time he was here, to give him any Notion of the Trinity; so that having had a New Testament given him in his own Language, when he had read it, he told me he had perused it with a great deal of Care, but could not find one Word in it of three Gods, as some People talk ...¹

Introduction

The year 1734 saw the publication of Thomas Bluett's best-seller *Some memoirs of the life of Job, the son of Solomon, the high priest of Boonda in Africa*.² The book, a slave narrative, relates the story of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, son of a Fulani 'high-priest' from Bundu (present-day Senegambia), who was kidnapped and enslaved when, ironically, he was *en route* to the Gambia River 'to sell two Negroes and to buy paper, and some other necessities'.³ Purchased by a Mr Denton in Annapolis, Maryland, Diallo's religious practice and literacy drew the attention of the well-known British philanthropist James Oglethorpe, who in 1733 mediated his release and facilitated his return to Bundu via Britain. During his stopover in England (April 1733-July 1734), Diallo became something of a celebrity. He was received by the royal family, his portrait was painted by William Hoare, and Bluett published his life story. In July 1734, Diallo

¹ M.A. al-Ahari (ed.), *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*, Chicago IL, 2008, pp. 59-60.

² T. Bluett, *Some memoirs of the life of Job. The son of Solomon the high priest of Boonda in Africa, who was a slave about two years in Maryland, and afterwards being brought to England, was set free and sent to his native land in the year 1734*, London, 1734.

³ Al-Ahari (ed.), *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*, p. 44.

returned to Africa on a ship of the Royal African Company, and served as its local contact for some time.⁴ Bluett concludes:

His Knowledge is now extended to a degree which he could never have arrived at in his own Country; and the Instruments, which he carried over, are well adjusted to the Exigencies of his Countrymen. Who can tell, but that thro' him a whole Nation may be made happy? The Figure which he makes in those Parts, as presumptive High-priest, and the Interest he has with the King of that Country, considering the singular Obligations he is under to the *English*, may possibly, in good time, be of considerable Service to us also; and we have reason to hope this, from the repeated Assurances we had from JOB, that he would, upon all Occasions, use his best Endeavors to promote the *English* trade before any other.⁵

Diallo's slave narrative touches upon a range of 18th-century concerns. Among them are the slave-trade, emerging abolitionism, European perceptions of African Muslim enslaved, Muslim literacy, the envisaged role of emancipated slaves in forging transatlantic commercial networks and missionary aspirations of Muslim conversion through Arabic texts. Diallo's slave-narrative, however, also hints at broader 18th-century political and economic contexts, such as the existence of theocratic Islamic states in 18th-century West Africa, the multifaceted connectivities between European nations and their overseas colonies, and the rivalry between European nations for resources (human as well as other) in Africa and the Americas. This essay aims to sketch briefly some of these political, economic and religious contexts in 18th-century Africa and the Americas, with an emphasis on issues that bear relevance to understanding 18th-century encounters and representations of Christians and Muslims.

Western Africa

Ayuba Suleiman Diallo was a Fulani Muslim from Bundu. Situated in present-day Senegambia, Bundu was the first of several West African Fulani theocracies that were established between the late 17th and early 19th centuries. Around 1790, Malik Sy, a scholar from Futa Toro, seized power in the Kingdom of Gajaaga and founded the imamate of

⁴ See for example, F. Moore, *Travels to the inland part of Africa*, London, 1738, p. 69; also M. Frederiks, 'Francis Moore', in *CMR* 12, 782-8.

⁵ Al-Ahari (ed.), *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*, p. 63.

Bundu.⁶ Some decades later, Ibrahim Musa Sambeghu, better known as Karamokho Alfa, launched a jihad in the Futa Jallon highlands (1725-7), which resulted in the imamate of Futa Jallon.⁷ The mid 1770s saw the emergence of yet another Fulani imamate, when the Torodbe Shaykh Sulayman Bal toppled the Denianke dynasty of Futa Toro north of the Senegal River. Fulani jihadism continued in the 19th century. In northern Nigeria, warriors under the leadership of Uthman dan Fodio launched a jihad in the border area between Nigeria and Niger and proclaimed the Caliphate of Sokoto (1804).⁸ Fifteen years later (1818), Amadu Lobo established the Caliphate of Hamdullahi (also known as the Massina Empire) in present-day Mali; the caliphate collapsed at the hands of yet another Fulani jihadist, al-hajj Umar Tall,⁹ who successfully waged a jihad against the Bambara states of Kaarta and Segu (1861). Along the Gambia River, Fulani jihadists rose up against their Soninke overlords in a series of clashes, jointly known as the Sonkinke-Marabout wars.¹⁰

The Fulani jihads were part of a wider upsurge of Islamic reform in West Africa that is thought to have commenced with the late 17th-century Toubenan movement of the Zawaya scholar Awbek ben Ashfaga, and continued until the late 19th century.¹¹ Not all reform movements preached military intervention: in the second half of the 18th century, Shaykh Side al-Mukthar al-Kabir al-Kunti waged a spiritual jihad of learned debates

⁶ A.F. Clark, 'The Fulbe of Bundu (Senegambia). From theocracy to secularization', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29 (1996) 1-23; M.A. Gomez, *Pragmatism in the age of jihad. The precolonial state of Bundu*, Cambridge, 1992; B. Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 94.

⁷ L. Sanneh, 'Futa Jallon and the Jakhanke clerical tradition. Part 1: The historical setting', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 12 (1981) 38-64; L. Sanneh, 'Futa Jallon and the Jakhanke clerical tradition. Part 2: Karamokho Ba of Touba in Guinea', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 12 (1981) 105-26; B. Davidson, *West Africa before the colonial era. A history to 1850*, London, 2014, pp. 86-8.

⁸ Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the history of the Sokoto caliphate*, Sokoto, 1979; J.P. Smaldone, *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate. Historical and sociological perspectives*, Cambridge, 2008.

⁹ C. Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa 1860-1960*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 169-70; O. Kobo, *Unveiling modernity in twentieth-century West African Islamic reforms*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 44-6 (Uthman dan Fodio), 46-8 (al-hajj Umar Tall). For an overview of West African jihads and Muslim states, see R. Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa. A historical anthropology*, Bloomington IN, 2013, pp. 108-34.

¹⁰ M. Frederiks, *We have toiled all night. Christianity in The Gambia 1456-2000*, Zoetermeer, 2003, pp. 128-50. Not all jihads on the banks of the Gambia were instigated by Fulani.

¹¹ M. Frederiks, 'Louis Moreau de Chambonneau', *CMR* 11, 611-16; P.D. Curtin, 'Jihad in West Africa. Early phases and interrelations in Mauretania and Senegal', *Journal of African History* 12 (1971) 11-24.

in the vicinity of Timbuktu.¹² Nor were all jihads initiated by Fulanis: the Ineslemen Muhammad al-Jaylani endeavoured to establish a classless urban Muslim state in Air, while, further south, the Dyula Samoré Touré conquered the Buré goldmines and established the Wassoulou Empire (c. 1870), which he gradually transformed into an Islamic state.¹³ Peter Clarke has argued that the motives of these West African reform movements were diverse, stating that their leaders often pursued social, political and moral, as well as religious, reform. For example, Clarke attributes the prominence of the Fulani among them to their quest as pastoralists for new grazing grounds.¹⁴

European explorers and commercial agents to West Africa such as Louis Moreau de Chambonneau, James Watt, Brian O'Beirne and Gordon Laing, were fascinated by these Muslim states, and wrote elaborate descriptions of them. Their reports often constitute the only source of information on these Islamic reform movements. Their journals also provide insight into the cultural intricacies and political pitfalls that rival European companies faced in West Africa.¹⁵

The jihads of the 18th (and 19th) centuries significantly advanced the spread of Islam in West Africa, but concurrently produced numerous captives of war, who were sold into slavery. Some of the enslaved were set to work locally. James Watt, for example, observed that the agricultural production of the Imamate of Futa Jallon was based on slave-labour, while Brian O'Beirne made similar observations about the Islamic state of Moria (present-day Guinea Conakry).¹⁶ The majority, however, were transported to the Americas, with European nations vying for their

¹² P.B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, London, 1982, pp. 89-93.

¹³ Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, pp. 124-7; Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, pp. 83-5, 123-8.

¹⁴ Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, p. 125.

¹⁵ C.I.A. Richie, 'Notes and documents. Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673-1677)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, Série B Sciences Humaines 30 (1968) 289-353; A.G. Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries in Western Africa*, London, 1825; B.L. Mouser (ed.), *Guinea journals. Journeys into Guinea-Conakry during the Sierra Leone phase, 1800-1821*, Washington DC, 1979 (Richard Bright's journal, pp. 31-113; Alexander Smith's journal, pp. 115-36; Brian O'Beirne's journal, pp. 137-280); J. Watt, *Journal of James Watt. Expedition to Timbo capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, ed. B.L. Mouser, Madison WI, 1995. For studies, see e.g. B.L. Mouser, 'Continuing British interest in coastal Guinea Conakry and Fuuta Jalloo Highlands (1750-1850)', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 43 (2003) 761-90; B.L. Mouser, 'Amara, Alimamy of Moria from 1802-1826', unpublished text 2008; <http://www.tubmaninstitute.ca/sites/default/files/file/amara%2070s.pdf>.

¹⁶ Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, p. 115; Watt, *Journal of James Watt*, pp. 51-2; Mouser, *Guinea journals*, pp. 217, 220.

share in the slave trade. As the narratives of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, Bilali Mohammed and Ibrahima Abdul Rahman (who claimed to be the son of the famous Futa Jallon imam Ibrahima Sori) demonstrate, occasionally African Muslims also fell victim to enslavement.¹⁷ It was not just the Islamic reform movements that accelerated the supply for the chattel slavery. Further down the coast, the rise of the Ashante, Dahomey and Oyo empires led to such a proliferation in the supply of slaves that the littoral along the Gulf of Guinea became known as 'the slave coast'. Nevertheless, due to economic reforms and market economy, the demand for slaves in the American plantations still surpassed the supply. Therefore, longstanding slave-ports in West Central Africa remained important providers, with Luanda being the single largest port of slave embarkation during the late 18th century, supplying slaves to Portuguese, Dutch, English and French companies alike.¹⁸

Developments on both the African and American continents brought the transatlantic slave-trade to an all-time high in the 18th century.¹⁹ Simultaneously, however, abolitionist voices grew stronger during the second half of the 18th century, resulting in major abolitionist victories such as the 1792 Danish Slave Trade Act and the 1807 act of William Wilberforce. Between 1808 and 1836, the United States of America, France, the Netherlands and Portugal followed suit.²⁰ The subsequent introduction of monocultures to facilitate 'legitimate trade', as well as the policy of civilisation through Christianisation, laid the foundations for the European 'scramble for Africa'.

Among the first tangible results of abolition was the 1787 establishment of the colony of Granville Town on the coast of present-day Sierra Leone, sponsored by the British Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor. Beset by disease, death and the hostility of indigenous Africans, the colony failed, with most of the settlers dying and Granville Town

¹⁷ A.D. Austin, *African Muslims in antebellum America. Transatlantic stories and spiritual struggles*, New York, 1997, pp. 51-64 (Job ben Solomon), 65-84 (Abd al-Rahman), 84-114 (Bilali Mohammed); T. Alford, *Prince among slaves. The true story of an African prince sold into slavery in the American south*, Oxford, 1977.

¹⁸ Davidson, *West Africa before the colonial era*, pp. 196-206; D.B. Domingues da Silva, *The Atlantic slave trade from West Central Africa, 1780-1867*, Cambridge, 2017, pp. 32-3.

¹⁹ J.F. Searing, *West African slavery and Atlantic commerce. The Senegal river valley 1700-1860*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 1, 5.

²⁰ F.W. Thackeray and J.E. Fielding (eds), *Events that changed the world in the 18th century*, Westport CT, 1998, pp. 153-68. For details of the various countries, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *The suppression of the African slave trade to the United States of America 1763-1870*, Oxford, 2007; P.C. Hogg, *The African slave trade and its suppression. A classified and annotated bibliography of books, pamphlets and periodical articles*, New York, 2013.

being set ablaze by the neighbouring Temne. In 1792, the settlement was re-founded when a group of 1,131 Nova Scotians arrived on the coast. The Nova Scotians, also known as Black Loyalists, consisted of free Afro-Americans and African enslaved who had supported the British during the American War of Independence. The year 1800 saw the arrival of about 600 'maroons' from Jamaica and, from 1807 onwards, British ships cruising the West African coast on the lookout for slaving ships set ashore large numbers of recaptives in what became known as 'Freetown'. Most of the Nova Scotians and maroons were Christians; in the 19th century, their settlement Freetown became a regional base for Protestant mission work in West Africa.²¹

Eastern Africa

The capture of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1698 by the Omani, signalled the end of the Portuguese period in East Africa; by 1728, the Portuguese had lost all their East African strongholds on the coast. This success inaugurated a period of Omani Arab influence on the Swahili coast, though the Omanis faced too many challenges at home to establish any form of permanent control over East Africa. Despite this, the impact was substantial, evidenced for example by Omani influence on architecture, language and religion, and Omani dominance in trade along the Swahili coast from the 18th century onwards. The conquest also initiated a new wave of migrations from Oman and Hadramawt; among them was the Mazrui family, who, from the 1750s onwards, established themselves as the hereditary rulers of Mombasa. The Mazrui rule brought a period of great prosperity.²² Robert Maxon sums up the 18th-century developments on the Swahili coast as follows:

For much of the eighteenth century the coast was free from foreign domination and control, a situation no doubt pleasing to the majority of city-states, which had struggled against Portuguese dominance for some two hundred years. The future, however, would witness a renewal of foreign

²¹ J.W.St.G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists. The search for a promised land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, Toronto, 1999, pp. 94-114; A.G. Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone. An interpretative history*, London, 1989, p. 54. In the early 19th century, a similar initiative by the Presbyterian minister and co-founder of the American Colonization Society, Robert Finley, eventually resulted in the foundation of the Republic of Liberia (1846); M. Tyler-McGraw, *An African republic. Black and white Virginians in the making of Liberia*, Chapel Hill NC, 2007.

²² R.M. Maxon, *East Africa. An introductory history*, Morgantown VA, 2009³, pp. 48-51.

domination. Indeed, the nineteenth century would bring renewed attempts by powers outside East Africa to gain control of the coast, and they would be far more successful than in any previous era.²³

Meanwhile, further inland the 18th century saw the disintegration of the Funj sultanate. The introduction of coinage in Sennar (c. 1700) produced a merchant middle class that, over time, progressively challenged the supremacy of the sultans, who also lost power to the local *faqis*. The Egyptian conquest (1820-1) signalled the definite end of the sultanate.²⁴ In neighbouring Darfur, Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid (r. 1786-1800) consolidated a gradual process of Islamisation in the institutionalisation of a centralised sultanate.²⁵ Further south, the Kingdom of Buganda began to gain power from the 1750s onwards, and eventually seized control over the trade routes to the Swahili coast.

Ira Lapidus has argued that the joint factors of population growth and the formation of states in the East African interior resulted in an organised system of commodity exchange via caravans between the coast and the hinterland. Travelling with the coastal traders and their merchandise was Islam, leading to a gradual spread of the religion beyond the coastal area in the 19th century. During the 19th century, alliances of Arab and Swahili traders and African Muslims in the hinterland (e.g. Yao) began systematically raiding the East African interior for slaves. Their raids depopulated entire areas, and its unfortunate victims were used to transport ivory and other merchandise to the coast, where both the slaves and the goods they carried were sold as commodities.²⁶ This past may partly explain why in local East African memory conceptualisations of Islam and Muslims became entangled with the slave trade.²⁷

Meanwhile, further south, Madagascar saw the rise of the Sakalava kings from the mid-17th century onwards. Etienne de Flacourt's *Histoire de la Grande Isle Madagascar* (1658) documents how, through warfare and intermarriage, the Sakalava kings managed to forge links between

²³ Maxon, *East Africa*, p. 51.

²⁴ I.M. Lapidus, *A history of Islamic societies*, Cambridge, 2002², pp. 621-2.

²⁵ Lapidus, *History of Islamic societies*, pp. 622-3.

²⁶ I. van der Biezen, 'Slave trade wars', in A.L. Stanton et al., *Cultural sociology of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. An encyclopedia*, London, 2012, pp. 195-6.

²⁷ Maxon, *East Africa*, pp. 83-4; Lapidus, *History of Islamic societies*, p. 629. Similarly, Islam spread via the trade route from Kilwa and Malindi to the Lake Malawi area. For Islam in East Africa, see also Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, pp. 210-47. For the slave trade, see H. Ménard and S. Doyle (eds), *Slavery in the Great Lakes regions of East Africa*, Athens OH, 2007; P. Lovejoy, *Transformations in slavery. A history of slavery in Africa*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 219-43.

lineages in the highlands and coastal lineages involved in the Indian Ocean trade. The kingdoms reached the summit of their power in the period 1730-60, and firmly tied Malagasy kingdoms into the worldwide economy of exchange.²⁸ Meanwhile, highland kingdoms such as Imerina began to emerge; the constant warfare and ruthless practices of highland kings, such as Madagascar's famous king Andrianampoinimerina (c. 1750-1809) turned Madagascar into a major supplier of slaves and, during the 18th century, Madagascar changed from a victualling port for ships en route to Asia into an important port of call for the purchase of slaves, supplying Arabia, Persia, the Americas, the Cape Colony and, from the mid-18th century onwards, also the French plantation economies of Île de France (Mauritius) and Ile de Bourbon (Réunion).²⁹ The Malagasy slave trade began to decline after 1817, when Ramaha I of Imerina made a pact with the British governor of Mauritius, Robert Farquhar, which prohibited it.³⁰ However, internal slave raids, as well as trade in slaves by the coastal kingdoms, continued, supplying Arab traders with slaves for Zanzibari clove plantations.

On mainland Africa, the Cape Colony Muslim community experienced major change during the 18th century. The product of Dutch colonialism (through the VOC), the initial Cape Muslim community was comprised of slaves from Sri Lanka, Bengal and Madagascar. However, the 1713 smallpox epidemic, which killed half of the colony's slave population, also seriously affected the Muslim community. Subsequent deportations of South East Asian Muslims to the Cape Colony by the Dutch transformed it into a predominantly Malay community. As Roman Loimeier observes, because the Cape Malay community grew in opposition to Dutch colonialism, Islam became 'the language of the oppressed and the language of resistance'. Notwithstanding a prohibition by the Dutch of further deportations of Muslims to the Cape from the mid-18th century onwards, the Cape Muslim community continued to grow through the arrival of free Muslims from Ambon, India and Madagascar, and through local conversions among the Khoikhoi and the San.³¹

²⁸ S. Randiaranja and S. Ellis, *Madagascar. A short history*, London, 2009, pp. 99-122, esp. pp. 100-1.

²⁹ Randiaranja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, pp. 106-7, 115. Randiaranja and Ellis suggest that, under the kingship of Andrianampoinimerina, the Mascarenes may have imported as many as 110,000 slaves from Madagascar in the period 1767-1810.

³⁰ Randiaranja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, p. 123.

³¹ Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, pp. 248-9.

Towards the end of the 18th century, Dutch hegemony of the Cape Colony was repeatedly challenged by the British, resulting in 1814 in an Anglo-Dutch treaty that ceded the sovereignty of the Cape to Britain.

South America

The death of Charles II, the last Spanish Habsburg king, in November 1700, and the subsequent War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13) heralded a new era in the history of the Spanish Empire.³² Spain under the Habsburg monarchy had, in the words of Bradford Burns, ‘foundered in a morass of inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy in the seventeenth century’. As a result of the dominant economic philosophy of mercantilism, wealth was not gathered ‘to develop the national economy, but to accumulate it, put it in the national treasury, build it up but not reinvest it. Hence the colonies had to be milked dry of their wealth and resources.’³³

Philip V of the House of Bourbon (1683-1746), who succeeded the Habsburg dynasty as king of Spain, began an extensive programme of reform in an attempt to modernise Spain’s medievalist, feudal and pre-modern economy and administration both ‘at home’ and in the colonies. Howard Wiarda observes: ‘The Bourbons, especially Charles III (1759-88) were more enlightened, more Europe-oriented and more modern in their thinking than the Habsburgs. [...] They brought new Renaissance ideas and even some aspect of the Enlightenment into Spain and Latin America.’³⁴ As a result of the Bourbon reforms, administrators were selected on the basis of their abilities rather than of their birth, thus creating a middle class, and the responsibilities of the Council of the Indies were transferred to the minister of the Indies.³⁵

³² Spain suffered considerable loss of territory as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) that ended the War of Spanish Succession, and had to concede to a trade concession that granted Britain the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves for the next 30 years; B. Keen and M. Wasserman, *A short history of Latin America*, Boston MA, 1984, pp. 106-8.

³³ H.B. Burns, *A short interpretative history of Latin America*, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1972, p. 53; H.J. Wiarda, *The soul of Latin America. The cultural and political tradition*, New Haven CT, 2001, p. 98.

³⁴ Wiarda, *Soul of Latin America*, p. 107.

³⁵ D.A. Brading, ‘Bourbon Spain and its American colony’, in L. Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Latin America*, vol. 1. *Colonial Latin America*, Cambridge, 1984, 389-440. See K. Cook, ‘Legislation restricting Muslim presence in Colonial Spanish America’, in *CMR* 12, 867-73.

In order to govern Spanish America more effectively, the administrative system was also reorganised: Philip V (1683-1746) ceded the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1739) from the Viceroyalty of Peru, while Charles III (1716-88) ceded the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (1778) from the Viceroyalty of Peru. Charles also established the intendency system and created a colonial militia headed by Creole officers, signalling a tendency towards smaller, more manageable administrative units, thus effectively both reforming and centralising colonial administration.³⁶ Another key measure taken under Charles III was the liberalisation of the economy. To maximise colonial revenue, European engineers modernised mining techniques, and a special College of Mining was set up in Mexico. In Spain, the trading monopoly of Cádiz was gradually phased out, leading in 1778 to free commerce between all Spanish ports and all American provinces except Mexico and Venezuela, though these followed in 1789. Customs regulations were also simplified.³⁷

In the Portuguese colony of Brazil, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis de Pombal (1699-1782), Secretary of State for Internal Affairs of the Kingdom (1750-1777), introduced similar reforms both in Portugal and in Brazil, streamlining the administration, reorganising its economic, financial and fiscal systems, and expelling the Jesuits in 1759 to facilitate secular education.³⁸

The combination of the Bourbon and Pombaline reforms and improvement of Europe's economy also stimulated the economy in Spanish America and Brazil, especially in the production and export of cash-crops. But the intensification of cattle breeding, whaling, production of sugar, cocoa and cotton, as well as mining (gold, diamonds) dramatically increased the demand for slaves. According to Herbert Klein, there were more than a million African enslaved around 1800 in Brazil alone.³⁹

Though effective in many ways, the Bourbon reforms did not succeed in realising fundamental changes in the monopoly of land belonging to the nobility, nor did it grant more self-government to the colonists. Rather, the reforms, and their emphasis on centralisation, profitability and efficiency, were often perceived as an unsolicited intervention and

³⁶ Burns, *Short interpretative history of Latin America*, pp. 53-4.

³⁷ Keen and Wasserman, *Short history of Latin America*, p. 110.

³⁸ Keen and Wasserman, *Short history of Latin America*, p. 131. See also F. Mauro, 'Portugal and Brazil. Political and economic structures of empire, 1580-1750', in L. Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Latin America*, vol. 1. *Colonial Latin America*, Cambridge, 1984, 441-68.

³⁹ H.S. Klein, *African slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, New York, 1990, pp. 67-88 (quote on p. 81).

imposition in Spanish America, in contrast to the greater local autonomy that obtained under Habsburg rule, and they met with resistance from many sectors of society. Fear that the French Revolution might find support in Spain brought the Bourbon reforms to an abrupt halt by the end of the 18th century; under King Charles IV of Spain (r. 1788-1808), this resulted in the imprisonment or expulsion of reformers and a prohibition on French revolutionary and rationalist literature.⁴⁰

In the West Indies, the 1730s and 1740s saw the sugar production of Jamaica and San Dominique beginning to surpass and replace that of the smaller sugar colonies such as Martinique and Barbados. Both Jamaica and San Dominique soon developed into monocultures and became the most important sugar producers of their respective empires. Soon the British, French and Dutch empires clashed over both the supply of slaves and access to European markets for the sugar industry. The slave population on Jamaica and San Dominique outnumbered the white population by ten to one and the majority of its enslaved (up to 75 per cent) worked in sugar production.⁴¹ While there had been slave risings on various islands in the West Indies, none of these had had the impact of the 1781 rebellion in San Dominique.⁴² Inspired by the French Revolution, slaves in San Dominique rose up in revolt, led by Toussaint Louverture. After prolonged fighting for 13 years, which left thousands of people dead (the majority of whom were enslaved) and the plantations destroyed, Haiti declared its independence from France in 1804. The Haitian revolution not only resulted in a sharp increase in sugar prices, but also brought about 'a considerable tightening of the slave laws and slave-control mechanisms in every slave-dominated society'.⁴³

Sylvaine Diouf has hypothesised that Muslim enslaved, and more specifically the military expertise and spiritual powers (amulets, potions) of West African marabouts, may have played a role before and during the Haitian revolution.⁴⁴ But while it is conceivable that there were Muslim enslaved among the revolutionaries, the evidence for their role in the Haitian revolution is limited, though there are indications of Muslims

⁴⁰ Keen and Wasserman, *Short history of Latin America*, p. 108.

⁴¹ Klein, *African slavery*, p. 54.

⁴² For a revolt in the Danish colony of St Thomas in 1733, see e.g. J.E. Sensbach, *Rebecca's revival. Creating black Christianity in the Atlantic world*, Cambridge MA, 2005, pp. 8-13.

⁴³ Klein, *African slavery*, p. 90.

⁴⁴ S.A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah. African Muslim enslaved in the Americas*, New York, 2013, pp. 219-20.

using Islamic amulets for protection in slave uprisings in Bahia in 1807 and 1835, and in Essequibo, Guyana, in 1807.⁴⁵

In general, information about Muslims among the enslaved in the West Indies, Spanish America and Brazil is scarce, and most of the references are brief and fragmentary (often in Christian missionary sources). Nevertheless, together they document the presence of African Muslims in the Americas from the early 17th century onwards.⁴⁶ Alonso de Sandoval's catechism (1627), written in Cartagena de Indias, for example, mentions Muslim 'slaves who do not want to be baptised' and 'refuse to leave their sect and false law'.⁴⁷ Likewise, a Fr Chevillard, at a Jesuit station in Guadeloupe, in 1658 also observed Muslim resistance to Christianity. Fr Jean-Baptist Labat, who worked in the French West Indies between 1693 and 1705, also commented that Muslim enslaved from 'Cap-Verde' (coast of Senegal) 'never embrace the Christian religion'.⁴⁸ Bryan Edwards' *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies* (1798) testifies to African Muslims in late 18th-century Jamaica; Edwards mentions Muslim Mandingos (possibly enslaved during the West African jihads) who were literate and able to recite the Qur'an.⁴⁹ While these references are not sufficient to write a comprehensive history of Muslims in South America and the West Indies before 1800, and give very little information about the resilience of Muslim allegiance over the generations, the references do provide evidence that, along with the enslaved, Islam made its way from Africa to the Americas, and that missionary endeavours to convert Muslim enslaved to Christianity met with defiance.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 186-90, 232.

⁴⁶ As K. Cook has demonstrated, there were also Muslims and Moriscos among the Spanish settlers in the Americas; K. Cook, *Forbidden passages. Muslims and Moriscos in colonial Spanish America*, Philadelphia PA, 2016. See also M. del Mar Longroño Narbona, P.G. Pinto and J.T. Karam (eds), *Crescent over another horizon. Islam in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latino USA*, Austin TX, 2015.

⁴⁷ M. Frederiks, 'Alonso de Sandoval', in *CMR* 11, 530-7.

⁴⁸ Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 73-4.

⁴⁹ B. Edwards, *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies*, London, 1798, pp. 60-2. See K. GhaneaBassiri and S. McElroy, 'Bryan Edwards', in *CMR* 12, 861-66.

⁵⁰ For an overview, see e.g. S.A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah*; A. Gomez, 'Muslims in early America', *Journal of Southern History* 60 (1994) 671-710. For Christian mission in the West Indies, see e.g. R.W. Smith, 'Slavery and Christianity in the British West Indies', *Church History* 19 (1950) 171-86; M. Craton, 'Christianity and slavery in the British West Indies, 1750-1865', *Historical Reflections* 5 (1978) 141-60; A. Lampe (ed.), *Christianity in the Caribbean. Essays on church history*, Kingston, Jamaica, 2001; H.H. Stockel, *Salvation through slavery. Chirichagua Apaches and priests on the Spanish colonial frontier*, Albuquerque NM,

North America

When Ayuba Suleiman Diallo was put to work at Mr Denton's tobacco plantation in Annapolis in 1730, Maryland was still a British colony. Before the century was over, the political landscape had changed profoundly. The French and Indian War, also known as the Seven Years War or the Great War for Empire (1754-63), and the last and most decisive of the Anglo-French wars fought in the North American colonies, signalled a halt to French colonial expansion in North America and removed the barriers for British colonial expansion westwards. On the British colonist side, the joint action during colonial wars brought more unity among the American colonies, whilst their resentment of their scornful treatment at the hands of British soldiers and the Stamp Act of 1765, which was intended to pay the costs of a British army stationed in North America, laid the foundations for the War of Independence (1775-83).⁵¹ After a protracted eight-year war, during which the French-American alliance won a number of decisive victories over Britain, a peace treaty was signed in Paris in 1783, signalling Britain's recognition of the independence of the United States.⁵²

The newly gained independence soon proved to have its hitches. While the newly united states were in the process of developing a joint governance structure at home, foreign affairs also demanded attention. On 24 July 1785, corsairs from Algiers seized the merchant vessel *Maria* from Boston, followed less than a week later, on 30 July 1785, by the capture of the *Dauphin* from Philadelphia. The corsair attacks were the consequence of the fact that the new United States government had not yet completed negotiations over tribute with the Barbary states. The crew of the *Maria* and the *Dauphin* were taken to Algiers and held hostage; those who survived the manifold health hazards, had to wait 12 years to be ransomed.⁵³ Soon, other American vessels suffered a similar fate. In the decades that followed, the United States negotiated a number of amity treaties with the Barbary states, which regulated the relationship

2008; S.K. Bryant, R.S. O'Toole and B. Vinson (eds), *Africans to Spanish America. Expanding the diaspora*, Urbana IL, 2012.

⁵¹ J.E. Findling and F.W. Thackeray (eds), *Events that changed America in the eighteenth century*, Westport CT, 1998, pp. 39-58 (French and Indian War), 59-76 (Stamp Act 1765), 95-150 (American Revolutionary War).

⁵² Findling and Thackeray (eds), *Events that changed America*, p. 117.

⁵³ L.A. Peskin, *Captives and countrymen. Barbary slavery and the American public, 1785-1816*, Baltimore MD, 2009, p. 8.

and allowed free passage in the Mediterranean.⁵⁴ However, a growing aversion to the huge financial burden of these tributes made Thomas Jefferson decide to campaign against the payments, eventually resulting in the Barbary Wars (1801-15).

In the period when narratives of African enslaved became increasingly popular, the reminiscences of Barbary captives (often representing their plight as 'slavery') also found a keen readership.⁵⁵ Kambiz GhanneaBassiri writes:

A number of Americans who fell victim to the corsairs of North Africa wrote about their experiences as 'white, Christian slaves' in Muslim Africa. This genre of captivity narrative had captured the American imagination at the turn of the nineteenth century to such an extent that some literary entrepreneurs published fictional Barbary captivity narratives.⁵⁶

The Barbary slavery experience also raised questions about American slavery, especially among novelists and intellectuals. Mathew Carey remarks in *A short account of Algiers* (1794): 'For this practice of buying and selling slaves, we are not entitled to charge the Algerines with any exclusive degree of barbarity. The Christians of Europe and America carry on this commerce an hundred times more extensively than the Algerines.' Similarly, the novelist Royall Tyler has a mullah remark in his *The Algerine captive* (1802) that, unlike American masters, Algerians immediately freed any slave who converted to Islam: 'We leave it to the Christians of the West Indies, and Christians of your southern plantations, to baptise the unfortunate African into your faith, and then use your brother Christians as brutes of the desert.'⁵⁷

The Barbary captivity narratives formed one vehicle that shaped American perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Enlightenment texts that presented Muḥammad as law-giver, and the availability of George Sale's English translation of the Qur'an (characterised as an 'Enlightenment

⁵⁴ GhanneaBassiri writes that enslaved 'moors' (North Africans) in North America 'proved diplomatically valuable in U.S.-Barbary relations and to American trade in the Mediterranean'. K. GhanneaBassiri, *A history of Islam in America. From the New World to the New Order*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 26.

⁵⁵ Peskin, *Captives and countrymen*, pp. 71-3. For an anthology of 18th- and early 19th-century slave narratives, see H.L. Gates (ed.), *The classic slave narratives*, New York, 2002; for an anthology of Barbary captivity narratives, see P. Baeppler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of captivity narratives*, Chicago IL, 1999.

⁵⁶ GhanneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*, p. 25.

⁵⁷ Both cited in Peskin, *Captives and countrymen*, p. 72.

Qur'an' by Ziad Elmarsafy,⁵⁸) were other, more scientific sources that helped shaped American conceptualisation of Islam. The young Thomas Jefferson, reading widely about various traditions of law, is known to have bought a copy of the second American printing of Sale's Qur'an in 1764.⁵⁹

The presence of Muslim enslaved formed another source of information about Islam. Though Diallo was one of the first African Muslims who gained prominence in America and Britain, he was by no means the first Muslim in North America of whom there is documented evidence.⁶⁰ Among the early settlers in America was one Anthony Jansen van Salee, who had migrated to America in the 1670s as a colonist for the West India Company. Son of a Dutch father who was a victim of the Barbary corsairs and a 'moorish' mother, Jansen represents what GhaneaBassiri has called a 'near forgotten category' of free Muslims from North Africa who settled in America.⁶¹ Most Muslims in antebellum America, however, were Muslim enslaved, of either North or West African descent. Both Edward Curtis and GhaneaBassiri have argued that white Americans tended to de-africanise African Muslim enslaved, baffled by the literacy and education of men such as Abdul Rahman Ibrahima (c. 1762-1829) and Omar ibn Said (c. 1770-1864) 'on account of their literacy and their purported noble background', 'making them into Moors, Turks etc. both geographically and physiologically'.⁶² Slaveholders, abolitionists and Christian missionaries alike were fascinated by the literacy of Muslim enslaved even though for different reasons, since Muslim literacy formed a distinction as well as potential threat to security.⁶³ Curtis writes:

American slaveholders wanted to understand the ethnic identities of slaves such as Job and Abd al-Rahman so that they might better use and

⁵⁸ Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, London, p. 2014.

⁵⁹ K.J. Hayes, 'How Thomas Jefferson read the Qur'an', *Early American Literature* 39 (2004) 247-61.

⁶⁰ For an overview of Muslims in America, see e.g. GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*; O. Safi and J. Hammer (eds), *The Cambridge companion to American Islam*, Cambridge, 2013; A. Alryyes (ed. and trans.), *A Muslim American slave. The life of Omar Ibn Said*, Madison WI, 2011; A. Austin, *African Muslims in antebellum America. Transatlantic stories and spiritual struggles*, Hoboken NJ, 2012; al-Ahari, *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*; T.C. Parramore, 'Muslim slave aristocrats in North Carolina', *North Carolina Historical Review* 77 (2000) 127-50, especially p. 161.

⁶¹ GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*, pp. 9-11.

⁶² GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*, p. 24; E.E. Curtis, 'Stereotypes', in E.E. Curtis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Muslim-American history*, New York, 2010, p. 531.

⁶³ Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 159-209.

control them; for them, these Muslims were quite literally a breed apart. Christian missionaries also used the stories of these Muslims to raise funds for their efforts to win souls for Christ rather than Allah and to show that Africans were capable of benefiting from schooling and other institutions of 'civilization.' In the case of Abd al-Rahman, abolitionists seized upon the image of the noble African to show the inherent humanity and intelligence of slaves.⁶⁴

Views about American Muslim enslaved, which were initially relatively positive, changed after 1831; Nat Turner's slave revolt had made Americans wary and suspicious of all enslaved.⁶⁵

Finally, books and pamphlets written during the Second Awakening also shaped conceptualisations of Islam and Muslims; Islam in the particular form of the Ottoman Empire featured prominently in the millennial beliefs prevalent during the Second Awakening. In his *The probability of the second coming of Christ around AD 1843*, the Methodist minister Josiah Litch prophesied the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the return of Christ in the year 1843.⁶⁶

Together, these sources shaped American perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Extensive American missionary exposure in predominantly Muslim contexts, and the rise of the scientific study of religion in the 19th century, would bring more in-depth knowledge of Islam and Muslims among the American Christian public.

⁶⁴ E.E. Curtis, *Muslims in America, a short history*, New York, 2009, p. 11.

⁶⁵ Curtis, *Muslims in America*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ E.E. Curtis, 'Islam', in P. Goff (ed.), *The Blackwell companion to religion in America*, Malden MA, 2010, p. 587.