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Resident Member

HISTORY OF
ISLAMIC
POLITICAL PROPAGANDA
IN
NIGERIA.

REPORTS

BY

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PRINTED BY
WATERLOW & SONS LIMITED,
LONDON, DUNSTABLE & WATFORD.

TRAVELLERS' CLUB,
PALL MALL.

17th May, 1927.

YOUR EXCELLENCY.

With reference to the request of the Secretary of State for the most recent Nigerian information on the subject of Mahdism, I have the honour to submit two reports, which between them embrace practically all the Nigerian information available on this subject up to the end of the year 1925.

2. The former of these reports was compiled by the present Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. G. J. F. Tomlinson, from the Nigerian files on the subject, which are somewhat voluminous. It deals mainly with the Mahdist movement as it affected Nigeria in the years 1923-1925 from internal sources of information.

3. The latter is a more general report on the subject which, at the instance of Sir Malcolm Seton's Committee, Mr. G. J. Lethem, of the Nigerian Service, was, in the autumn of 1924, instructed to prepare after visiting the Territoire du Chad, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Jeddah, and Egypt, and making exhaustive enquiries on all sides in those countries.

4. Mr. Lethem completed his tour in the late summer of 1925, and has since then been engaged in completing his report, which is submitted herewith, and which appears not only to confirm in most respects the views put forward by the Nigerian Government in 1924, but also, with its appendices, to be a document of considerable permanent value.

5. Reports from the Provinces in Nigeria since 1925 indicate that the religious excitement or exaltation which was so marked during the years 1923-24 in the Muhammedan provinces has died away. There may be propoganda going on, but at present, at all events, the masses are not noticeably affected by it.

6. As regards possible recrudescence, it cannot be said that a focus for such recrudescence is more likely to arise in any one part of Muslim Nigeria or the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan than in another.

7. Beliefs of the nature called Mahdist are of course widely if not universally held, but just as they remained more or less latent in Nigeria from 1903-1923, so they may remain latent again for many years.

Their revival to the point of becoming a political danger is dependent on:

(a) Some leader arising in some part of Northern Africa who can fire the fanaticism or imagination of the Muslim masses.

(b) That leader being able to induce the local Fikis or Mallams who largely control public opinion in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria to adopt his tenets and spread his doctrines.

(c) The Nigerian Emirs and their official Muslim advisers, such as Alkakai and Imams, being either unwilling or afraid to throw their influence against propoganda of a Mahdist or revolutionary nature.

8. With regard to (a) and (b) it is impossible to forecast the future. It may be remarked, however, that the greatly increased facilities for communication which exist make it much easier than was formerly the case to conduct propaganda of this nature and obtain quick results.

9. With regard to (c) it is extremely improbable that, save in the exception, Emirs and their Muslim advisers would actively support Mahdist or in fact any revolutionary propaganda provided that Government continues to respect the promises which they consider guarantee to them not only their faith but their Muslim politics which are an integral part of their religion in their eyes.

The Native Administrations of the Muslim Emirates are, in fact, Muslim Administrations - and public opinion holds very strongly that for them to be made anything else but Muslim Administrations is "interfering with their religion."

Were the Emirs and their administrations removed the chances of success of any future Mahdist propaganda would be very greatly increased.

10. I would suggest for Your Excellency's consideration, that both Mr. Tomlinson's and Mr. Lethem's report should be printed in one volume and merely marked "Confidential."

I do not think that in these reports themselves there is anything that could not at discretion be shown to any official, and there is much in them that all Political Officers in Nigeria ought to know. The Appendices are of a different nature.

I have, etc.,

(Sgd.) H. R. PALMER.

Lieutenant-Governor, Northern Provinces.

17th May, 1927.

Othman dan Fodio (1st Sultan)
|
Muhammad Bello (2nd ..)
|
Sa'id.
Hayatu. married | Rabeh.
Hawa.

|
Malam Sa'id.

(^c retired to Yola. Disappointed at not succeeding, where his branch & family had always had an anti-Bello influence.)

HISTORY OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

IN NIGERIA.

The first reference to the Mahdist Tarika in Nigeria (as far as the files of this office are concerned) was in S.N.P.'s Conf. letter No. 226 64 of 5th May, 1923, reporting the action taken by the Resident, Bornu (Mr. Palmer), against Mallam Sa'id (son of Mallam Hayatu), headman of the village of Dumbulwa in the Fika Emirate of Bornu Province and local leader of the Mahdists in Nigeria. In March, 1923, Mallam Sa'id was arrested by Mr Palmer's orders and sent by motor car to Kano. He was subsequently deported (under Ordinance No. 18 of 1924) to Buea, where he now is. The details of these events will be discussed later.

2. In order to appreciate the origin of Mahdist influence in Nigeria it is necessary to retrace the course of certain events at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Centuries.

3. *Rabeh's invasion of Bornu.*—In the late 'seventies Rabeh, a Jellaba of mixed extraction, but in status a slave, was attached to Suliman, son of the famous slave-trader, Zobeir Pasha, who at Gordon's orders was deported from the Sudan to Cairo in 1879. (It will be remembered that in 1884, Gordon wished to bring back Zobeir to the Sudan as his lieutenant, but was forbidden to do so by the British Government.) Suliman was, subsequently to Zobeir's deportation, defeated and killed by Gessi Pasha, acting under Gordon's orders.

4. It would seem that Rabeh's interest in the West began by his accompanying Zobeir Pasha on an expedition to Darfur—no doubt to get slaves before Zobeir was deported. When subsequently Gessi Pasha defeated and killed Suliman, he continued to pursue and harass Zobeir's following generally and in particular Rabeh, who was one of Zobeir's chief henchman.

Rabeh had the Jellaba face marks. At the time of Zobeir's expedition to Darfur, Rabeh was one of his flag bearers.

When Zobeir was recalled, his son Suliman was at Wajuku in Darfur, Rabeh with him. Suliman then attacked the Golo people at Demidriah and after capturing slaves returned to Wajuku. He then went to Demidriah, but was repulsed, and retreated in the Wadai direction.

He was afterwards killed by Gessi Pasha's men at Tual in Darfur.

of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed. He also acknowledged the Mahdi's successor, the Khalifa Abdullahi.

About 1889, however, partly it is said because he foresaw the end of the Khalifa's régime, but mainly no doubt because from his visit to Darfur he had seen how easy it would be for him to conquer and rule the west, he went off with such following as he could collect to Dar Runga with the idea of living on the country and making an army on the same principle as a snow ball is made, out of raw levies (his slaves), whom he branded with his mark and turned into soi-disant Moslems.

But though he had, in fact, left the Khartoum Mahdists, Rabeah was very much alive to the value of a profession of belief in and adherence to the Mahdi—as a tactical weapon in dealing with the Muslim Chiefs in the Central and Western Sudan.

Thus he sent from Dar Runga to the Shehu of Bornu to say that he was coming to Bornu as the representative of and on behalf of the Mahdi, and afterwards he used for his own ends the fact that the Mahdi had acknowledged Hayatu, to whom he married his daughter, as the rightful Sultan of Sokoto.

As regards his army and immediate following, Rabeah—later applying the rule to Bornu in general—insisted on the wearing of the Mahdist “jibbeh” and the observance at prayer, etc., of the Mahdist “ratih” (ritual).

5. Having thus broken away from the Sudan in 1889, Rabeah embarked on an adventurous career of conquest, occupying the different “Dars” or countries to the west and creating a slave army from their inhabitants as he slowly progressed from Dar Runga to Baghermi. He had occupied the latter, and made its Chief subject to him to some extent, and advanced to the River Shari by 1894. Shehu Hashim of Bornu's army under Moma Tahr tried to oppose him, unsuccessfully, at N'gala, and Shehu Kiari was subsequently defeated and executed near the Komadugu in North Bornu. Rabeah then sacked Kukawa, the Bornu capital, and completely occupied the present Emirate of Bornu. The present Shehu, Sanda Kura, took refuge in Damagaram. Rabeah established himself in Dikwa, where he ruled until 1900, when he was defeated and killed by the French in the battle of Kusseri (in which Commandant Lamy was also killed).

Rabeah had thus ruled, devastated and made “Mahdist” Bornu for six years and was on the point of going east again to reduce Wadai, which hitherto he had let alone, when he heard of the advent of the French flotilla up the Shari.

6. Although Bornu had been partitioned between England and Germany, neither the Germans nor British had occupied their spheres. The French accordingly established themselves in Dikwa until the arrival of the Germans in 1902.

7. While Rabeah was engaged with the French on the Shari, his son, Fadi Allah, was left in charge of Dikwa. After his father's death, Fadi Allah for a time

maintained himself in British Bornu (not yet occupied by the British). In order to put a stop to his raids, the French entered British territory and defeated and killed him in battle at Gujba.

8. The main significance of the events briefly narrated above is that for the six years prior to European occupation the whole of Bornu was under Mahdist rule. It should, too, be noted that even before the coming of Rabeh, the people of Bornu were well acquainted with the course of affairs in the Egyptian Sudan. The Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed himself had sent messengers to Shehu Bakr (1881-4) with a letter setting forth his claims. The letter was referred to the local Ulema, who pronounced against the Mahdi's pretensions. The Shehu accordingly caused the messengers to be beaten and detained in Kukawa (the then capital of Bornu). Shehu Bakr's successor, Shehu Ibrahim, however, being no doubt influenced by the news of the Mahdi's successes, adopted a different policy and sent back the messengers with presents and letters. By then the Mahdi was dead, and the messengers, meeting Rabeh at Dar Runga, attached themselves to him. Rabeh, it may be noted, did not pose merely as a brigand and an adventurer; he heralded his coming by a message to the Shehu calling on all true Muslims to join him and referring to "the sword of help to victory," which was supposed to have been given by Allah to the Mahdi. When Rabeh approached Bornu, the Shehu (Hashim), although he sent an army against the invaders, was suspected of pro-Mahdist sympathies and was killed by his kinsman Kiari (father of the present Shehu of Dikwa), who thereupon became Shehu and shortly afterwards died in defence of his country.

9. In considering the effect of Mahdist rule in Bornu it should be remembered that European occupation effected the liberation of the country from an oppressive tyranny and the restoration of the Kanembu dynasty.

10. *Mallam Hayatu, father of Mallam Sa'id.*—The history of this man was an important factor in the spread of Mahdism. Hayatu was the son of Sa'id, son of Muhammad Bello, the second Fulani ruler of Sokoto. He was thus the great-grandson of Othman dan Fodio.

His father, the first Sa'id, disappointed that on his father's death he did not succeed him, had quarrelled with his cousin who had been made Sultan Abu Bakr Atiku—the third Fulani Sultan of Sokoto (1837-1842), and gone to Yola (Adamawa).

The Adamawa Fulani espoused his cause and from that time have always been partisans of the Muhammad Bello branch of the Sokoto family. Hence, naturally, when a member of that branch of the family in the person of Hayatu in Adamawa and Mandara adopted Mahdism, they became strong partisans of that creed also. Hayatu arrived in Bornu in the reign of Shehu Bakr and settled first at Mubi (now in British Cameroons—Yola area), then at Mindif, and finally at Balda in Marua (now in French Cameroons), where he came into conflict with Mallam Zubeiru, Emir of Yola. He appealed for help to Shehu Hashim of Bornu who distrusted him, but allowed him to go back to Balda and played him off against the Chief of Mandara. It was at Balda that his son, Sa'id, was born.

11. According to information received from the Sudan Intelligence Department, when the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed established himself in the Egyptian Sudan, Mallam Hayatu sent a message to him at Omdurman offering support. The Mahdi replied accepting his services and assigned to him, so it is said, all the territory of Othman dan Fodio (*i.e.*, the Sokoto Empire). Hayatu then sent a second message by two messengers, the Iman Arabu of Marua and Adam (the latter a slave). Arabu returned to Hayatu, but Adam remained behind and died at Rejaf.

12. When Rabeḥ in the course of his westward career reached the Shari river, about 1894, Hayatu had become the head of a considerable following in Marua. Rabeḥ thought it worth while to attach him to himself and give him his daughter, Hawa, in marriage. After Rabeḥ's conquest of Bornu, Hayatu became supreme in the Marua—Mandara region as far south as Mubi, and continued to be so until, some five years later, seeing that Rabeḥ was embroiled with the French in the Shari and conceiving that his own hour had struck, he raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed himself Mahdi. His success was short lived. Shortly afterwards he was defeated by Fadi Allah who, as stated in paragraph 7 above, had been left at Dikwa while his father was fighting the French.

13. *Burmi*.—A third factor in the spread of Mahdism was the event at Burmi which culminated in the British victories in 1902 and 1903. The Burmi region in Gombe Emirate has a peculiar significance for the Fulani owing to the legends and prophecies connected with the neighbouring sacred hill at Bima. It is the place where, according to Fulani beliefs, they will one day all unite as a nation and march to the Nile Valley and Mecca.

14. *Mallam Jibrella (or Geni)*. Towards the end of the 19th Century this man, a Fulani of Katagum, gathered round himself a considerable following, and, having established himself at Burmi, defeated and expelled the Emir of Gombe. He resisted the attacks of the neighbouring Emirs and became the predominant military power in that part of Nigeria. He was then admitted to the Mahdist ranks by Rabeḥ himself at Dikwa and received a "Jibbeh" and flag, but subsequently he got in touch with Mallam Hayatu, and, when Hayatu rebelled against Rabeḥ, received from him a Mahdist flag as well. Jibrella was defeated in battle in 1902 by Colonel Morland and was taken prisoner. He afterwards died in exile at Lokoja.

15. The second great event at Burmi was the defeat of the Fulani forces under the fugitive Sultan of Sokoto, Attahiru I., in 1903. Attahiru left Sokoto before the arrival of the British columns and gathered round himself a number of irreconcilables including the Magaji of Keffi (the murderer of Captain Moloney), Mai-Ahmadu (Emir of Misau), Alfa Hashim (now at Medina and the head of the Tijani Tarika), Mai-Wurno (son of the Sultan), as well as a number of Melle Fulani under Basheru who fled east as a result of the French operations on the Upper Niger. The idea of Attahiru was to evacuate this country and leave it to the Unbelievers, a course of action on the part of the Emir-al Muminim which, though it was protested against by the more foreseeing and wise among his council (*e.g.*, the Marafa), was the cause of the country being occupied with so little resistance. At Burmi, Attahiru

Arab who called himself "Imam el Mahdi" who had come to Yola from the east. Here he met the British forces under Major Marsh (who was killed in the battle). The fight at Burmi, notable for several desperate charges of the Fulani horsemen, resulted in the complete defeat of Attahiru, who was found dead on the field.

16. Two consequences of the fight at Burmi are important. The operations of the Fulani were invested with a definitely religious character. The flight of the Sultan from his kingdom was described as his "Hijra" and the battle a "Jihad." He himself is regarded as a "Shahid" (martyr). The second consequence was the emigration of large bodies of Fulani from Nigeria to the Egyptian Sudan. Mr. Lethem puts the number at not less than 25,000. Among them were Mai Wurno, Mai Ahmadu of Misau, and many Fulani from Hadeija, Katagum, Misau and Yola.

*cf. also Report
on Journey
from Bornu
to Red Sea by
Resident,
Bornu, 1919.*

17. Mai Wurno has been recognised by the Sudan Government and at Li's village of Sheikh Talha has become the head of a large Fellata settlement (N.B.—"Fellata" is a generic term applied in the Egyptian Sudan to immigrants from the west who are also described as Takarir whether Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri, etc., etc.), as has also Ahmadu of Misau at his place on the Blue Nile.

18. A consequence of the events related above was that for some years at the end of the nineteenth century not only Bornu, but also the Emirate of Gombe and a large part of Adamawa were definitely under Mahdist influence. The same may be said of Kanem, which was dominated by the Sidi Barrani in the years immediately preceding Rabeh's death. It follows, therefore, that the recent recrudescence of the Mahdia is not an innovation, but the stirring up of embers which have never been wholly extinguished.

18A. An important factor in opening up communications between the Eastern and Western Sudan was the defeat of Ali Dinar, Sultan of Darfur, by Anglo-Egyptian Forces in 1916. The occupation of Darfur broke down one of the main barriers against free transit and intercourse.

19. Concerning Sayed Abderrahman, the acknowledged head of the Mahdia Tarika, it may be noted that he is a posthumous son of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed and was educated under the tutelage of the Mufti Sheikh el Tayib Hashim. On the outbreak of war with Turkey he expressed his loyalty to the British, declaring that the only difference between them and Mahdists had now been removed. He was a member of the Sudan delegation to England in 1919, when he tendered his father's sword to the King, who returned it to him telling him to use it in defence of himself and the Empire. At the same time he was made a C.V.O. and he has recently been knighted. Until recently the Sudan Intelligence Department in correspondence with Nigeria expressed unabated confidence in Abderrahman's loyalty, but recent reports show an entirely different view of him and his activities.

20. In a minute written in October, 1923, the L.G.N. (Mr. Gowers) pointed out that the policy of the Sudan Government is to support the "holy men," i.e., the leaders of the Dervish Tarikas rather than territorial chiefs. He pointed out that the policy of indirect administration pursued in Nigeria creates a body of chiefs whose interests are closely bound up with Government, whereas a purely religious leader will always tend to put himself in opposition to the infidel.

*cf. also Report
on Journey to
Khartoum
and Jeddah,
1919, by
Resident,
Bornu
(Mr. Palmer),
C.O. 1920.*

21. Among the psychological factors tending to the spread of Mahdist and other Islamic propaganda are :—

Enclosures to
S.N.P.'s
Conf. 281/84
of 23.10.23.

Enclosure 61
to S.N.P.'s
Conf.
201.3.23 of
16.7.24.

- (1) The prophecy concerning the great migration of the Fulani to the East :
- (2) The widespread belief (not, of course, confined to Nigeria) that the end of the world, which is to take place in A.H. 1400 (1979 A.D.) will be preceded by the supremacy of the false prophet ("Dajjal" or Anti-Christ) followed by the second coming of Nebi Isa (Jesus Christ), after which all the world will be converted to Islam. It has been the practice of agitators of late to identify the European conquerors of Muslim countries with Dajjal.

22. We may now turn to the recent manifestations of Mahdist activity in Nigeria and especially to those centred in Mallam Sa'id.

23. About eight years ago Mallam Sa'id came to Bornu and asked permission to settle in Bornu Emirate. The late Shehu Gerhaj, remembering Hayatu's treacherous defection to Rabeh, strongly opposed Sa'id's request and informed the Resident that he was convinced that if allowed to settle in Bornu Emirate the Mallam would cause trouble among the Bornu Fulani. Permission to settle in Bornu Emirate was accordingly refused, but Sa'id then went on to the old Emir of Fika, who seems to have had a sort of superstitious fear of him, and was allowed by him to settle in a rather out-of-the-way place, Dumbulwa, in the bush between Fika and Gujba, unknown either to the District Officer, Potiskum, or the Resident, Bornu.

By 1921, however, Sa'id had attracted a following, so much so that in the monthly secret intelligence reports (recently revived on a more extensive scale) the District Officer of Gombe mentioned that Dumbulwa was attracting some attention among the Burmi Fulani in Gombe.

Further enquiries were then made by the Acting Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. Palmer), from the Acting Resident, Bornu, and the District Officer, Potiskum, but the latter was convinced that the settlement was well ordered, peaceful and harmless. He ascribed the Gombe report to jealousy on the part of the Emir of Gombe that his Fulani were moving into Fika Emirate. The town of Dumbulwa, however, grew rapidly until it contained two or three thousand inhabitants, most of whom were Bornu and Gombe Fulani, including not a few of Mallam Jibrella's former adherents. The influx of Burmi (Gombe) Fulani is easily explained by Mallam Sa'id's descent from the Sokoto royal house and by the relations between his father, Hayatu, and Mallam Jibrella. Thus matters went on. Subsequently—in June, 1923—the Resident, Bornu, discovered that in a message to one Dakara Jauro Maza, an old adherent of Jibrella, living at Ashakka in Gombe, Mallam Sa'id had at about this time stated that 2,000 rifles were coming to him from French country.

Encl. to
S.N.P.'s
Conf. 242/175/
of 11.10.23.

24. The town of Dumbulwa was, however, well conducted. Taxes were promptly paid. The community was said to be abnormally pious and was at first believed to belong to the Senussi Tarika.

There had, however, during 1921-22, been a good deal of Fulani unrest and trouble, which did not seem quite normal, in other places. There was a great deal of intrigue and vague rumour. Finally, early in 1922 an organized attempt to depose the Sultan of Sokoto (who had from the first been consistently on the side of Government) was made in favour of the Sarkin Gobir of Isa who belonged to the Muhammad Bello branch of the Sokoto family and was thus a relation of Hayatu and of his son Mallam Sa'id of Dumbulwa, whose Mahdist cult, in recent years at any rate, had had as its base the region of Balda in Mandara.

On his return from leave towards the end of 1922 the Resident, Bornu, was shown by the District Officer of Potiskum (Captain Reynolds) certain documents in Arabic which the Alkalin Fika had confiscated from Dumbulwa people and given to him (Captain Reynolds) as being pernicious. Captain Reynolds was aware of previous correspondence about Dumbulwa and thought that possibly there might be something in what the Alkali said other than purely religious differences.

After perusing these documents, and soon after arriving at Maidugari, the Resident by accident obtained some very similar documents given to him as "Historical MSS" (they were, in fact, Mahdist propaganda) and found that the documents had been brought to Maidugari by certain Mallams from Balda in Mandara.

He inferred, therefore, that there was organized subversive religious propaganda going on and, considering Sa'id's antecedents, thought it was not innocuous.

25. Therefore, early in 1923, the Alkalin Fika was summoned by the Resident, Bornu, to Maidugari, and it was gathered from him that, though he was rather unwilling as yet to say anything to Government, the suspicions of the new and young Emir of Fika had been aroused by reports of heterodox practices on the part of Sa'id and his followers. It appeared that they were Mahdist Dervishes who prayed with their arms crossed over the chest, wore the patched "Jibbehs" associated with Rabeh's reign and recited "Zikrs." Conversation with Sa'id at Potiskum and other reports and his subsequent actions convinced the Resident and the Emir of Fika of his seditious intentions. He was accordingly removed to Kano and finally deported as stated in paragraph 1. His departure was hailed with relief not only by the Emir of Fika, but by the Shehu of Bornu, who wrote to the Governor to thank him for the action taken.

26. It will be observed that tangible and really satisfactory proof of the subversive character of the Mahdist activities, which had been going on in Nigeria since 1916-17, and Mallam Sa'id's complicity therein was not obtainable till after the latter's arrest and deportation. Indeed, the direct evidence of subversive intent actually available at the time of Sa'id's arrest was perhaps legally insufficient to justify the action. The case, however, did not admit of delay, and what was then surmised or inferred from the data available was transformed into certainty by subsequent discoveries which will now be summarised.

be:—

- (1) Haj Buba in Baghermi (east of the Shari river).
- (2) Haj Shuaibu (then at Mubi).
- (3) Imam Arabu of Marua (Hayatu's messenger to the Mahdi, see paragraph 11).

28. Haj Buba and his son Dede were reported to have gathered a large following of Fulani near Chikina and to have defied the Sultan of Baghermi, who had ordered them either to renounce the Mahdia or to quit the country. The French were reported to take little interest in what was going on. Later, in June, 1924, the Resident reported an improvement of the situation in Baghermi. Haj Buba had been fined for gun-running, and the power of the Anti-Mahdist Sultan had increased.

29. It was also reported from Bornu in October, 1923, that the Mahdia Tarika had large numbers of adherents among:—

- (1) The Salamat Arabs of Am Timam (south of Wadai).
- (2) The Fulani at Mulfe (south of Fittri).
- (3) The Marua Fulani.
- (4) The Wadai Fulani (not very numerous).

30. A few small groups of Mahdists were also known to exist in various parts of Bornu.

31. After the deportation of Mallam Sa'id a large amount of correspondence relating to Mahdist and other propaganda came to light in Bornu. Some of the letters were found among Sa'id's papers. Others were intercepted in various ways. In some cases copies of original documents were obtained. The greater number of these letters from the East were obtained by the Resident, Bornu (Mr. Palmer), from the Magumi (old royal line of Bornu), members of which were in the employ of nearly every important chief in the Sudan, and a considerable number of whom were mixed up in the affair till Sa'id was deported and they saw that nothing much was going to eventuate.

32. There is first of all a group of letters from Egyptian agents to Chiefs in French territory telling them to spy on the English and to send information concerning British territory. Such are:

(1) A letter written early in 1919 by Fairuz, Egyptian agent at Jeddah, to Hassan, Sultan of Fittri.

(2) A letter written by Mallam of Beyrut, to Khalifa Ali of Mao (E. of Chad).

These letters do not mention the Mahdia and may be regarded as being part of general Egyptian Nationalist Anti-European propaganda.

33. The next batch of letters are those which purport to have been written by or to Mayed Abderrahman.

34. In a letter dated 3.12.23 the Director of Intelligence, Sudan, stated that in February, 1922, Abderrahman received a letter (which had been four years on the road) from Mallam Sa'id. This letter and Abderrahman's reply were shown to the Intelligence Department. (There has been some controversy about the correct translation of these letters.)

Both these letters refer to the former relations between the Mahdi and Hayatu, the fathers of the writers. Thus Sa'id asks Abderrahman to give him power to rule Balda and Bornu "since it was we who ruled over the land of the Fulani from the time of Sheikh Othman dan Fodio until your father appointed my father as ruler." Mr. Lethem gives an extremely interesting account of the despatch and receipt of these letters, given to him at El Fasher by the one-eyed Mallam Shuaibu, who carried the letters and fled from Dumbulwa when Sa'id was arrested.

Letter from
Lethem to
I. C. N. P.
from El
Fasher,
Darfur,
June 10th,
1925.

35. Among other letters purporting to emanate from Abderrahman are the following :

- (1) One dated 2.9.21 (found among Sa'id's papers) urging believers to join the Mahdist Tarika. This letter was regarded by the Bornu Mallams as blasphemous since it applied to the Mahdi an expression (upon whom be peace) which ought only to be applied to the Prophet Mohamed.
 - (2) An extremely inflammatory letter written on 21.6.22 to certain Sheikhs and Sherifs at Timbuctu. In this letter Abderrahman claimed to have received from God authority such as that of Sheikh Abdul Kadr Jilani (the founder of the Kadiriya Tarika) and Sheikh Ahmad Tijani (the founder of the Tijani Tarika), and he also refers to a rising which is to spread from Hodh (Senegal) to Kufra.
 - (3) Letter of 15.11.20 to Gwoni Kaltumi of Bornu.
 - (4) " " 7.9.21 to Imam Arabu of Marua.
 - (5) " " 16.1.22 to Mallam Sa'id of Dumbulwa.
 - (6) " " 23.3.23 to Haj Buba, " Khalifa of the West."
- (((3) to (6) are all more or less seditious. They state, *inter alia*, that the guns of the Christians will not go off.)
- (7) Letter of 10.7.21 to the Emir of Logone bidding him accept Mahdia.
 - (8) " " Sept., 1919, to Gwoni Kaltumi. (See (3) above.)
 - (9) Copies of Abderrahman's speech to the King when the Mahdi's sword was tendered to His Majesty (see paragraph 19) and of the King's reply. These were found among Sa'id's papers.
 - (10) An extremely significant letter written by Mallam Sa'id to Abderrahman on 21.5.23, immediately after the former's release from prison in Kano. In it he dwells on Mr. Palmer's (Mastafama) cunning and the extent of his information. He begs Abderrahman to use his prayers and influence to get Mr. Palmer removed from Bornu.

referring to the advent of Nebi Isa (Jesus Christ) at the Mosque of Dumbulwa and to the action of the Mahdi in assigning the territory of Othman dan Fodio to Mallam Hayatu. He prays that God will show to Mallam Sa'id "the land of our forefathers."

- (2) Letter written in 1923 by Imam Arabu of Marua to Haj Buba exalting the Mahdia Tarika and referring to a "letter from our brothers . . . in Yola (saying) that within three months they will come to us and some will come to you."
- (3) Letter 6.11.21 from Mallam Salga of Kano to Mohammed Nur, Kadi of Chikina in Baghermi, asking for the truth about Mahdia.
- (4) Letter from Mallam Sa'id to Imam Arabu of Marua after former's release from prison in Kano in May, 1923, bidding the Imam to tell the Mallams who follow Mahdia to itinerate in Bornu.
- (5) Letter written in March, 1921, from Mallam Sa'id to the Emir of Logone (on the Shari) telling him not to collect Jangali from the Fulani and saying that those who follow Mahdia in Fadari and Balda will be joined by people from Baghermi and other places in the East. "I will come too and we will await the coming of the Mahdi."

It is also certain that a vast amount of Mahdist literature was brought into Nigeria by returning pilgrims. In a letter dated 21.9.23 the Resident, Bornu, reported a statement that unless a man had a Mahdist "ratib" (prayer-book) in his pocket, he could hardly get a drink of water on the roads east of Darfur.

37. The construction which ought to be placed on the above correspondence has been the subject of some controversy. In his despatch of 11.3.24 Sir Hugh Clifford reported the situation to the S. of S. During the summer of 1924 conferences were held at the Colonial Office at which Sir Hugh Clifford, Sir Lee Stack, Sir Herbert Read, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Willis (Director of Intelligence in the Sudan), Mr. Davies (Sudan), Mr. Tomlinson, Messrs. Murray and Rodd (Foreign Office), and others were present. The N.P. Mahdist files were sent to the Colonial Office for examination by Mr. Willis, whose memorandum was sent to Nigeria in the S. of S.'s despatch of 10.11.24. The conclusion to which Mr. Willis came, was that Abderrahman was not himself concerned in the promotion of seditious propaganda, but that his name had been made use of by agitators in Egypt, whom, however, he was unable to identify. In commenting on Mr. Willis' report Mr. Palmer pointed out that Abderrahman never formally repudiated the propaganda which was carried out in his name. The Sudan Government also admitted that Abderrahman's agents in the Sudan were causing trouble among the tribes of Kordofan and Darfur and that rumours were actively spread identifying Abderrahman with Nebi Isa, whose advent was to herald the triumph of Islam and the end of the world. It was also admitted that the pilgrimage to Abba Island (much frequented by Fellata) presented some undesirable features. It was on Abba Island that the Mahdi first began his career as a religious leader. The Sudan Government accordingly instructed Abderrahman to withdraw his agents from

Kordofan, Darfur and Selin Baggara, and a check was put on the pilgrimage to Abba Island. Mr. Palmer's opinion in March, 1924, was that in the absence of any other known source of agitators Abderrahman must be held responsible for the propaganda coming from the East which was going on at least up to 1923.

38. Whatever may be the truth concerning Abderrahman's connection with the propaganda in Nigeria, it is certain that the bulk of the local Mahdists believed that Mallam Sa'id's activities were directly inspired and authorised by Abderrahman. What would have been Sa'id's next step if his career had not been checked by his arrest and removal in March, 1923, is of course a matter for speculation. Mr. Palmer thought that he possibly contemplated ultimately the "great Fulani movement" to the East, but at the time of his arrest the people of Fika had been manning the walls of their town for a week, and any small Mahdist success at that time would have brought all the Bornu Fulani and most of Gombé and Katagum to join Sa'id. It is important to note that one result of Sa'id's activities was to throw doubts on the loyalty of certain Nigerian Emirs. A letter found at Dumbulwa, purporting to be written by the late Sultan of Sokoto to Sa'id, was undoubtedly a forgery. Concerning the letters purporting to emanate from the Emirs of Bauchi, Hadeija and Yola, there was some controversy. The L.G. (Mr. Gowers) finally formed the opinion that the letters from the Emirs of Bauchi and Hadeija were forgeries, and the alleged writers were exonerated.

39. The complicity of the late Emir of Yola, although denied by himself, was regarded as established. Not only was a series of his letters to Sa'id brought to light, but final proof was supplied by his letter written to Mallam Fulani, after Sa'id's downfall. This letter expressed the Emir's fears of the possible consequence of exposure and an assurance that he had finally abandoned Mahdism. The Emir was called into Kaduna, censured by the L.G. and forbidden the use of his drums and trumpets for six months. (He has since died.)

40. Another important event in 1923 was an attempt by Mahdist Mallams to tamper with the troops at Maiduguri. Their intrigues were speedily discovered and suppressed, but the fact of the attempt being made was extremely significant. So far as I know, no similar attempt had ever been made before.

40A. In other directions Mahdist intrigue played an important part in Nigerian affairs prior to Mallam Sa'id's downfall. Mr. Palmer discussed the machinations of Mahdist agents, in particular Haj Shuaibu, in connection with Kaossen's raid on Agades, and the intrigues against the late Sultan of Sokoto, and his information was broadly confirmed by facts recorded by Mr. Lethem on his recent journey to the Sudan and Egypt. It may here be noted that Kaossen's raid (organised in Cyrenaica by Turko-German agents) caused great anxiety in French and British territory at the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917. For several weeks the French post at Agades was besieged and cut off. In order to enable the French to organise relief columns, Nigerian troops moved over the border and relieved the French garrisons of certain posts near to the Nigerian frontier. Agades was eventually relieved and the raiders driven off.

"Report on Mallam Sa'id's conspiracy as given by various informants." Encs. to Confidential letter from K.N.P. to C.S.G. No. 226, 230 of 11.1.24.

Mr. Palmer's
Confidential
letter,
No. 5/1926 1,
dated
10/10/25, with
encl.

40b. On enclosure (71) of the file concerning the deposition of Aliyu, Emir of Zaria. Mr. Palmer has supplied documentary proof of the close association of the Mahdist movement with the political situation at Zaria in 1920 and at Sokoto in the years immediately preceding 1922.

40c. It is also to be noted that when the Emir of Katsina was at Jeddah in 1921 he was approached by emissaries of Mai Wurno (para. 17) who told him that the Egyptians would rise in the autumn and exterminate the Europeans and that then he (Mai Wurno), armed with a flag which was to be obtained from Mecca, would lead a Jihad to Nigeria and drive out the British.

40d. It was also an emissary of Mai Wurno, Umr Shamaki by name, who is said to have appeared at Dumbulwa with a letter and flag from Abderrahman five days before Mallam Sa'id's arrest.

40e. From time to time the intrigues of Fellata have caused anxiety to the Sudan Government. The Governor General of the Sudan stated that the rising at Nyala in which two British officers were killed was due in part to Mahdist agents. It is also known that Haj Shuaibu passed through that neighbourhood just before the outbreak. See also Mr. Lethem's references to Imam Tukur on 934-946.

An encl. to
R. of S.'s
Conf.
despatch of
26.6.24 sent
to S.N.P.
under
C.S.G.'s
minute
09374 006 of
30.7.24.

See 8 of
letter Conf.
by Mr.
Lethem from
El Fasher
Darfur to
L.G.N.P.,
19th June,
1925, and see
B. of Post-
script, sec. 4,
of statement
of Mallam
Shuaibu.
Encl. to
letter above
mentioned.

41. As a result of the action taken by the Nigerian Government in suppressing Mallam Sa'id and the action taken by the Sudan Government in causing Abderrahman to withdraw his agents, it may be said that the agitation associated with Abderrahman's name had died down, at least as far as Nigeria is concerned. In a letter written in November, 1924, Mr. Lethem spoke of the general set-back to Mahdism. He also stated there was no longer a focus of agitation in the Chad region.

42. There were, however, indications that propaganda was still being conducted in Nigeria, although no longer under the guise of Mahdia. The forces now at work appear to have chosen as their channel the well established Tarikas of the Tijani and Senussi. Here again the agitation, such as it is, is conducted without the approval of the titular leaders of these orders and, in the case of the Tijaniya, in defiance of the leader's express repudiation.

43. The origin and spread of the Tijaniya is explained in Mr. Palmer's memorandum (enclosed in S.N.P.'s letter No. 490/22, of 19.2.25) in which it is explained that the present head of the order is Alfa Hashim, a learned Fulani, who fled eastwards after the battle of Burmi and has since been living in seclusion at Medina. That anti-British agitators endeavoured to secure his support is clear from a spirited manifesto which he issued in 1919. In this document he definitely rejected the pretensions of the Mahdia and advised the faithful to support the British and King Hussein of the Hejaz. He also stated that he had been approached by certain Egyptians who had offered him £4,000 to "open a road to the West." Again, at the end of 1923, Resident, Bornu, reported that a messenger from Alfa Hashim had passed on his way to Sheikh Madariat Dakenwa to emphasise his master's repudiation of Mahdism.

44. In spite of Alfa Hashim's manifesto in 1919, his name has nevertheless been employed to further the designs which he had expressly repudiated. A document which, although admittedly spurious, has obtained a wide circulation is the "Dream of Alfa Hashim." In it he is made to relate how the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and told him that the Mahdi was the true Khalifa and that he (Alfa Hashim) must carefully read the Mahdist "ratih" (Prayer-book).

45. That Alfa Hashim has not been wholly successful in freeing the Tijani Tarika from unlawful innovations (bida'a) is clear from the comparative success achieved by the Tijani-cum-Mahdia propaganda conducted by certain persons, among whom Sherif Alawi is the most prominent. This man visited Kano in 1923 and founded a Tijani mosque. The Emir insisted on keeping a measure of control over this new institution and appointed Mallam Salga as Imam. This is Mallam Salga who in 1921 wrote to the Kadi of Chikina (Baghermi) asking for the truth about the Mahdia (para. 36).

46. Sheriff Alawi also visited Zaria in 1923. The Resident afterwards reported considerable and suspicious activity in Tijani circles in that province.

47. On pp. 866-872 the rules for the Tijani Tarika as directed by Sherif Alawi are set out. It there appears that the policy is to establish a chain of Tijani centres each with its Mokaddem (head). Candidates for membership of the Order can only obtain admission through a duly authorised Mokaddem.

Encl. to
S.N.P.'s Conf.
letter
No. 499 22 of
19th Feb.,
1923.

48. Early in 1925 the Emir of Kano received a somewhat impertinent letter (posted at Casablanca in December, 1924,) from Sherif Alawi, asking for (financial ?) help. The letter was discussed by the Resident and the Emir. The latter took little interest in the matter. An addressed envelope was enclosed for a reply (which was not sent) bearing the address—

Muley the Sheriff Lioli
Mohammed ben Othman Allami,
Rue des Synagogues, 19.
Casablanca.

49. Corresponding to the infiltration of external propaganda through Tijani channels, there were signs that the Senussi Tarika was also being employed for similar purposes. The propaganda was conducted, not in the name of Sidi Idris, the present head of the order, but in that of his predecessor, Sidi Ahmed, who during the war fled from Africa and took refuge with the Turks and now lives in Asia Minor. Thus in November, 1924, Resident, Bornu, sent a translation of a letter purporting to be written by Sidi Ahmed to Imam Abdullahi, son of Imam Arabu of Marua, stating that "our purpose is to obtain the Sovereignty of the land between Egypt and Malawi (Melle = Upper Niger). Various versions of "the dream of another Sheikh Ahmed" supposed to be a Fakir in Mecca have come to light. Mr. Lethem, too, obtained a copy of an "injunction of Sheikh Ahmed" which was found in the possession of a trader in the train between Jebba and Ilorin. It contains the sentence "Tell the Muslims that I shall send to them a Mahdi" and ends with a benediction by Sidi Ahmed (Senusai).

50. At the end of 1923 Resident, Bornu, reported that the Shehu of Bornu had told him that he had joined the Kadriya Tarika. It may perhaps be inferred that this step was taken in consequence of the Shehu's disapproval of the influence at work in the Senussi Tarika to which he formerly belonged.

51. The inference to be drawn from these various reports, in Mr. Palmer's opinion, was that members of the Tijani and Senussi Tarikas, who originally might have been supposed to be hostile to the Sudan Mahdism, were being employed by agitators, unauthorised by the real heads of the Dervish Orders, for the purpose of spreading quasi-Bolshevik propaganda, and that this policy was being directed, as regards the Tijaniya, from the West (Casablanca, Shingait, etc.), though the French in 1925 suppressed the Casablanca Bolshevik "cell," and, as regards the Senussiya, from the East and principally from Khartum and Wadai.

One of the most remarkable features about the whole movement, in Mr. Palmer's opinion, was the fact that, from Yaman and Kufra (where the Grand Senussi Sidi Idris had in his entourage a Bornu Mallam) to Timbuctu, there seemed to be no important place in the Sudan where Magumi (the old Bornu royal clan) were not *au fait* with this Mahdist propaganda—if not actively engaged in fostering it—up to March, 1923, when the Nigerian Government took action and Sa'id was deported.

It is suggested by Mr. Palmer that this was not accidental nor directly due to Abderrahman el Mahdi, but to some wider intelligence conversant with the history of Bornu and the Sudan, who knew that the Magumi were probably the best vehicle for propaganda which exists in the Sudan, because—

- (a) since 1810, though scattered from Yaman to the Atlantic, they have never ceased hoping to regain their Kingdom, Bornu;
- (b) they are ubiquitous, and of better standing, intelligence, and greater knowledge of the world than most Sudanese, e.g., the Fulani.

G. J. F. TOMLINSON.

August, 1926.

20th April, 1927.

To
THE SECRETARY,
NORTHERN PROVINCES.

From
MR. G. J. LETHEM,
RESIDENT,
BORNU PROVINCE.

JOURNEY TO THE SUDAN, JEDDAH AND CAIRO, BY MR. LETHEM.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit herewith the report on my journey to the Sudan, etc., in 1925, with notes and appendices.

2. I regret the delay in submission, which has been due to curtailed leave in 1925 and exigencies of service since. Any matter, however, arising out of my journey which appeared to demand early attention has been raised in one form or another to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. The present report is rather in the nature of a summary.

3. The report is confined as far as possible to the question of the part played by the pilgrim traffic, and the settlements of West Africans in the east arising from this traffic, in the dissemination, actual or potential, of the religious or political influences of the east in the Nigerian emirates. Other aspects of recent propaganda to Nigeria have therefore been touched on only incidentally, for their discussion would necessarily range over a wide field and make it difficult to keep this report within reasonable limits. There are other subjects of importance such as the pilgrimage itself, the pilgrim labour on the Sudan cotton fields, the increase in permanent settlement of Nigerians in the Sudan, etc., which are also only incidentally touched upon in this report, but on which I hope to furnish separate memoranda later.

4. The present generally satisfactory political position in the emirates of Nigeria may appear to give the reiterated discussion of anti-British propaganda in this report some air of unreality. Nevertheless the very fact that the present position is so satisfactory tends to obscure two important truths, to wit:

(a) that the phenomena of unrest and religious excitement observed in 1923 found the average political officer not in a position to understand or appreciate the significance of things which came or should have come to his knowledge.

(b) that in the future it is quite impossible that the development of the Nigerian emirates will fail to be influenced more and more by religious and political movements in other Mohammedan countries of the northern half of Africa.

The administrations charged with the guidance of the emirates must give attention to these matters. This report deals mostly with the most obvious and widest channel, to wit, the pilgrim traffic and the communities of West Africans in the east.

5. I have included in an Appendix certain suggested recommendations for action in regard to matters touched on in this report; these may be summarised as follows:—

(a) Improvement of the arrangements concerning the pilgrimage to facilitate a quick journey to Mecca and return. A separate memorandum is being submitted.

(b) Co-ordination of intelligence work as regards channels of propaganda to Nigeria with the proper agencies in other parts of Africa; in particular to secure some systematic attention to the following:—

- (i) the Takarir circles in the Hejaz, and such personalities as the Alfa Hashim, Mohammad Bunu, etc. through H.B.M.'s Agent at Jeddah. A temporary suggestion as to ways and means has already been made.
- (ii) the small Takarir colony in Cairo—through the Sudan Government Agent in Cairo, and others if necessary. A temporary suggestion as to ways and means has already been made.
- (iii) the Takarir generally in the Sudan, personalities and tendencies observed, etc. through the Sudan Intelligence Department.
- (iv) French territory.

(c) Periodic visits of a Nigerian Officer to the Red Sea, the Sudan, and Cairo to secure the above objects (a) and (b). The officer could visit Suakin and Jeddah for some weeks at the time of the pilgrimage, and either en route thereto or when returning visit Cairo, Khartoum and the principal and easily-reached centres of Takarir in the Sudan.

6. The arguments as to whether or not action of the kind suggested is necessary or desirable are not discussed. That must be question of opinion, in the forming of which the facts and views set forth in the report may have importance. The recommendations are confined to suggesting ways and means, which, should the principle be decided, appear most practical in the light of things observed on my journey.

7. I had intended including appendices giving details of personalities in the Sudan and in the Hejaz, of Takarir or of other persons notable in their affairs, and of their conversations, etc., much on the lines of Appendix C which deals with my enquiries in Cairo. In view of the need to transmit the report to England forthwith, however, I am not attempting to complete these. I propose, however—and I think this will be still more useful and illuminating of the matters dealt with in the report—to prepare a précis of my diary notes, which at present run to over 400 pages of M.S. foolscap, and submit at leisure for record here.

8. As to an index, which has been suggested as necessary, I am afraid time has not permitted the preparation of this either. It can, I think, be prepared later, for reference when necessary in Nigeria.

9. A map will be prepared and submitted.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

G. J. LETHEN,

Resident, Bornu.

**Report on a Journey from Bornu, Nigeria,
to the
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Jeddah and Cairo,**

BY

MR. G. J. LETHBRIDGE.

PART I.—West Africans in the Sudan, the Hejaz, Egypt and
countries of the Near East.

PART II.—Political and Religious Influences.

Report on a Journey from Bornu, Nigeria, to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Jeddah and Cairo.

BY

MR. G. J. LETHBRIDGE.

Part I.

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Report on a Journey from Bornu, Nigeria, to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Jeddah and Cairo,

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Part II.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES.

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- A—General conditions in the French " Colonie du Tchad " including Wadai.
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 C—West Africans in Cairo. Bornu " ruwak " in Al Azhar.
 D—" Fatwas " obtained from Mecca against the " Vision of Sheikh Ahmad " and against Mahdism.
 E—Suggestion as to the source of the " Fairuz " letters.
 F—Recommendations for—
 (i) Improvement of arrangements concerning the pilgrimage.
 (ii) Improvement of arrangements for obtaining external intelligence.

Part I.

1. In the first part of this report an attempt is made to give a connected account of the movements and settlements of natives of the Niger-Chad region of West Africa, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in the Hejaz, in Egypt and in other eastern countries.

2. It might almost be said that the history of the Sudan countries from the Atlantic to the Red Sea is at bottom simply one of tribal migrations. The general trend of those migrations which have affected the Chad and Niger regions has been from east to west, and every political officer of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria is acquainted with traditions of tribal origins in the East. Moreover, Mohammedan tribes in Nigeria retain a sentimental veneration for the supposed land of their origin in the East, a fact which is, and may be still more in the future, of psychological importance; and the north-eastern parts of the protectorate have been profoundly influenced politically by accretions within the last century from Arabs of the "Baggara" stock of Kordofan and from the armies of Rabeli from the same and neighbouring regions.

3. Nevertheless, though the general trend of tribal migration has been historically from east to west, the pilgrimage to Mecca has called, as it still calls, numbers annually from west to east, and most political upheavals in the Niger-Chad region since 1800 have thrown little groups off eastwards. These refugees no doubt often found consolation in the fact that migration eastwards coincided with the religious duty of the hajj. In recent years the increase in numbers of the Takarir,* or Fellata, as perhaps most commonly called now in the Sudan, has caused considerable comment.

Pilgrimage
and political
troubles
causing
migration
before 1800.

4. It should be said at once that the settlement of Takarir or Fellata in the Sudan should not be exaggerated into any idea of a "tribal migration." In the Sudan in particular there is a considerable and widespread misconception on this matter, a misconception due to the sparsity of the population to which the mind there becomes accustomed. For, in fact, numbers which in the better populated regions of West Africa would be no more noticeable than are the "Hausa towns" found everywhere from Cameroon to Senegal and even in Tripoli, are in the Sudan a much more noticeable feature of the population in several localities.

5. The earliest settlements in the Sudan are of Bornu origin and illustrate very clearly the migrations of small groups due to political events in the West. The temporary success of the Fulani Emirs (1808) in capturing the Bornu capital of Birnin Gasargamo; the subsequent dissensions (1818) between the supporters of the old Bornu Sultans and those of the saviour of the country, the half-Arab

* **TERMINOLOGY.**—*Takarir* (sing. *Takariri*) is preferred to *Fellata* as a general term for all westerners; it is so used by natives and facilitates distinction between various groups as made in this report. It is an older and more correct term than *Fellata* which—though commonly used in this sense in the Sudan by Government officers—might be confusing in this report as it would be in talking to natives. *Fellata* means Fulani, or, at most, people from states ruled by Fulani emirs.

Bornu.—People of Bornu, i.e., Kanuri. *Borgu.*—People of Wadal. *Sudan.*—Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

half-Kanemi Sheikh Mohammed al Amin al Kanemi; the suppression of the puppet Sultans (1836) by al Kanemi's son, Sheikh Umar, can all be traced among Bornu "muwallidin"* in the Sudan in their traditions about the coming of their fathers and grandfathers. There are still more numerous descendants of Bornu "refugees" throughout Bagirmi and Wadai.

6. Similarly, among the more recent Hausa and Fulani settlers echoes are heard of some forgotten fight in the Hausa states, of the suppression by Kano Emirs of Mahdist risings in the eighties, while one venerable looking Fulani assured me with vehemence that never would he or his return to Sokoto, the land of his fathers, "until the line of Bello is restored."† It is also interesting to find occasional descendants of survivors of the tragic "hijra" of Mallam Dubaba,‡ circ. 1875, which affects Bornu, Hausa, and Fulani alike.

7. There is a notable group of Fulani in Southern Darfur, of two clans, the Ikka and the Ibba, who have been there for over two centuries, who are said to be allied to the Fellata Bornu of Bornu and Bagirmi, but have no real knowledge of their migration. There are also very small groups of Fulani in several of the Baggara tribes. These, however, can scarcely be said to be natives of the Niger-Chad region. They are mere incidents in the far-flung movements of the Fulani race in North Africa.

8. In the few records of the Mahdia that I have read, there is occasional mention of a Bornu man, or of a Fulani "modibbo," prominent in the insurrection, and if my informants at Kassala and Gedaref are to be believed there were whole companies of Bornu and Fellata in the armies operating against the Italians and the Abyssinians.

9. In Darfur moreover the respected kadi of the Sultan of Massalit is a Magume Kanuri of Birni origin, and provides a curiously interesting instance of the part played by so many Magume refugee families of distinction in furnishing secretaries and literary officials to many of the native Sultans in the whole Chad region and in Cameroon and, though less universally, in Nigeria outside Bornu. In Darfur also there is a quite considerable and old settlement of Bornu round the centre of Manawaji, a typically Bornu place-name. One of these people called on me in El Fasher who appears to have been a person of some authority in the following of the Mahdist Emir Mahmud. I have met in Bornu members of this community who have returned to settle or on a visit. It was one of these people, too, whom Rabeh sent as his emissary to the Sheikh Hashim of Bornu to demand allegiance to the Mahdi and his lieutenant Rabeh, the bearer of the "Seif an Nasar," a very curious parallel indeed to the recent attentions of the Sudan Mahdists to Nigeria.§

* Muwallidin—born in the Sudan.

† That is, the branch of the family of the Sultans of Sokoto descending from Muhammad Bello, son of the first Sultan; Bello's son Sa'id failed to accede to the throne after his father, and this led to a quarrel between two main branches of the family, which has had important political consequences since. See also Part II, para. 60.

‡ Mallam Dubaba, or Sherif ad-Din, a Fulani from the Niger, led a reputedly immense host of religious enthusiasts consisting of Fulani, Hausa, Bornu, Shuwa Arabs and Bagirmi eastwards in about 1875. He defeated and killed the Sultan of Bagirmi, but being himself killed, in a skirmish to the east of Bagirmi, his host was broken up and great numbers perished from famine and at the hands of pagan tribes.

§ PARAS. 5-9.—Of the longer settled West Africans in the Sudan an important personality is Al Hajj Wad Al Masia, who ranks as a religious notable in the Sudan, being a distinguished leader in the Khalwatia "teraka." He lives near Senнар. He is, I think, a Fulani, but I did not see him. For another West African religious notable in the Sudan, see footnote to para. 32 of Part I.

10. Naturally the European occupation of the Niger and Chad basins has in turn had its effect. But it must never be forgotten that it was the idea of the Pilgrimage that has always ruled the direction eastwards of the groups of irreconcilables. Political events alone would not have caused the movements which are noted below.

European
occupation of
the Niger
Chad region.

11. Of the French wars with Samory and of the conquest of Timbuctu, etc., I heard but the vaguest echo in the Sudan, but it is clear that many of the Melle Fulani from the Upper Niger migrated into Sokoto and in time took part in the "jihad" of Sultan At-Tahiru against the British which ended at Burmi in 1903. Moreover, about 15 to 10 years ago, there was a distinct migration of Melle Fulani into the Sudan. I am ignorant of the immediate cause—dislike of conscription or of some other item in the French administration, or what. Many of these are now settled as cattle herdsman with the Hadendoa in the Gash delta north of Kassala.

12. More directly affecting Nigeria and more considerable is the migration after the fights at Burmi. This concerns the Fulani and not the Bornu and has been so large as quite to eclipse the previous Takarir settlements in the Sudan, so that now there is a very strong tendency to class all the Takarir as Fellata. I cannot estimate the migration from Nigeria after the Burmi fights at less than 25,000. It may have been more, and to it has to be added migration of irreconcilables in the succeeding decade.

Burmi, 1902
and 1903.

13. It is necessary to make it clear initially that there were two quite separate and distinct Burmi affairs. Firstly, the suppression of Mallam Jibrella in 1902, and, secondly, the contest with the Fulani led by Sultan At-Tahiru of Sokoto in 1903.

14. At the first of these in 1902, Mallam Jibrella (alias Mallam Geni or Gwoni, alias Mallam Zai) was brought to book, captured and deported to Lokoja, where he died. He has often been spoken of as a freebooting slave dealer. He was in fact a fanatic Mahdist, who had embraced Mahdism under the influence of Mallam Hayatu, of the Sokoto ruling family; the latter lived in the eighties in Jamare, east of Bornu, and acted as the Khalifa of the Mahdi in the West. Hayatu, eclipsed by Rabeḥ,* in 1899 arranged to flee from Dikwa and join forces with Jibrella, but was put to death by Rabeḥ's son. Jibrella continued his successful career in Bornu Nguderi, however, and his conflict with the British was of course inevitable. He made his resistance near the hill of Bima, holy in Fulani legend. After his capture, numbers of his fanatical followers fled eastwards; and it is a most striking fact that nearly every one of the Fellata who have from time to time troubled the Sudan Government in Mahdist and "An Nebi Isa" outbreaks was one of the refugees from the Mahdist community of Hayatu and Jibrella.

Burmi, 1902.

15. Jibrella's suppression was a small affair compared with the affair at Burmi the next year, 1903. The two events are, however, allied by the fact that the Mahdist remnant left at Burmi were largely instrumental in inducing the Sultan of Sokoto to stand and fight rather than migrate eastwards, his original intention.

* See also para. 56 of seq. in Part II.

16. The Sultan At-Tahiri had refused to submit to the British occupation of Sokoto and had determined on flight to the east, summoning who would follow him. It was thus, in a sense, incidental that in flying he was compelled to fight the forces of the Nigerian Government. The attraction of the east and the desire to get beyond the domination of a European power were the main causes of the migration.*

17. In fact, it is probable that it was as one direct result of the fighting that many of the fugitives returned to their homes. It certainly cleared the air and has probably been one of the reasons why the Mohammedan province settled down so quickly and quietly.

18. The fact that, in addition to the Sultan himself and his six sons, the Emir Bashir of the Melle Fulani from the Upper Niger in French territory, the Alfa Hashim, the well known Tujani leader now resident in Medina, Abubakar, Emir of Nupe, Bello, brother of the Emir of Kontagora, notorious as a slave raider and opponent of the British occupation, the Emir of Messau, Ahmadu, and the Magaji of Keffi, the murderer of Captain Moloney, were all present with contingents, indicates the importance of the affair. This horde arrived at Burmi near the sacred hill of Bima, fell in with the Mahdist remnant there, and at length, not before discussion, resolved to fight.

19. The casualties suffered by the Fulani appear, according to my informants, to have been heavy, and the effect of Maxim fire on the closely-packed companies of men is forgotten. More than one greybeard with whom I conversed in the Sudan tore aside his clothes in excitement to show me some Burmi scar, and one, an erstwhile "jekada" of Sokoto in Katagum, fiercely snatched off his turban to show me the track of a bullet along the top of his skull and of another above his ear.

* EXTRACT FROM SIR F. LUGARD'S ANNUAL REPORT FOR NORTHERN NIGERIA FOR 1902 (INCLUDING SOME MONTHS OF 1903).

"The ex-Sultan did not accept my conciliatory offers . . . passed eastwards between Kano and Zaria, giving out that he was about to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and ordering all the people to follow him. Not a chief or man of any sort left Kano, but the villagers of the districts he passed through, appealed to on religious ground, and misunderstanding his intentions, flocked to him by thousands . . . The ex-Sultan fled eastwards into the only portion of the Protectorate still untraversed by our troops and to which no Resident had as yet been appointed. The people of this district, which consists of a number of small but ancient Emirates lying between Kano and Bornu, could only have received the usual exaggerated and often wholly untrue reports of events which had been taking place, which in Nigeria are circulated with magical rapidity. Probably under the impression that the British had ousted the head of their religion and declared war against "the Faith," enormous numbers joined in the so-called pilgrimage . . . Captain Sward, from Kano, joining forces with the Bauchi garrison, pursued the ex-Sultan, and after a series of skirmishes arrived at the town of Burmi, on the confines of Bornu. Here was . . . the remnant of Mallam Jibrilla's army after his defeat by Col. Morland in March, 1902. . . . Captain Sward attacked the town and severe fighting took place . . . was unable to storm the town, and retired on Bauchi with his wounded unharmed during the night . . . Meanwhile steps had been taken to concentrate a powerful force at Bauchi . . . On reaching Burmi it was opposed with great determination and fanaticism. The town was taken after a fight which lasted till dusk, and about 700 of the enemy were killed, including the ex-Sultan and most of the chiefs . . . This decisive and successful action has completely broken up the party of the irreconcilables, as well as the remnant of the Mahdi's following.—LUGARD.

EXTRACT FROM SIR F. LUGARD'S ANNUAL REPORT FOR NORTHERN NIGERIA FOR 1903.

"The ex-Sultan sent emissaries over the country, telling the people not to sit in peace under the infidel, but to join him, not in a war against us, but in a pilgrimage to Mecca . . . He was joined by the few Fulani chiefs of Sokoto and Kano, etc., who had remained irreconcilable, and by all the lawless elements of the lower classes. As he proceeded eastwards and his following increased, a madness seized the peasantry even of the better classes, and they flocked to him with their families and chattels, even the blind and the lame joining in the belief that he would lead them to the Mahdi . . . The movement was (so far as the bulk of its adherents were concerned) a blind soot, combined with a religious enthusiasm prompting the exodus.—LUGARD.

† Alfa-Khalifa (1).

20. A very great impression appears to have been produced on the minds of the Fulani, and what is clear to me from my conversations is that, to a great many Fulani in the Sudan and in the Hejaz, Burmi is a real landmark, and Nigeria to them means the Nigeria of 1902-1903.* The whole affair is spoken of as the "jihad" (holy war), Sultan At-Tahiru as "shahid" (martyr), and the exodus as a "hijra" (emigration - as that of the Prophet), and this quite freely to me.

21. The ex-Emir of Messau Ahmadu described to me some desultory attempts again to unite the scattered refugees and spoke of the intention of the various groups under himself and Bello of Kontagora, etc., to keep in touch and fall back together eastwards before any British advance. Another informant spoke to me of a concentration of the refugees in Jamare, near Mallam Hayatu's town.

22. During the following months there was a large exodus from Nigeria for Mecca. Ahmadu of Messau with the greatest candour went on to describe how he finally threw up the sponge, and with but four followers made off for Mecca. In Ahmadu's case it almost took on the character of a helter-skelter race across Africa. The old man said to me gleefully "Thirteen months after Burmi I was in Mecca (he was delayed in Darfur). There were only two men before me, and one of them is dead!"

23. The only migration of a group of any size in itself appears to have been that of Muhammad Bello, Mai Wurno, fifth son of Sultan At-Tahiru. Accident more than hereditary right or ability put this man in a place of prominence. Of his four elder brothers, as he informed me, one was killed at Burmi, two were captured or returned to Sokoto, and one, a hysterical creature, went off to Mecca with the earliest goers. Mai Wurno was then a young man of 25 and the Sokoto Fulani appear to have gathered round him as a focus. After some nine months spent in the Chad region in the hope of establishing themselves, they left for Mecca, were well received by the Sultan of Wadai, Mohammad Saleh, Doud Mourrah (deposed by the French, and now in Fort Lamy), and by Bakhit, Sultan of Dar Sila (deposed by the French). Here they overstayed their welcome, and the Sultan, fearing the increase of Fulani in his small kingdom, moved them on. At length Mai Wurno reached Hillet Sheikh Talaha on the Blue Nile, and was induced by a British Political Officer† to settle, being given land on the opposite bank of the river. By this time the edge of their anti-European bitterness had somewhat dulled, and Mai Wurno said quite frankly to me, "We fled from Burmi to escape the British; we came here to the Nile and found the British here, too, and so we stayed, and those of us who wished to do the pilgrimage could do so from here."

24. During most of the decade following Burmi there is no doubt that the exodus started there continued in a lesser degree, in particular from the region known as Bornu Nguderi.

25. It presents evidence in the Sudan of the considerable undercurrent of hostility to our occupation in Nigeria in its first years, which was well known to

* C. L. Temple, C.M.G., Resident of Bauchi at the time of Burmi, is the one Nigerian political officer of whom these early comers know, as well as Sir F. Lugard. "Dogo lumba" is still the name for a political officer, and G. W. Webster was so spoken of by those Takari who met him in Jeddah in 1920.

† Mr. E. W. Drummond-Hay.

greater Emirats etc., and now in the Sudan, testifies to the dislike felt for the new conditions among what was such a large class of the population. There are also to be found peasants who, uncertain of how they would fare under the new régime, preferred to follow the tide set up by some of their betters, to whom they were least accustomed, and combine with it the holy duty of the pilgrimage.

26. The emigration eastwards in these years after Burmi does not seem to have been important in Bornu or in Sokoto. To Bornu the British occupation had come as a deliverance, and the people drifted back to Bornu proper, while Rabeh's men drifted to the Fort Lamy region. There were, however, notable parties of Magume Kanuri who went on the pilgrimage under the leadership of some noted mallam who refused to serve under the new régime, and the return of some remnants of whom has been noticed in recent years. Of conditions in Sokoto in these years I know nothing, but I heard in the Sudan of parties of Sokoto men who had gone back after Burmi, and more than one Fulani notable on the Blue Nile said that if they had realised there was to be no persecution of the Fulani after Burmi, as they had expected, they would have returned as these had.

27. It is the region known as Bornu Nguderi, which Mai Wurno still calls "our Bornu" (i.e. Sokoto's Bornu) and which comprises the region of Niger between Bornu and the Kano Emirates, that seems to have been particularly affected. In fact, the proportion of the Fulani and Hausa in the Sudan, which have come from the Emirates of Katagum, Messau, Hadeija, Bauchi and Gambia is remarkable (and seems second only to that of Burmi refugees). Adamawa (i.e., North Cameroon) is also well represented.†

Composition
of the Takari
Settlements.

28. It is accordingly notable that in any average community of Fulani and Hausa in the Sudan (apart from the special features of the Fulani Blue Nile settlements, *q.v. infra*) one finds Sokoto men and Gando men rather few, Zaria men fewer, Katsina men almost rare, Kano men numerous, of course, and inevitably so where Kano's population is so large, but a quite disproportionate number whose home villages lie in the five Emirates mentioned above, i.e., in the eastern part

* Representative messenger; generally a tax or tribute collecting agent.

† EXTRACTS FROM SIR F. LUGARD'S ANNUAL REPORT FOR NORTHERN NIGERIA FOR 1904.

"*Katagum Province*.— . . . consists of several small but ancient Emirates (Katagum, Messau, Gummel, Hadeija, Machena, and part of Demagaram) with a fringe of pagans (Bedde) on its eastern frontier towards Bornu, and several pagan tribes in the south towards Bauchi. In ancient times it formed the debatable country between Bornu and the Hausa States, and its northern Emirates were for long periods subservient to the former. Hence assimilates in its customs most nearly to Bornu. . . .

"*Hadeija*.—The attitude of Hadeija, on the other hand, gave cause for misgiving. It is a very wealthy and very industrious town. The king has shown himself very independent, and the lesser people have offered several insults to Government parties passing through the territory. . . .

"*Gombe*.—The Emirate of Gombe, in which these events (the Burmi fighting) had occurred, is largely populated by Fulani, and though its Emir was friendly it appears that the population of its large walled towns had acquiesced but sullenly in the British rule. They had seen the British power established in Bornu to the east and Bauchi to the west of them, while Jibrella's invincible fanatics had been swept away, but it needed the lesson at Burmi to convince them of the strength of the Government.

"*Bauchi*.—The temporary withdrawal from the province in the beginning of 1903 in order that its garrison might take part in the Kano expedition, followed by these events at Burmi, had caused much unrest in the province and retarded its progress, while much suffering was inflicted on the peasantry whose country had been the theatre of war. . . . Great numbers migrated to Bornu and elsewhere, and the emaciated remnant were too weak to till the fields. . . . There had been some mistrust or dislike on the part of a section of the Fulani, and the Emir at first demurred to a public oath, though willing enough to take it in private.

"*Yola*.—As at Bauchi, so here, I found that Bobo Ahmadu, though himself most loyal and friendly, was afraid to take the oath in public."—LUGARD.

of the present Kano and the Bauchi provinces, with a very considerable proportion from Adamawa. The numbers of Bornu are rather low, in comparison with Fulani and Hausa, though large enough in comparison with Bornu's population. Nupes and Yorubas are rare. This ratio appears to have been set in the years 1903-1913, and the subsequent years do not appear to have altered it.

29. As regards the years after the first decade of our occupation in Nigeria, I did not find that political conditions have been a cause of migration, although the disgruntled or disgraced courtier and the disappointed seeker after office are of course to be found as, too, is the ex-criminal or jailbird.

Migration
since 1913.

30. The one real motive has been religious, that is, in particular, the pilgrimage. The average Nigerian Mohammedan has the idea of going on the pilgrimage always at the back of his mind, a psychological factor in him which differentiates him from the average Mohammedan in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, who goes so little on the pilgrimage, perhaps because it is so much easier to go. In recent years the route has become safer and easier.

31. So, too, in addition to the genuine pilgrims, who are numerous, any person in Nigeria who gets into trouble or disgrace or who is dissatisfied with his life and position at home, from whatever cause, finds in the pilgrimage a present escape from his afflictions, and one which at the same time enables him to fulfil a religious duty.

32. As to the settlement or apparent settlement of pilgrims in the East, it is quite impossible to say of a pilgrim who left Nigeria since the beginning of the war, or even, say, 1912, whether or no he is a "settler" in the Sudan or still en route. Five years could be described as a quick passage: fifteen is not uncommon. Many who left Nigeria ten years ago intending to go straight to Mecca are still drifting from place to place, and still intending to go to Mecca when some present difficulty has passed. A great number moreover have the intention of doing the pilgrimage a second time for various reasons; and the idea that it is virtuous to live in the East, and so nearer the holy places, has no small influence.*

Settlement of
pilgrims in
recent years.

33. However, the whole subject of the pilgrimage is dealt with separately. It is now the one real cause of migration eastwards, though there are other factors which may cause westerners to loiter or remain permanently in the eastern countries.

34. The chief of these is economic. The great bulk of the pilgrims are now poorer class Hausa peasants whose means are small and who are burdened with wives and children on the road. They progress very slowly. On commencing their return they are slow to move and to tackle the difficulties of gathering the means to buy a donkey and other necessaries, and they get accustomed to their environment.

* This is the chief motive for the settlement in the Hejaz of such people as the Alfa Hashim, so often mentioned in this report. Another instance is Sheikh Umar Gambo, who died in Mecca in 1918. A man of Kura in Kano but of Bornu origin who left Nigeria under 30 years ago (? after Burma), was a well-known leader in the Tujanja "tarika," a protégé of Ali Dinar, and left Darfur for Kordofan in 1908, and then went on to Mecca. His sons visited me in Nabad.

35. Another matter is that when pilgrims have got accustomed to a régime under which they are almost free of tribal or other communal control, or of the land or other ties or associations of their country of origin, there is a tendency, especially among the younger men, to prefer to remain in a land where individual liberty appears superficially greater. This idea is fostered by some Takarir whose knowledge of Nigeria dates back to the first decade of our occupations, and a complaint that I heard not at all uncommonly among elderly Takarir was that when they wished to return home their children who had grown up in the Sudan refused to go.

36. The commercial development with great public works in the Sudan is not in itself an attraction to Nigerians to travel 2,000 miles across ill-watered and poor regions of Africa, though I have heard it put forward by persons not conversant with the whole matter of Takarir movements. The wages paid to Takarir in the Gezira, at Makwar, etc., are but slightly higher than in the Nigerian railway region, and the price of living is much heavier. The general conditions of living are worse than any I have seen in Africa, save in the native locations of poor class South African railway townships. The food is poor, as many Takarir assured me. In a word the standard of living and prosperity in the settlements of Takarir near the large labour-employing works in the Sudan does not compare with that in Nigeria. It may quite safely be said that, if there were no pilgrimage, there would be little or no Takarir labour from Nigeria available in the Sudan.

37. Nevertheless the public works put large quantities of money into circulation, and there is quite an exaggerated idea of the wealth to be won, held particularly among Takarir who have not seen Nigeria for many years, and among those coming from the eastern parts of Nigeria and the Chad regions. It is usual for Nigerian settlers in the Sudan, even for those who were political refugees, to assert that their original home is a better country than their new home*; but they will often qualify this by saying that they are in a country where there is more money. Ahmadu of Messau, for example, who has not seen Nigeria since 1903 and lived ten years of poverty in Mecca from 1904 to 1914, after commenting to me on the general poverty of the Sudan in many things as compared with Nigeria, went on to say in qualification that here in the Sudan there was at least much money.

38. The same exaggerated idea of the money wealth to be got in the Sudan I found in the minds of pilgrims in the west on their way eastwards. I believe this idea is partly responsible for the unwillingness of many pilgrims to start back for their homes without some appearance of material wealth to show, and for their habit of crossing French territory with new and gaudy clothes hidden in their packs into which they blossom forth on arrival in Bornu. It is of course notorious that returned pilgrims are silent as to the hardships of their journey and of their life in the Hejaz.

39. I think, too, that this idea is exploited by a class of person who may be described as "professional pilgrims' agents." These are persons who are more or less continuously on the pilgrim route and return occasionally to Nigeria to lead back a caravan. Their pickings are not inconsiderable as heads of their party,

* Not long before my visit Mai-Warno—no doubt in a fit of pique—had been emphatic on this point in conversation with the District Commissioner, Sennar.

and they probably have side interests, not excluding trading in children whom they may obtain on the way or with whom they have been entrusted by parents in the west. These people also exploit the idea that the settlements in the Sudan on the Blue Nile are very large and prosperous. My companions and I frequently heard in Wadai and Darfur exaggerated accounts of these. In the event, however, our visits to the settlements themselves completely modified in this matter the ideas picked up from gossip in the West.

40. The fact is that the Sudan is a poor country compared with other parts of tropical Africa, but it has been efficiently administered and its economic exploitation, for a country of its resources, has been remarkable and rapid. Nevertheless, the railways and the wage-earning opportunities have, it seems to me, facilitated the journey of the Takarir pilgrim far less than might have been supposed. The cost of living and the need to make their way with cash make it harder for people like the Takarir to travel in the Sudan than in, for example, the apparently less developed regions of the French Colonie du Tchad. The raising of the fees at Suakin* has greatly increased the difficulties of the journey across the Red Sea. Even persons working at Tokar seem to find it difficult to save enough to pay for themselves and their dependants. The return journey, moreover, seemed to me, on the whole, a still harder thing to face. The pilgrim inclines to a long stay among his own people somewhere until he can save enough actual cash for a donkey, food and water en route, and some gaudy clothes, souvenirs or articles from Mecca for sale. Meanwhile his wives bear more children, and the expenditure to face increases. There is also constant rumour, spread from time to time and often credited by ignorant Takarir, that the road through Wadai is closed.

41. All these factors: the general economic conditions, the absence of tribal organisation, the idea of high money wages, the Suakin fees, the need of cash, the rumoured closing of the road, combine to detain Takarir in the Sudan.

42. It is hard to say at any given moment how far the stream of returning pilgrims is below that of those leaving the West. It is clear on the one hand that a big proportion of those who went east between 1900 and 1910 or 1912 remained in the east. It is difficult, however, to say of the more recent pilgrims whether most will return west or not. In fact, the average time for the journey and return may well be as high as ten years and cannot be less than seven. Weight has to be given to some abnormal factors. The Great War and the conquest of Darfur are still quite recent events to Takarir who left Nigeria before them, and the present war in the Hejaz is now holding up pilgrims in the Sudan.

43. On the whole, I should incline to say that at present a very fair number of pilgrims are returning; that a very large number wish and intend returning; but that farther than that it is impossible to go in the absence of far better statistics than are available. As far as I observed in Bornu in 1925, and on my journey, returning pilgrims are plentiful enough. In the next year or two pilgrims who

* In 1925 about £3 12s. 0d. per head; to cover quarantine fees and steamer passage to Jeddah (not including return).

left Nigeria since the war in Cameroon and the occupation of Darfur should be coming into Nigeria in some numbers, and it should be possible to get a clearer basis for a judgment on the matter.

44. Nevertheless, I have made an attempt in paragraphs 166-188 to express in terms of figures the Takarir settlements and migrations. The figures are given with the greatest reserve. They are there (para. 185) summarised as follows:

- (i) There are 56,000 Takarir pilgrims on the move between Chad and Mecca (on the premise that the average annual exodus is 8,000 and the average time for the journey and return is seven years).
- (ii) Of this total about 21,000 may be expected not to re-enter Nigerian territory, but sooner or later to settle permanently in the East, *i.e.*, 3,000 per annum.
- (iii) The total number of Takarir in the East is about 90,000, of which 80,000 are in the Sudan.
- (iv) The composition of the 80,000 in the Sudan is about 55,000 permanent, or would-be permanent, settlers (being 40,000 definitely settled and 15,000 in the process of settling) and about 25,000 floating population.

The bases of these figures are explained in the paragraphs mentioned.

45. Apart from figures, however, what is, I think, clear, is that the increase in the size of the settlements on the Niles, more particularly on the Blue Nile, is much more due to gradual gathering of Takarir, particularly Fulani, round the "foci" of Mai Wurno, and Mai Ahmadu of Messau, and the Mahdist villages, than to recent or comparatively recent settlement of newcomers from Nigeria. That this gathering has not occurred before is due to a variety of causes. I had conversations with many of these settlers, who gave me an account of their movements, since Burmi in many cases. Many of them appeared to have wandered round the Sudan and the Hejaz, from place to place, till they came for good to the Blue Nile neighbourhood any time after 1914. Many had not been in the Hejaz. But on the other hand I think the total emigration from the Hejaz to the Sudan in the years since 1914 must have been considerable.

The Takarir
Settlements
—General.

46. It is therefore in the neighbourhood of the Blue Nile that the settlements are most noticeable, *i.e.*, on the Blue Nile itself and on the tributary rivers, the Dinder and Rahad. On the White Nile the settlements at or near Aba Island, the Mecca of the Mahdist sect, looked like becoming notable, but have been discounted by Government action in 1923-1924.

47. Kassala and Tokar, both irrigation cotton areas, and Gedaref and Mefaza, being developed for "rain cotton," are the other important centres of Takarir. On the irrigation cotton area of the "Gezira scheme," below the Makwar Dam, Takarir are found, but mostly as casual labourers; at Makwar itself, their labour has been much less in evidence than I had expected.

48. As is only to be expected, the Takarir congregate mostly on the main routes The pilgrim routes. from west to east. The principal route may be said to be that from Maiduguri, capital of Bornu, via Fort Lamy, capital of the French Colonie du Tchad, Abeshe, capital of Wadai, Geneina, capital of Massalit, El Fasher, capital of Darfur, Nahud, capital of Western Kordofan, to El Obeid, capital of Kordofan province, and terminus of the railway. Heavy camel-borne traffic follows the route more than any other.

49. Nevertheless, there are alternate routes favoured by travellers less burdened with baggage, which run further south through better populated and better watered country, though worse going in the rains. These go from the Shari via Bagirmi, of which the capital is now Chikina, to Umm Timan or Goz Beida, important centres in southern Wadai, and thence sometimes to Geneina; in the Sudan via Zalinguei, Nyala, Abu Jabra, El Odaiya, Abu Zabad, Sunjikai and Dilling and Rashad.

50. There is a tendency for the southern route to converge on the northern at Geneina. In any case, however, the great volume of the traffic from the west converges on the railway between El Obeid and Kosti on the White Nile, and it might almost be said that Kosti forms a bottle-neck for this traffic.

51. From the White Nile most of the pilgrims cross to the Blue Nile at Sennar. Some go along the White Nile to Omdurman.

52. From Sennar there is a fork. Those who hope to go to the Red Sea by rail go to Omdurman and Khartoum, and some few even reach Berber and Shendi. The others go overland via the Dinder and the Rahad to Mefaza and Gedaref. Here there is another fork; those who wish to avoid Suakin go into Eritrea,* the others go on to Kassala, whence Tokar and Suakin can be reached either by rail or overland. With the extension of the Kassala railway to Gedaref and the Blue Nile, it is possible that almost all the traffic will go this way.

53. Some pilgrims go still further south, and travel via the Bahr-al-Ghazal province, Kafiakinji, Raga, Wau, and so down the White Nile. They are comparatively few.

54. Off these routes the Takarir are not common.

55. It will be useful to take a brief survey of the Takarir settlements seriatim from west to east.

56. The cattle owners found in Darfur and among the Baggara have been already mentioned. Though of the same race in origin as the Nigerian Fulani, they have no immediate connection with modern Nigeria. It is worth notice, however, that the Darfur Fulani were active in the Nyala rising, and persons who were prominent in Mahdist propaganda in Nigeria have passed through the region. The Bornu element in Darfur has also been mentioned. Herdsmen and Bornu in Darfur.

* The Sudan authorities state—and with reason—that it is the bad characters principally that follow the route by Massawa, the Italian port in Eritrea.

57. Of the Takarir filtering into the Bahr-al-Ghazal province, I have only second-hand information. They are found in the neighbourhood of Raga and Wau, particularly it appears as market gardeners. I understand that the administration does not welcome these people there, as being isolated Mohammedan immigrants into a pagan population, the administration of which will follow different lines to that in the Northern provinces. A few pilgrims follow this route, but I understand that in theory it is closed to people from the West.

58. The settlements in the western provinces resemble in some ways the Hausa towns of West Africa outside the Hausa provinces and the Bornu and Hausa settlements of Cameroon, Bagirmi and Wadai, but they lack the trader element prominent in these. They have not the individual character of some of the settlements further east on the Blue Nile. They are found for the most part as untidy and rather miserable suburbs adjoining the Government stations and larger towns. The inhabitants mostly get a living as casual labourers. Many cut and market wood and grass. In fact they have much likeness to the labour colonies now common in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria of natives from the French districts on the Upper Shari, and are similarly useful to the administration. The standard of comfort and prosperity in these settlements is low, and their inhabitants are despised by the local populations. Occasionally a comparatively wealthy trader pilgrim is found. One such had a thousand pounds to my knowledge through his hands in 1925. In El Obeid, the gum-sifting seems to be done almost entirely by Takarir women.

59. The people are grouped under sheikhs* chosen from among themselves. Where the settlement is a large one there is usually one sheikh over all and one under-sheikh for each section, Hausa, Bornu and Fulani. Even where this is not recognised officially, each section tends to have its own headman. At El Obeid the headman over all the Takarir rises to the dignity of an "omdah," and is, I understand, salaried.

60. The headmen of these settlements in the western provinces are not generally people of any standing. The El Obeid "omdah" is by origin a hill pagan from the Mandara mountains, and is an amusing and competent rascal, who does his work for the Government, I should say, most usefully, but whom respectable Nigerians avoid if possible, not lodging for preference in his settlement at all.

61. The principal settlements appear to be El Fasher and Nyala in Darfur, El Obeid, Nahud, Rahad and Umm Ruaba, with smaller ones at El Odaiya and Abu Zabad, in Kordofan. In the Nuba Mountains the settlements are small, the principal being at Eliri (of long resident Takarir), Talodi, Kadugli, Dilling and Sunjikai, Rashad and Tagale.

62. The majority of the inmates are poorer class Hausas, including numerous natives of Damagaram, with minorities of Fulani and Bornu in varying proportions. The Bornu element is, however, much more in evidence than in the Hausa towns

*Sheikh—here is the Sudan equivalent of the Nigerian "village headman" of minor standing.

Omdah—Nigerian village headman of better standing.

Nsair—Nigerian "district headman."

of West Africa. The Bornu merge much more readily than the Hausa and Fulani with local Sudanese natives and this fact often obscures their numbers. Borgu (Wadaians) in many places are classed with the Takarir in these settlements, and occasionally Massalit and others from the west of the Nile-Chad divide, whose standing vis-à-vis the Arabs is much the same as that of the Borgu.

63. The settlements on the Niles have very much more a character of their own. The Blue Nile.

64. It is on the Blue Nile above Makwar and on the tributary rivers just east of it, the Rahad and the Dinder, that are found the most notable collection of westerners in the Sudan, and they differ in several respects from the average Takarir settlements attached to the bigger towns of the Sudan further west.

65. In the first place they are separate villages and not merely poor-class quarters in an Arab town.

66. Again, their population is very predominantly Fulani, whereas in the usual settlement there is a very distinct majority of Hausa, with a minority of Fulani and Bornu, in varying proportions to each other.

67. Again, whereas the *raison d'être* of the usual settlements of the Takarir elsewhere in the Sudan has been simply the pilgrimage, the Blue Nile settlements are to a surprising degree the outcome of the Fulani defeats at Burmi and the emigration thereafter. It is here that the refugees from Nigeria, firstly Mahdist followers of Mallam Jibrella, secondly Mai Wurno, and thirdly Ahmadu, ex-Emir of Messau, as late as 1914, have settled. In the last ten years particularly, Fulani who had been wandering from place to place in the Sudan and the Hejaz have been collecting here. It should be said in explanation that the village of Sheikh Talaha on the Blue Nile, whither the first Mahdists and Mai Wurno came, had been for many years a centre of Takarir in the Sudan, and it was therefore a natural rallying point for the refugees. It is opposite the present village of Mai Wurno.

68. Again it is in the Blue Nile settlements particularly that can be traced the constantly recurrent phenomenon of Takarir fanaticism in the Sudan. The most prominent persons in the incidents of this type, which have required from time to time action by the Sudan Government, have been persons who originated from the following of the western Mahdists, Hayatu and Mallam Jibrella, and who had been resident in these Blue Nile Fulani villages in the years since 1906 or so. The other Fulani villages moreover, even when non-Mahdist, appear to have been frequently the scene of seditious talk, and to have been on occasion under surveillance of troops.

69. The circumstances of these people are again different from those of the shifting labour population of the settlements in the west. On the Blue Nile above Makwar the great majority are permanent settlers, though there is a considerable floating population, especially through Mai Wurno's villages, which are conveniently near the Makwar Dam, the railway at Sennar, and the Gezira area.

70. Nevertheless the appearance of these settlements does not give the impression of much greater prosperity than in those in the West. The settlements both of Mai Wurno and Ahmadu are untidy villages straggling along the western bank of the river. Ahmadu's village has a pleasant situation, as the surrounding country is fairly wooded. Mai Wurno had two or three mud buildings in his compound, but otherwise the houses, fences, etc., in both are entirely in grass. It is said that their crops are very good, while "tall" gum and benised find a demand for export. A fair number of cattle are owned, but practically no horses; in fact, the absence of numerous mares and ponies which would distinguish a Nigerian village of their type is most noticeable. It is probable that the cultivation of "rain cotton" will be a source of profit to these villages.

71. The settlements fall naturally into three groups. Those under Mai Wurno are the largest; Hillet Mai Wurno, population about 7,000, Wurro Bundu about 3,000, Shimola or Kauli with its hamlets on the Dinder, perhaps 2,000, and Marafa 300. (The Sokoto Fulani names will be recognised by Nigerian officers.) They are all in the Blue Nile province. Hillet Mai Wurno is better known to westerners as Sheikh Talaha, which is in reality an old village on the opposite eastern bank of the Nile, containing many "muwallidin" Takarir, and already mentioned above.

72. The settlements under Ahmadu of Messau are two, viz., Galgani, as called by the Arabs, or Damaturu, as called by the Messau people after their place of origin in Bornu, population about 3,000, and, quite near to it, Meshra el Khallak, about 1,500. These are in the Fung province, and further up the Nile than Mai Wurno's area.

73. The principal Mahdist villages are Sabun, or Umm Na'am, population about 1,000, and Sereyo, founded from Sabun, about 500, also both in the Fung Province.

74. There are also about 3,000 "muwallidin," and perhaps 500 immigrant Takarir living in other villages, including the Government station of Singa, capital of the Fung Province.

Mai Wurno.

75. Of the inhabitants of these settlements, the initially most important element is the body of Sokoto Fulani who follow Mai Wurno. But that has been comparatively little recruited from Nigeria since 1903, whereas the second element, the people from Bornu Nguderi, has been largely so recruited. Moreover, owing to the quarrelling between Mai Wurno and Ahmadu, a good many of the latter's following who were once settled with Mai Wurno have left him and gone to live with Ahmadu. Mai Wurno's own town is actually smaller than it used to be.

76. Muhammad Bello, Mai Wurno, is the fifth son of At-Tahiru, Sultan of Sokoto, killed at Burmi. Mai Wurno was then a young man of about 25.† Of his elder brothers, he states that the eldest and third were captured at Burmi and returned to Sokoto, where they still are; the fourth was killed at Burmi; the second, who was a hysterical creature, preceded Mai Wurno eastwards, and went to Mecca, returned to Sokoto, and died there or en route; a younger brother also preceded Mai Wurno eastwards, went to Mecca, and remained there.

* An inferior gum.

† See also para. 23.

77. It has been sometimes understood, and even expressed in official papers, that Mai Wurno, were he in Nigeria, would possibly be Sultan of Sokoto. This is, I think, a misconception, for he could scarcely have been considered for this position in preference to his uncle, Mohammadu Mai Turare, who succeeded in 1915 and died in 1924. Even in his own family, as has been already noted, there are two elder brothers still living in Sokoto, and, had Mai Wurno been captured and returned to Sokoto like them in 1903, it is unlikely he would have been in a position of the first importance. It is therefore rather accident that has brought Mai Wurno into the prominent position he occupies, as Takarir in the Sudan who do not like him, *e.g.*, Ahmadu of Messau, are not slow to point out.

78. Mai Wurno explains his title as being in accordance with a Sokoto custom whereby, as Wurno was founded by Sultan Bello, and is historically connected with him, it was usual for a son of the reigning Sultan, if named Bello, to be called Mai Wurno. (Mai here means "holder of," "fiefholder of.")

79. Mai Wurno is a man of 49, notably dark, being the son of a concubine. He is fairly tall and thin, and not very prepossessing in appearance as he has prominent teeth. He is talkative, and much lacking in the dignity and restraint which would characterise a Nigerian chief of standing. I should say he was vain and pretentious and something of a braggart. Nevertheless he is not a bad type of his class. He has the "political" outlook of a Fulani chief. He seemed to me to be intelligent and *rusé*, while the circumstances of his position have presumably caused him to employ deceit, both to natives and to Europeans, as a natural arm. On the whole his personality is likeable and his abilities not inconsiderable. His chief fault is that he has been, and probably is, ready to flirt with any scheming which promises aggrandisement to himself. Nor has he the strength of character to resist the temptation to abuse to some degree small administrative powers given to him, or to prevent his subordinates from doing so.

80. The official position of Mai Wurno is rather indefinite. He is neither an "omdah" (Nigerian village headman), nor a "nazir" (Nigerian district headman), but is generally accorded the title of "Sultan," though not quite officially, and the use of this title has been, I believe, discouraged by the central Government. He has authority of a petty kind (*e.g.*, for the purposes of the collection of taxes) over all the Takarir in the Sennar division. This includes apparently control over Bornu and non-Sokoto Fulani and Hausa. He is, in effect, a "headman of nomads," as chiefs of this kind are used in the Sudan Administration, but the official powers under the "Nomad Sheikhs Ordinance" have not been extended to him. His treatment by the Sudan Government has varied greatly. But even had the policy of the Government been much more consistent than it has, the inherent difficulties of his position are such that none but a superman could have made a real success of it. As it is, his authority is unwelcome to many of the Takarir, other than those of Sokoto origin; Bornu people do not stay under him for choice, and many of the Fulani and Hausa from eastern Nigeria have left him and gone to Ahmadu, or elsewhere.

81. His excursion to the Athara, to found a colony near the Abyssinian border (*vide infra*) in the "rain cotton" area, had roused various rumours among the Takarir of the Mefaza-Gedaref region. This was mostly to the effect that they were now going to have in him a "Sultan" of their own. This prospect, while welcome to some, appeared just as definitely disliked by others, who saw no reason why they should put themselves thus immediately under a Sokoto chief.

Ahmadu of
Messau.

82. Ahmadu of Messau is a charming and garrulous old gentleman of 59, pleasant-featured, white-bearded, and very spare of body. He is lacking, as is Mai Wurno, in the restraint and dignity which characterises a Nigerian Emir of his standing. In character he is probably impulsive and deficient in the ability to foresee and consider. He appears to be quite without bitterness or regrets over the defeat of the Fulani intransigents at Burmi. He spoke to me with much candour of his part, even when discreditable to his own courage, in the events at Burmi, and with much vivacity also repeated verbatim conversations with the Sultan At-Tahiru, with Bashir, Sarikin Melle, with Bello, younger brother of Nagwamache, Sarikin Sudan, Emir of Kontagora, and with Magajin Keffi, the murderer of Captain Moloney. He described also how his brother Al Hajji had seized the sovereignty in Messau before the flight of At-Tahiru from Sokoto, and how he himself was at war with Al Hajji, trying to regain the upper hand, when he was swept up by At-Tahiru in his journey eastwards. He maintains the old Messau title of Sarikin Bornu,* which has sometimes led to misconception of him as an ex-Sultan of Bornu. He told me that he left Mecca (where he lived from 1904-1914) because his sons and followers were leaving him there.

The Mahdist
villages on
the Blue Nile
and the
White Nile.

83. The Takarir Mahdists on the Blue Nile are found principally in Sabun (or Umm Na'am) and Sereyo, but some are also found in the other villages. Sabun is on the eastern bank of the Nile, above Hillet Mai Wurno and Sheikh Talaha, and Sereyo on the western bank, further south above Ahmadu's town. Sereyo was founded from Sabun.

84. I found in these villages a very great preponderance of people of Bornu Nguderi, whose coming east dates from 25-20 years ago. Even some who were Sokoto men had had in Nigeria some connection with Bornu Nguderi, e.g., the headman of Sabun who had been an agent of the Sultan of Sokoto in Messau. Jibrella's men are of course numerous in proportion, and so are Hayatu's men from Adamawa, but there are many who had not been Mahdists in the West and had become converted to it in recent years, e.g., the headman of Sabun who had come there with the younger brother of Mai Wurno, now in Arabia. It will be remembered that in the second Burmi affair there was a section of Mahdists, remnants of Jibrella's following, who attempted, without success, to persuade the Sultan of Sokoto to embrace Mahdism, but who nevertheless had no little share in instigating the fight made there against the Nigerian troops. This missionary activity of Fulani Mahdists seems to have continued on the Niles.

* The emirs of Messau maintain a courtesy title of Sarikin Bornu (chief of Bornu) in memory of the capture of the Bornu capital in 1808 by the first emir.

85. In fact, it seems clear to me that these Fulani Mahdists on the Niles have been a leaven which has kept alive a spirit of religious fanaticism and of unrest among the whole Takarir community in the Sudan. On the Blue Nile, particularly, circumstances have made this evident. There was the accident of the residence of numbers of "muwallidin" Takarir, many of whom were Mahdists and had gone through the exciting times of the Mahdia. Their presence on the Blue Nile attracted the first Mahdist refugees, who in turn brought the second Burmi "hijra"* in their train and so the snowball has grown. In the result the settlements on the Blue Nile, whether Mahdist or under Mai Wurno, have been frequently the cause of anxiety to political officers in this region. In fact it is, I think, this leaven of Mahdists which has kept fermenting among Fulani generally the ideas of a Fulani "hijra," and the building of a Fulani empire in the East.

86. This is a matter which will be dealt with in another part of this report. It is mentioned as it explains an interesting and very natural feature of these Blue Nile Mahdist settlements. It is that individual Fulani who have troubled public security in the Sudan have, in every instance I could trace, had their residence at some time in this community of the Blue Nile Mahdists and remained in touch with them. Faki Abakr, who led a rising on the Atbara in 1914, in which (Major) Conry Bey was killed; Ahmadu Dumbe, who fought the Government troops at Gedir in 1915; Mohammad Nur Isa, deported to Wadi Halfa in 1916; "Sambo Sambo," who rushed the Government post at Kassala, and was killed in 1919, are among the most prominent. Then there is the mysterious figure of a Faki Najma-ed-Din, who flits across the scene on every rumoured trouble among the Takarir. In 1915 a certain Fatime Bint Idris, wife of the Mahdi, and said to have been a Takruri woman, visited Sabun, collecting gifts from the Takarir. A particularly interesting figure is that of Imam Tukur, who was Jibrella's Imam at Burmi in 1902, and who lived some years at Sabun, where he entertained the Mahdi's wife in 1915. He founded, or was the instigator in the founding of Sereyo, was under surveillance and detention by the Governor of the Fung Province, was active in recent years in fomenting the Aba Island pilgrimage, and, without permission from the Government, left the Fung Province and went himself to Aba Island on the White Nile, near where he is still said to be.

87. The settlements on the White Nile are probably less important in the history of the matter, owing to the absence of important Takarir settlements there previous to recent years.

88. In recent years, however, Takarir have become numerous at Aba and on the banks of the White Nile nearby. This has been particularly so since the impetus to Mahdist propaganda from about 1917.

89. It is clear that the activities of the preachers of the Aba pilgrimage were having much success among Takarir up to 1923, and that a large Takarir colony was there growing up. I understand that considerable numbers of Takarir were turned out of Aba, and the other steps taken to discourage the "pilgrimage" checked the movement. A considerable number of these Takarir have settled on the banks of the White Nile near Aba.

* Hijra—emigration, i.e., in imitation of the "hijra" of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina.

90. The Takarir on Aba are apparently busily engaged with other westerners on building a brick house for Abderrahman, and two who had lived there until recently gave me the hardness of the work as their reason for leaving.

91. The Takarir at Aba and Kosti appeared to be imbued with a real spirit of religious zeal and bigotry.* I heard more of the extreme phrases of Mahdism, and more fantastic nonsense about Abderrahman, son of the Mahdi, of his influence over the Sudan Government, of the inability of the Government to do anything against his will or interest, of his miraculous birth, of his supernatural power in defying attempts promoted by Government to kill him (*sic*), etc., etc., from the Takarir met with at Aba and Kosti than I have heard of anywhere else.

92. Incidentally, I found these Takarir, with exceptions, much less candid and ready to talk than those on the Blue Nile. The Sabun and Sereyo Fulani were, in contrast, demonstratively effusive in their reception to me. The Mahdists of Sabun escorted me *en masse* to the ferry-boat on the Nile, and those of Sereyo refused to let me depart without an enthusiastic tea-party at which most men in the village came to shake hands with me, and insistent offerings of rams to my servants. This did not prevent the headman of Sabun, alleged by others to be in the pay of the Intelligence Department, serving up to me the most transparent prevarications to some of my questions, and the headman of Sereyo supplying a false name for Imam Tukur for my benefit.

93. In fact, I found the Fulani Mahdists of the Blue Nile a community very refreshing and amusingly alive. Of all the Takarir I met in the Sudan I found them the happiest in their lot.

Makwar and
the Gezira.

94. Contrary to my expectations I found the numbers of Takarir working at Makwar comparatively unimportant. I was informed everywhere that experience has shown that the Egyptian, or "Saidi," as it is called, labour is admirable for earth-shifting and such heavy work, and is worth the high wages it demands. The idea of using the cheaper Takarir for this kind of work, which was envisaged at one time, appears to have been abandoned. I found the same thing at Kassala on the Gash irrigation works.

95. Accordingly, as I was informed, there have been latterly not more than about 1,000 Takarir working on and about the dam. They have been more engaged on outside casual work in connection with the dam operations, *e.g.*, supplying wood. With the completion of the dam, the Takarir settlement at Makwar and Sennar will probably dwindle greatly.

96. Takarir labour is more in its natural element in cultivation work on the Gezira, where it is hired by private Arab landholders, as well as by the Sudan Plantations Syndicate directly to some extent. There are probably not less than 4,000 Nigerian Takarir (with women and children) on the Gezira, the men and some of the women being engaged on casual labour. The numbers of Borgu and similar races from Darfur and Wadai, which are still more difficult for me to estimate, may well be 1,500, and perhaps much more.

* Their numbers are of course an outcome of the "pilgrimage" to Aba movement, fomented by the Mahdist organisation, and one of the main features of the recent Mahdist revival. The device of a "pilgrimage" to gather religious fanatics in a desired place is an old one. A good example is the annual pilgrimage at Easter of Mohammedans to a "Moses's tomb" near Jerusalem.

97. The labour is practically entirely of the casual order, the labourers living in conditions of some squalor. The demand for labour is not constant throughout the year, and the numbers must vary greatly from time to time. I understand that at present the local landholders can carry out most of the work necessary during the greater part of the year, but that twice a year, for cleaning the ground and for picking, there is a need for casual labour.

98. Moreover, the rate of extension of the Gezira cotton area as has been envisaged depends, I understand, on a large supply of casual labour being available. It has been hoped that the Takarir will supply the bulk of this. I have been told it is unlikely they will be needed as settlers or landholders, as the local population are expected to take up land in sufficient numbers for that. Twenty thousand has been mentioned as the figure required as casual labourers annually on the Gezira when the scheme develops. That, however, is a matter of the future.

99. Wad Medani, the capital of the Blue Nile province, has a small permanent Takarir colony of the usual nondescript and shabby character. It lives, no doubt, partly on the considerable volume of pilgrim traffic which passes through the Gezira in one direction or the other. I found here a considerable collection of Bornu preparing to return westwards and complaining greatly of their difficulties.

100. It will be inferred from the position of the Takarir on the Blue Nile that in that region of the Sudan they have become settlers and have already acquired some sort of right over land not occupied by local Sudanese communities. As a matter of fact, the local depopulation caused by the Mahdia and the immigration of groups of westerners during the Mahdia appears to have resulted in a breakdown of ideas of tribal land holding on any large scale, and the shadowy land rights of the old Fung rulers have lost any reality. All this has facilitated the installation of groups of westerners on the land as settlers.

Takarir
taking up
land.

101. This process has a special interest in the region west of the Blue Nile to the Abyssinian border towards Mefaza, Gedaref, Gallabat and the upper Atbara. For, as I understand, no region of the Sudan has so much suffered from the loss of life caused by the Mahdia. Land is therefore available, and it is hoped to develop all this region as a rain-grown cotton area with settlements of cultivators in addition to the sparse nomad population.

102. The extension of the Takarir Blue Nile settlements from the Blue Nile to the Rahad and the Dinder is therefore natural, and the same process is going on in the area of Mefaza and Gedaref.

103. There appears to be perhaps over 2,000 Takarir in the region of Mefaza, and perhaps 800 round Gedaref. These centres lie on the land route for pilgrims from the Blue Nile to Kassala and Suakin, and to Abyssinia and Eritrea.

M-faza and
Gedaref.

104. The Takarir round Mefaza are for the most part comparatively newcomers, and even where not permanent settlers they are farming pending their proceeding on a further stage on their journey east or west. They present therefore an appearance of more permanent settlement than may be really true.

105. Moreover, in this very thinly populated region, they appear a proportionately bigger element in the population than elsewhere.

106. I found the people composing the Mefaza settlements to be principally Hausa and that a considerable proportion of them had left Nigeria since 1910.

107. Round Gedaref, on the contrary, there is a big proportion of Takarir, including many Bornu, who have been a lifetime in the region, a feature mentioned also in the notes on Kassala. Newcomers go to Mefaza, *v. supra*, and Kassala, *v. infra*.

108. In both the Mefaza and the Gedaref districts the Takarir are in small villages near the Government station rather than resident at the district headquarters themselves. This is again one result of the fact that here they are less casual labourers than cultivators.

109. There is, moreover, a very notable feature in the Gedaref-Mefaza region in the settlement of numerous Borgu, Fur, and Massalit. Their presence here appears to be largely due to historical reasons, for large numbers seem to have been brought from Darfur during the Mahdia. Newcomers appear to be plentiful enough as well. This community of westerners is a more important element in the population than the Nigerian Takarir. There appear in fact to be two Borgu "nazirs." I have unfortunately no statistics of these communities.

110. The greater part of the Takarir in this region being poorer class peasants, the political intriguing and the religious enthusiasms of the Fulani on the Niles are less in evidence. Nevertheless, disturbing gossip which distinguishes these people in the East so much more than their own class in the West was certainly prevalent, and the districts have been visited by two or three of the Mahdist go-betweens between the Nile and the west.

111. Another feature, however, became here evident to me in the relations between the Takarir immigrants and the local communities. Here I heard, for the first time, an undercurrent of opposition to the Takarir settlement, and, in place of the usual contempt of the Nile Sudani for the miserable westerner, more than a hint of dislike of the bumptiousness of the Fulani with their talk of "Othman dan Fodio and his book," and their "prophesied Fulani empire in the East." The taking up of land by them as settlers is, I think, definitely disliked by the Arabs. It might be thought that with ample land and so little population the dislike is unreasonable and springs from racial causes only. I think there is more in it than that however. For in any pastoral nomad country the ideas of what is "sufficient" land are somewhat liberal. Further, in this case, as everywhere in Africa, the pastoral Arab likes to live on the uplands away from rivers in the wet season and in the dry season to return to the proximity of the river banks, which they use comparatively little for farming. They have then a reason to object when they see the banks being taken up by farmers, particularly of another and a despised race, whose settlements will limit their dry season grazing and watering grounds. This is what appears to me to be occurring in the Mefaza-Gedaref area.

112. Moreover, in a region so thinly populated, the proportion of Takarir becomes high. It appears, for example, that 15 per cent. of the population of the Mefaza district are already Nigerian Takarir alone. The important elements of Borgu, Massalit and other westerners, for which I have no figures, may also be classed generally with the Nigerians, as against the local Arabs, and make this question of a clash of races in the region the more real.

113. It was therefore scarcely surprising to hear that a project for Mai Wurno to found a settlement of his people on the Atbara above Gedaref had not been well received by local native opinion.

114. This proposal is rather interesting. Mai Wurno had been asked to visit this region and choose a site for a Fellata settlement. It was not proposed, however, that he move himself from the Blue Nile, but that he appoint an agent to control the new settlement independently. Gedaref is in a different province from Hilet Mai Wurno. I could not myself discover what real *quid pro quo* Mai Wurno was to get for this pioneering effort. Nevertheless, the scheme was carried through. Mai Wurno chose a site on the Atbara north of Gedaref, which, however, was refused him on the ground that it would lead inevitably to trouble between the Arabs and the new settlers. He then went on to a site near Gallabat on the Abyssinian border. In deference to a protest from the local Arab "nazir," I understand the Governor of Kassala province limited the settlement to fifty men. If the locality proves suitable, however, it will be surprising if this limit can be maintained.

115. At Kassala to even a greater extent than at Gedaref an old colony of Takarir is a notable feature. The nucleus of this colony, as in the one at Gedaref, appears to be Magume Kanuri, who left Bornu at various times in chagrin at the domination established by the Kanemi dynasty. I heard, for example, from one informant of a caravan of about 4,000 souls reaching Darfur in about 1878, the members of which had left Bornu in small numbers, deliberately to avoid detection, with rendezvous in Wadai. I found in Kassala all the older towns of eastern Bornu well represented, like Ndufu, Mijigene, Uje.

116. I gathered that many Takarir had been caught up in Kassala and Gedaref by the Italian and Abyssinian wars and by the Mahdia, so that gradually a nucleus of Takarir colonies had been created.

117. There are, however, many small settlements of newcomers principally outside Kassala town, and they are increasing quickly in numbers and size with the development of the Kassala cotton area. Of the Nigerian newcomers, most are poorer class Hausa; of the rest, many are Bornu and few Fulani. They are engaged in cultivation work in the Gash delta under the Syndicate; but some of the Bornu give their attention rather to the growing of corn than of cotton. The actual work of canalisation and other heavy irrigation work is done by Egyptians.

118. I understand that in the assignment of land local people who wish to take up land receive preference to some extent, but that they have been slow to take to cotton cultivation; whereas the westerners have been quick to do so and are by nature better cultivators. I was, in fact, told that for the last reason westerners received sometimes preference from the Syndicate.

119. There is, however, a general land question at Kassala apart from the particular one of western immigrants competing with local races. This is the extent to which the cotton development must inevitably exclude from the Gash delta the local Hadendoa cattle owners. This cattle-owning community is by far the principal element in the local population. These people are not by nature cultivators like the people of the Gezira, and are unlikely to take up the manual work of cotton cultivation to any large extent, certainly not in the immediate future. To them the Gash delta is of course, as in all such dry countries, a very valuable dry season grazing and watering ground, especially in a drought year. Yet apparently the whole delta has been handed over to the Syndicate for development as an irrigation cotton area.

120. The matter touches Nigeria remotely enough perhaps, but I think it deserves to be mentioned for it illustrates the extent to which the "cotton policy," with its demand for cultivators of the type of immigrant Nigerian Takarir in numbers which local pastoral peoples will not supply, may be pushed.

121. Nevertheless, there does not seem to have been evoked so far any particular expression of opposition to the operations of the Syndicate. Presumably the cattle-owners are pleased to get better prices for their cattle and have not fully realised what the results of the development will be.

122. Nor, I think, is it this which is responsible for the general spirit of ill-will towards Government and towards every other section of the community which I could not help observing in the old settlers among the Nigerian Takarir and to which I refer later.

123. There is also on the Gash delta a colony of Melle Fulani who have reverted to their traditional life as cattle herdsman. They arrived from West Africa about 1911, as far as I could gather, and may be part of that immigration from the Upper Niger mentioned in paragraph 11, but some may have been here much longer. They began by herding cattle for the Hadendoa and in the way usual among nomads have obtained cattle of their own. Their numbers were given me as 69 families, which may represent some 300 people. It is probable that their numbers are much larger than that.

124. The numbers of Takarir in or near Kassala is returned as 2,601, including Borgu. I should myself put the number at at least 2,500 Nigerian Takarir in Kassala itself and at least as many outside Kassala. It is, however, very difficult to estimate even roughly the numbers on the delta as the villagers have been up to date of a shifting character. Some of these, it should be said, are taking on a more permanent character. The Borgu I estimated at at least 500 in Kassala, of whom half are settlers of long standing, and there are probably not less than that outside.

125. The total numbers of Takarir, therefore, in the Kassala province cannot be less than 10,000, which is already 11 per cent. of the total population of the

126. In the Red Sea Province, the principal settlements of Takarir are at Tokar, Port Sudan, and Suakin. There is also a very small colony at Sinkat (the hot season villegiature of Port Sudan and Suakin), and there are a number of labourers on the Ghabeit gold mines in the sparsely populated northern part of the province, of whose numbers and racial composition I have no exact information. The Red Sea Province.

127. Estimated figures of population are available which are more reliable than in most provinces of the Sudan. These record 3,318 in Tokar, 642 in Port Sudan, 386 in Suakin and 12 in Sinkat, and though numbers fluctuate greatly during the year and from year to year, they are, I think, a correct index of the normal Takarir population in the Red Sea Province.

128. The Takarir quarter at Port Sudan is a miserable and nondescript settlement situated a mile or so outside the modernised town of Port Sudan. The sheikh, one of the superior types of Fulani refugees from Burmi, is an ex-Sokoto "jekada." The people are all casual labourers in the town: almost none work in the docks, where, however, Hadendoa do work to some extent. There is, curiously enough, a separate settlement of Bagirmi men.

129. The settlement at Suakin lives on the pilgrim traffic through that port. In 1925 it was at a low ebb and suffering from the loss of the customary pickings off the pilgrims. The sheikh* is an Adamawa man and was at a Koran school in Katagum when caught up in the Burmi Jihad. He succeeded a sheikh imprisoned for slave dealing in 1914-1915, and has done useful work for the administration. He gets a salary and a fee for each pilgrim passing through, for which he performs certain duties. He is not above taking perquisites, and for this and other reasons I heard many expressions of cordial detestation of him by other Takarir, especially in Jeddah.

130. Tokar is a very important centre for Takarir in the Sudan. For here the development of irrigation cotton brings annually for a few months a year a great deal of money. It would, therefore, appear easy for a pilgrim here to gather together cash for the payment of the Suakin fees for himself and his dependents or for his return journey, as the case may be. The facilities are, however, less than they appear, for living is dear and the money is often spent almost as quickly as it is earned. In fact, I was told by many informants that within a few weeks of the close of the cotton season very little of the wealth gained remains in Tokar. A great many of the people, it should be added, leave Tokar for other places. Social demoralisation is very obvious and native authority, whether administrative or parental, seems at a low ebb. During the Ramadan festival I saw an amount of gambling by machine, drinking and other civilised pleasures, which must be uncommon among Africans of the type of the inhabitants of this town.

131. The Takarir quarter is particularly squalid. Tokar, it should be said, suffers during the summer months (after May) from a peculiarly objectionable species of sandstorm, which simply buries houses, railway lines, etc., and brings the active life of the place almost to a standstill. The Takarir quarter, being situated in the worst position to windward, suffers most. In the result, the quarter is like a village

* Died 1928.

of Troglodytes. Some of the houses are almost buried and the inhabitants crawl into their compounds through small holes. In some places the street is on a level with the tops of the huts.

132. The numbers given, viz., 3,318 (1,200 adult males), are less than I had expected to find in Tokar, especially as it is generally considered that the cotton industry in Tokar would be seriously affected if without this labour supply. Nevertheless, from what I saw and heard, I cannot put the numbers higher.

133. I incline to think that the actual numbers of Takarir at Tokar are actually decreasing. This is partly due to the fact that local natives, the Beni Amer, a tribe similar to the Hadendoba, have taken to cotton cultivation. The Takarir find it therefore much harder than they did to get land to work themselves and many have, as in the Gezira, to work for local landholders. In fact, the local people appear to be claiming this land as against the alien, and—very rightly—get their claims recognised by the administration.

134. Of the Takarir who have left Tokar many have gone to the Blue Nile and some to Mefaza and Kassala.

135. In Tokar the great majority of the Takarir are Hausa, with a nucleus of Bornu long resident here. Fulani are also numerous. There are some Borgu and, curiously enough, a little group of Bornu of Boullong, a pagan town on the borders of Wadai and Bagirmi, where there is an old Magume Kanuri settlement. There are also in Tokar a number of people who had been many years in the Hejaz and have left during the war.

Takarir in the Hejaz.

136. The Takarir in the Hejaz are principally in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah. If information given me in Jeddah is reliable there are about 3,000 in Mecca and about 2,000 in Medina. In Jeddah I estimated the number at about 1,000. In these communities Hausa are generally most numerous, Bornu, however, being also numerous in Mecca but Fulani comparatively few. There are, however, in Medina, many Melle Fulani, partly of long residence, partly in recent years attracted to go to the Alfa Hashim, and among these last are probably many of the Melle who entered the Sudan in about 1908-1909. The total numbers in the Hejaz have decreased considerably by emigration to the Sudan since 1914.

137. I visited the settlement at Jeddah. It is situated on a slight rise outside and south-east of the town walls. It is a warren of tumble-down grass huts littered with old clothes, bones, tin cans and rubbish of every kind. In fact, old tin cans distinguish this camp at Jeddah as they distinguish some South African "native locations." In Jeddah, moreover, the climate rusts up and rots every piece of metal not sedulously kept clean. A Bornu pilgrim, whom I knew in Bornu as a respectable merchant, showed me his lodging for which he paid 1/6d. a night; it was a crazy shelter of old grass, patched on one side with an old pair of trousers and on the other with pieces of rusty kerosine cans; in it one adult might just huddle himself up. Similar settlements of pilgrim camps for poor pilgrims of other races, and of Beduin under Hashimite protection refuging from Ibn Saud, adjoin. Javans* and other pilgrims of good class lodge in the town.

* Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies form the most numerous group of pilgrims coming from overseas to Jeddah in recent years.

138. The inhabitants divide themselves as usual into three sections, Hausa, Bornu and Fulani, each under a Sheikh. The Hausa Sheikh was in reality a Nupe - born in Mecca ; his compound made some attempt at neatness and order and had quite a lot in it. He is, for a Takeruri, well off and a man of the world and has travelled much—Java, Penang, Singapore in the east and El Obeid in the West. He appeared to me the finished scoundrel. The Bornu Sheikh, a Magume pilgrim who left Bornu in 1881, is a less sophisticated rascal. His house is somewhat better than that of his Hausa confrère but the interior like a very untidy old clothes and rubbish stall. The house of the Fulani Sheikh, a Marua man and a refugee from the west after Burmi and follower of Mai Wurno, can only be described as a lair in a rubbish tip of rusty tin cans and kettles. He seems to have profited singularly little from the villainies with which gossip credits him and of which, if physiognomy has any value, I can readily believe him guilty.

139. Nevertheless, I was entertained by these folk in a most friendly way : on one occasion Takerir soldiers in uniform bustled up to do the honours at a gingerbeer drinking party at which I had to be the principal performer. I was also conducted with engaging friendliness to view from a distance, as it lay between the Hashimite defences and the Wahabi lines*, the burial place of a brother of the present Shehu of Bornu.

140. Some of these Takerir seemed to be quite happy in Jeddah, in particular women in decent households. Into two cases concerning such women I enquired on behalf of relations in the Sudan. In general, however, only poverty or crime keeps a Takeruri in Jeddah.

141. In Mecca and still more in Medina, conditions are said to be better. The holy places have attracted a permanent population, some of whom bear a reputation among their fellow Takerir for learning and piety. In the present circumstances of Jeddah, besieged by the Wahabis, I found it possible to hear little of the activities of Takerir irreconcilables who exist and who use this position, though, I think, in a desultory fashion, to inveigh against the " kafir " holders of their countries of origin. The chief personality, however, remains the Alfa Hashim, who is the apostle of order and obedience to established government.

142. In Jeddah town I was entertained to dinner by the Takerir officers of the Hashimite army. At this interesting function my hosts were all young men who had been in the Hejaz since boyhood, and had served some years in the Hejaz army. They said they numbered about 60 all told in the Hejaz forces. Many, they said, had been killed or captured at Taif†. They expressed themselves quite happy and contented, saying they were much better off than if they were working as casual labourers. They spoke in praise of the administration of the Hashimites and of the Turks and condemned the wickedness of the Beduin. They said they were quite willing to serve King Ali until the end of the war, but unwilling to follow him out of the Hejaz. They gave me their rates of pay and said they got it fairly regularly, and they were all of them dressed in serviceable uniforms.

* Jeddah was besieged closely by the Wahabi forces at the time of my visit, May, 1925.

† A town captured from the Hashimites by the Wahabis in September, 1924, at which excesses were committed.

143. These statements should not be taken as of much value as reflecting the general state of the Takarir in the Hejaz. But while it is true that there has always been much ill-treatment of Takarir—conscription, seizure and sale of slaves, etc.—should be recognised, I think, that many of them who stay long in the Hejaz live quite happily there as they find their place in the population. This would appear to be particularly so at Medina, where apparently the Takarir live in the town and not in an outside quarter.

144. The question of the Takarir in the Hejaz is further dealt with in my notes on the pilgrim traffic.

**Takarir in
Abyssinia and
Eritrea.**

145. I heard a good deal of gossip among Takarir about settlements in Abyssinia and Eritrea and had some conversation with the Italian consul of Jeddah, who belonged to the civil service of Eritrea. The pilgrim route via Massowa is a matter of some importance especially as it is agreed that a good many more pilgrims are following this route since the fees at Suakin were raised. Amongst the Takarir I heard that many pilgrims on hearing of the difficulty in crossing the Red Sea via Massowa had remained in Eritrea and found work on farms and on irrigation works. The Italian administration is generally well spoken of among them.

146. In Abyssinia, too, I heard talk of two large settlements of Takarir and quite frequently of individuals among the Sudan Takarir visiting Abyssinia, generally for some purpose connected with slave dealing. Again, however, I am quite unable to give details.

147. On the whole I estimate the Takarir in Abyssinia and in Eritrea at perhaps 3,000. This number is probably abnormally high owing to the recent diversion of some pilgrims to the routes other than via Suakin.

**Takarir in
Arabia,
Palestine,
Syria,
Turkey and
Iraq.**

148. In Arabia, Palestine and Syria there are not a few Takarir of servile status and some few pilgrims to holy places, e.g., Jerusalem. I met two men who had been in Constantinople, and a person of my acquaintance conversed with a Bornu man in Jerusalem employed as a doorkeeper in the Temple area. I saw also the papers of not a few who had been to Iraq (to the shrine of Abdulkadir el Jilani)*, Damascus and Aleppo, etc. No guess at the numbers of these persons is in any way possible.

**Takarir in
Egypt.**

149. More important are the Takarir in Egypt. Nigerians with whom I conversed in Cairo estimated their total numbers in Egypt at about two hundred. A list made out by one of them likely to be well informed gives sixty-one families in Lower Egypt of which forty-one were in Cairo. The distribution of these in the towns of Lower Egypt was given to me as follows: In Cairo, seventeen Al Azhar students and twenty-four others; in Alexandria, nine; in Zagazig, six; in Suez, three; and in Ismailia, two. In Upper Egypt I also met one elderly Bornu man on the station platform at Assuan, who is resident there. Some of these Nigerians have taken out papers at the Cairo Consulate as British subjects, or as "British Protected persons," and I asked H.B.M.'s Consul to supply the Nigerian Government with a list of them.

* Founder of the Kadiriya sect, which is strong in Nigeria.

150. In addition to these there are many slaves and ex-slaves of Nigerian origin and even Nigerian birth. For example, I saw one young woman whose father had been a Bornu man, an ex-slave who had freed himself and left an inheritance in land to his daughter. The mother had been an Egyptian. There are also a number of Nigerian women in the Mugharbalin quarter, as it was called to me, who seem to be; or have been, harem slaves, and now make a good living as "bori"* dancers, sorcerers, women's doctors, retailers of aphrodisiacs and so on. I was informed there were about fifty of them in Cairo. One whom I met was a pleasant and typical Hausa woman of mature age.

151. The majority of these Nigerians follow callings which, where not definitely criminal, are disreputable or, where honest, humble. Two murderers and four thieves were indicated to me, as well as two beggars, two drunkards, and no less than twenty charm sellers and sorcerers. The Takturi has an undoubted reputation in Egypt as a caster of spells, as a compounder of medicines, aphrodisiacs and poisons, and as a cheap-jack necromancer. Messenger, porter, soldier, sweet-seller, bead-seller, servant, are other professions given. On the other hand, I met one opulent looking Hausa, an ex-sergeant in the West African Frontier Force, living a life of easy comfort on the fortunes of his wife, a one-time harem attendant, three full-blooded Bornu men of decent type, more or less genuine students at Al Azhar, and four respectable looking merchants in a small way, also two young men who were chemists' assistants, while I heard of another who was interpreter in the Customs in Port Said. The Sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak"† in Al Azhar was a young man of some presence and personality. I believe the former Sheikh, who died some ten years ago, was also a man of decent standing.

152. Of the place of origin of these Nigerians, it may be interesting to note that, as in the Sudan, the western regions of Nigeria are poorly represented. I traced one man only of the Sokoto region, a Melle Fulani, one from Katsina, and two Yorubas. As in the Sudan, it is eastern Nigeria and that region which before the Fulani conquest of the Hausa states formed greater Bornu, that is the home of most of the eastward-wandering Nigerians. For example, Gumel, Damagaram, Matsena, Munio, Katagum, Mandara, Jemare (in Cameroon) are all represented as well as modern Bornu proper.

153. No doubt there is an interesting story to be told of the history of the Bornu "ruwak" in Al Azhar. I am afraid the facts may be lost and I was far too short a time in Cairo to be able to suggest where they may be elicited. The place which Bornu once widely held in the knowledge of North Africa and the East as synonymous with the region now comprised by much of the French Colonie du Tchad, the French Colonie du Niger, and British Northern Nigeria, it still retains in Cairo. The section in Al Azhar into which all West Africans, in fact, all students hailing from west of Wadai, are enrolled, is the "ruwak barnawiya," which is shown in a printed list given me by the registrars as ninth of the sixteen "foreign" "ruwaks" in the University.

* A kind of hysterical seizure deliberately provoked.

† Ruwak—nation or section; students at Al Azhar are grouped in ruwaks according to their country of origin.

154. An experience of my own is also illustrative. I visited the monastery of the Bektashi dervishes, which is situated behind Cairo on the edge of the Mokattam hills, and fell into conversation with the venerable-looking brother on duty. He spoke of the visitors with whom he had conversed and who had come from far countries, and asked me whence I came. I said from very far away "in the negro lands of the West," and he immediately replied with the query, "from Bornu?" and went on to say that he knew of the country from the books he had read.

155. Be that as it may, Bornu is no longer a recruiting ground for Nigerians in Egypt save for an occasional returning pilgrim. Hausa and Fulani, again nearly all returning pilgrims, are more numerous; but genuine searchers after learning at the fount of Al Azhar are few and far between, nor would it appear that they are encouraged.

156. The two principal centres of West Africans in Cairo are the Bornu "ruwaks" in the Al Azhar University and the mosque of Surur Agha.

The Bornu
"ruwak" in
Al Azhar.

157. The Bornu "ruwak" has always, I believe, as now, included all Al Azhar students from the countries of the Sudan belt west of Wadai.

158. Finding that there was a distinct lull in demonstrative anti-British propaganda if not in feeling in Cairo, I thought it feasible to visit the Al Azhar myself. I did so not in the guise of an official from Nigeria, but as an interested tourist, and I had a young Berberine student as my mentor and guide. I was most courteously received, and penetrated, as far as I knew, into every corner of the mosque, and into the living and studying rooms of every "ruwak." I was shown the manuscripts in the library by the Sheikh in charge, and was entertained to coffee and cigarettes by the registrars, who showed and explained to me the registers and the various certificates issued, and gave me a form showing the divisions into "ruwaks" and filling in for me the numbers in each. In many of the student rooms I entered I was asked to partake of coffee.

159. As it was explained to me there are forty "ruwaks" (for "ruwak," the mediæval university term of "nation," as still in use, for example in Scottish Universities, appears the best equivalent). Of these forty, twenty-four are "Masriyun" (Egyptian) and cover the native Egyptian students, and sixteen are "Gharbau" (foreign) and cover the students from outside Egypt. Apparently the full certificate of "alim," which qualifies the holder as a teacher, the third and highest certificate given, as I understand, can only be given to an Egyptian; it is a certificate of much consideration. Foreign students can get a certificate testifying to their attendance and studies only.

160. Of the sixteen foreign "ruwaks," only the Turkish, one hundred and eighty students; Syrian, three hundred; Mugharba (*i.e.*, Morocco, Algeria and Tunis), two hundred; and Javan (including Malaya, China, etc.), one hundred and fifty, are large. The others in order are:—The Haramain (Hejaz and neighbouring region), forty; Barabra (that is, the Berberine country), thirty; Sennar (most of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), twenty-one; Habarta (*i.e.*, the Somalilands, Abyssinia, Eritrea, etc.), twenty; Yemen, twenty; India, twenty; Bornu, seventeen; Kurd (Kurdistan and Central Asia), fifteen; Sulimania (*i.e.*, Afghanistan), seven; Soleih (*i.e.*, Dar Sila and Wadai), five; Ardofor (*i.e.*, Darfur), four; Baghdad, three. I am told that even ten years ago the Bornu numbered not less than forty.

161. Most of the "ruwaks" have rooms, one or several, assigned to them, in which there is generally a small library of books belonging to the mosque, and where students may keep their own books, hold conferences, or small lectures, and even live, sleep and eat. Students get a bread ration from the funds of the mosque, and the sheikhs of "ruwaks" are salaried. The Bornu "ruwak" has one room and a small set of books. I found in it some dozen boxes and cupboards with books of students and four men, three Bornu men and one Fulani, living in it. The Bornu sheikh gets £E. 1 p.m.

162. The "ruwaks" which would most interest Nigeria would appear the Sennar, the Soleih, the Ardofor, and the Bornu. The personalities in the Sennar "ruwak" are known to the Sudan Government Agent. The Darfur "ruwak" is moribund and no sheikh has been appointed to succeed the deceased holder of the office. The Soleih "ruwak," small as it is, is noteworthy for its sheikh, an ardent anti-European; though his "ruwak" is so much smaller than the Bornu, he gets £E. 5 p.m. I was told, as against the Bornu sheikh's £E. 1. It was suggested this favour was due to his political opinions; it is possible that it is due to the comparative wealth of the foundations.

163. I found in the Mugharbalin quarter a small mosque called by my informants "zawiyet Surur Agha,"* which is much frequented by Takarir. On going to it at the time of evening prayer, I met six decently dressed and respectable looking Nigerians collecting for the prayer. I had been informed that Surur Agha had been a Bornu man of Birni† origin, who had made money and left this mosque as a pious foundation for the use of Takarir. At the mosque, however, I was informed that Surur Agha had been a "nubai"‡ of unknown race, and had westerners in his service only, to whom as a class he wished to show his gratitude. On dying some ten years ago, he left the mosque and two houses and land to trustees for the benefit of westerners, the mosque for their use, the houses for their lodging or letting for revenue for their subsistence, and the land also similarly for revenue. It appears that though the mosque had been left to them to use, they have not received any benefit from the houses or land, and that though complaints have been made, and a law suit (?) initiated two years ago, nothing has been effected, and they have been threatened with eviction from the mosque. I heard as regards this one story that Umar Mohamman Nawwar (*v. infra*) offended the trustees, and another that a murder of a Somali committed in one of the houses (by Tunisians) had caused the revenue of one, or both, houses to be taken away from the Takarir.

The mosque
of Surur
Agha.

164. I had some conversation with these Nigerians which appeared to give them much pleasure, and I then accepted the invitation of one of them to go with him to see his house and family. Here all his neighbours were brought in to have coffee with me, including his landlord and one Upper Egyptian clerk in the offices of the Survey Department, who curiously enough indulged in a panegyric of the British head of his department.

165. The personalities of various individual Takarir and the circles in which they move have been treated in some detail in an Appendix to this report. The following details may be interesting. The Sheikh of the "ruwak" is a man who

* Mosque of Surur Agha—see note in Appendix C.

† Birni—Birnin Ngazargomo, capital of Bornu, circ. 1450—1808.

‡ Nubai—non-Arab Mohammedan.

claims to be a son of the Emir Aliyu, Emir of Kano at the time of the British occupation of Kano, who was deposed and exiled. He states that he fled to Bornu and then to Mecca from fear of the British. A Katagum man, of whom I had heard in the Sudan as "the Katagum Sheikh at Al Azhar," and his sons was also an interesting personality; he had left Katagum in 1911. One of his sons, together with a Fulani of Marua, who had been brought up in Tunis, have been the leaders of a small coterie of Takarir who are fond of talking anti-British sedition and take part in the political manifestations of the "students" of Cairo. Another man I met was a native of Bornu and had relations by correspondence with chiefs in the Chad region: he was well-informed as to the Kaossen revolt in the French Sudan. One Yoruba I met dealt in kolas imported from Nigeria and told me details of a visit of a member of Shitta family of Lagos to Cairo. Of natives of Wadai in Cairo and their journeyings and relations with their native land, some interesting details were to be heard. Of persons not actually natives of Nigeria but who would appear to have relations with the West or to have influence with Takarir in Cairo some notes are given in the Appendix, and are the subject of reference later in this report.

**Statistics of
the Takarir.**

166. To give any close estimate of the total number of Takarir in the East is not at all an easy matter. For the Sudan, such figures as appear to be available in the provinces or in the Intelligence Department are incomplete and rough estimates only, as the Sudan officers themselves are aware. In some provinces, such as the Red Sea, there are good approximate estimates based on definite figures of classified population. In others only figures of families or adult males are given, and sometimes there is no indication to what the figures refer.

167. However, those provinces for which I saw returns show a total of just under 20,000 persons. From observation in most of them I think 50 per cent. may be safely added to this, giving a total of 30,000. For the other provinces my own estimate—based in all but two cases on verbal estimates given me by District Commissioners—is 27,000. This gives a minimum figure of 57,000. I am sure, however, that it has to be increased greatly to cover the casuals drifting in and out of the settlements.

168. On these figures and a consideration of the annual migration of pilgrims as detailed (*infra* para 147 *et seq.*), I estimate the total number of West African Takarir at about 80,000 in the Sudan.

169. This includes Hausas of Damagaram and Fulani from Melle and North Cameroon, and in some cases Borgu of Wadai where they have not been sufficiently numerous, *e.g.*, in Mefaza, to stand out in communities of their own. It may include a few Fur and other negroid people of the Sudan itself, *e.g.*, at Suakin, but the numbers of these included are so insignificant as not to count. The figure excludes such "muwallidin" as the Ikka and the Ibba herdmen in Darfur, the old Fulani settlements on the Blue Nile, and, of course, sections of Fulani origin merged with the Baggara.

170. But it includes "muwallidin" who have become identified in community with the immigrants, *e.g.*, some at Kassala. Of such, some were born in the Hejaz. Again, the numbers of these are insignificant in the total.

171. For a very rough estimate of West African Takarir in the Sudan who have left the West since 1900 and are now in the Sudan, I put the numbers at about 80,000. Of these I should estimate more than half left before 1912.

172. The number of Takarir in the Sudan was estimated at 30,000 in 1912. Presumably this was a general figure irrespective of details of place of origin. I think this might be accepted for purposes of comparison. I can, in fact, only suggest that it may have been too low as the Takarir, the Fulani element particularly, were more scattered then than now. On the other hand, the numbers which had come into Arabia between 1900 and 1912 and stayed there were quite considerable.

In 1918 the estimate of Takarir in the Sudan was 50,000 or 60,000.

173. The Sudan appears therefore to have gained 50,000 Takarir in 13 years and, say, 25,000 in 7 years. Of these quite a number, I think, came from Arabia since 1914. Possibly during the first three years or so of the war also there was some check to movement from the west, accelerated later.

174. On the basis of these figures I estimate the gain to the Sudan by "settlement," more or less permanent, of West African Takarir, to be about 3,000 per annum, of which not less than 2,000 are from Nigeria.

175. The Sudan is gaining from French territory to the west in other ways, *e.g.*, settlers, particularly in Massalit, and an annual labour supply from Borgu, some of which may stick, *e.g.*, at Mefaza. But this is a separate matter.

176. The total of 80,000 is therefore a very rough estimate of the number of Takarir in and about the Takarir settlements at any one time. If this figure is much too low, then the Sudan statistics must be ludicrously inaccurate. That it is not too high will, I think, be evident from the figures touching the pilgrim traffic.

177. To it, however, should be added perhaps 10,000 to cover the Takarir in the Hejaz, Abyssinia and Eritrea, Egypt and other countries, giving a total of 90,000.

178. These figures, a total of 90,000 in the east and an annual increase of 3,000, do not seem large in comparison with the relatively thick population of West Africa. The real criterion, however, of the matter is the proportion which remain in the east of the total numbers normally leaving the west.

179. From observations at both ends, in Bornu and on the Red Sea, I cannot put the figures of "pilgrims" passing annually east of the Shari and Lake Chad at present at less than 8,000. This is much larger than the traffic from Suakin, but many "pilgrims" go and even return without having seen Mecca, and there is, I think, a quite considerable traffic via Abyssinia and Eritrea, larger at present than generally believed in the Sudan. This 8,000 may be larger than the average previously.

180. The numbers annually remaining in the Sudan have been placed at about 3,000, which leaves an estimate of 5,000 returning pilgrims annually. Again, from observation in Bornu, I should say this is roughly right. In other words, no less than 3,000 out of 8,000 east-going pilgrims remain in the East, 2,000 of whom are Nigerians.

181. Now the average duration of the journey and return must, I think, be placed at higher than five years; in fact, not less than seven. This gives a stream of 50,000 pilgrims on the move between Chad and Mecca, 21,000 of whom do not actually reach Chad on the return.

182. This appears large in comparison with the 80,000 in the Sudan, which must include the moving pilgrims as well as permanent settlers, but a very big reduction has to be made for the 750 miles from the Shari to the Sudan border, both for the time many stay in this section and for those who never proceed at all. I am, in fact, informed by a European traveller* who knows Nigeria that the colonies of Hausa in Bagirmi are large, composed of people whose principal reason for going eastwards was the pilgrimage.

183. Further, three-eighths of the number has to be deducted as would-be permanent settlers in the East.

184. As to what proportion of the 80,000 Takarir in the Sudan can be considered at date as permanent settlers and what as pilgrims in passage, it is exceedingly hard to give a reasonable estimate. I should be inclined to put it at about half-and-half, but the proportion of probable settlers from among the pilgrims has to be added to the settled half of 40,000 and deducted from the floating half: that is, 40,000 settled, 15,000 settling, 25,000 returning pilgrims. The point has, however, comparatively little importance for the floating population is being constantly kept up.

185. To summarise these figures:—

- (i) There are about 50,000 Takarir pilgrims on the move between Chad and Mecca (on the premise that the average annual exodus is 8,000 and the average time for the journey and return seven years).
- (ii) Of this total, about 21,000 will settle down in the East in the seven years, i.e., 3,000 per annum.
- (iii) The total number of West African Takarir in the East is about 90,000, of which 80,000 are in the Sudan.
- (iv) The composition of the 80,000 in the Sudan is about 55,000 permanent or would-be permanent settlers (being 40,000 definitely settled and 15,000 in the process of settling) and about 25,000 floating population.

186. It must be again insisted that these figures are quite rough estimates and built up with difficulty from figures dealing with only parts of the matter. Nevertheless, they represent some attempt to get an idea of the number from three aspects, that of the settlement in the Sudan, that of the numbers leaving the West and crossing the Red Sea, and that of the numbers returning to Nigeria.

187. The figures given are not the lowest possible minimum, but are, I think, more likely to err on the low than the high side.

188. I regret to be unable to put forward more definite figures, but, in spite of the lack of reliable data for calculation, I have thought it worth while to put these estimates down on paper as of some value in any future consideration of the whole matter.

* An Italian, whom I knew in Nigeria, and met again in Fort Lamy, in Khartoum and in Wad Medani, whence he left for Abyssinia.

**Report on a Journey from Bornu, Nigeria, to the
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Jeddah and Cairo**

BY

MR. G. J. LETHBRIDGE.

Part II.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES.

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Part II.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES.

1. The existence of the long chain of settlements of West African Takarir and the now considerable and continuous "pilgrim" traffic have recently been and probably will be the principal factors in the dissemination in the emirates of Nigeria of the political and religious influences now important in the countries of the Nile valley and the Red Sea. These factors are, moreover, of the more consideration since the traffic between the Niger-Chad region and the countries of North Africa now engages but few persons. The Sudan, Egypt, and the Hejaz, therefore, with their political and religious movements, are now of more consequence to Nigeria than are Tripoli and Tunis which once loomed so large to the chiefs and "ulema" of Bornu and the Fulani states.

2. The mentality of the West African Takarir in these countries, therefore, and the influences upon them, and the reactions of these in Nigeria, are matters of real importance to the Nigerian administrations. To obtain some idea of the conditions in 1925 was one of the principal objects of my journey. To this subject is confined as far as possible the second part of this report—to the exclusion for the present of questions of propaganda, the discussion of which must range over a wider field. I had conversations—more than perfunctory—with several hundred Takarir, according to my notes, as well as with numerous natives of position in the Sudan by the courtesy of Sudan Government officers. The opinions and conclusions put forward are rather the result of general impression and cumulative conviction than claiming to be founded on absolute "proof." Necessarily I had to listen to much fantastic and credulous nonsense; and I was conversing with people among whom inaccuracy of expression is a formed habit of mind. The value of all this I have tried to assess. Details and names when considered worth recording have been put in notes and appendices. But on the whole subject it should not be forgotten that in countries of the type of the Sudan, as of the emirates of Nigeria, rumour of to-day may very well be the basis of the political movements and "public opinion" of to-morrow.

Mentality of
Takarir.

3. The Takarir are generally regarded as a labouring class amenable to control and on the whole well-behaved. It is admitted incidentally that they are much less addicted to drunkenness than other peoples of the same class and type in the Sudan.

4. The occasional outbreak of religious fanaticism amongst them in the Sudan, however, and of political restlessness allied to it, is realised, though it has sometimes caused surprise. It has been due to special causes and particular elements; to wit, Burmi Mahdism, the Sokoto "jihad," and their effects upon the Fulani section among the Takarir—factors which have been to a large degree transplanted from Nigeria to the Sudan.

5. The extent of criticism of European Government among the humble Takarir was nevertheless to me, accustomed to the same people in Nigeria, most striking. In the emirates of Nigeria criticism of Government men and measures and relish of successful circumvention of the European in particular matters are no doubt common in the conversation of natives. This is a commonplace of colonial Africa. But I think it may very fairly be stated that the real interest of the politically-minded native is in the intrigues and politics of his own native state. Resentment of European Christian domination, as such, or the vision of an independent Northern Nigeria under Muslim Sultans is confined—normally—to very limited classes. This cannot be said of the Takarir in the Sudan, the Hejaz and Egypt. Among these, who differ in themselves from their brethren in Nigeria in little save that they include a much larger proportion of the poorer classes, there is a great amount of gossip critical of the European power. Moreover, it is permeated with a spirit somewhat malevolent to European domination, in which discomfiture of the European races appears the desirable end. The most fantastic tales appear to find ready credence.

6. The present liveliness of this spirit would appear to be chiefly due to the Egyptian propaganda of recent years, coupled with the cumulative effect of Mahdist religious excitement. It is a reflex of such propaganda on the ignorant Takarir. This is as far as the Sudan is concerned, with which this report is necessarily mostly occupied, for in it are 90 per cent. of the Takarir in the East. Conditions in the Hejaz and Cairo are noted later.

Political
propaganda
in the Sudan
Egyptian.

7. Naturally, therefore, with Egyptian propaganda as one of its principal present causes in the Sudan, the form of this gossip has often a markedly anti-British trend. Yet on the other hand opinion among the Takarir, wherever it is native to themselves, generally expresses a preference for the British over the French, the other power of which it knows something. This, in turn, is due to certain general differences in attitude towards Islam in the French Colonies in the Sudan belt, which are well-known and obvious. It draws, moreover, a definite inspiration from the hostility to the French occupation and régime in Wadai. This is a matter which has its importance. Yet the differentiation between the European powers is comparatively unimportant, for it is ephemeral and the root of the matter goes much deeper. The real stimulus is anti-European and anti-Christian,* and is permanent.

8. It might be said that the Takarir are but ignorantly repeating and garbling the political gossip of Egyptian propagandists and cannot have much interest in it themselves: and this is partly true. But it must never be ignored that the Fulani, who form the most important psychological element of the Takarir, are a politically-minded people with a strong sense of aristocracy of race; they are quite unlikely to lose the vision of power and rule, even in regions far from their homes in West Africa.

9. It therefore seems to me entirely natural that the Fulani in the East should imagine in the political restlessness evident to them in the peoples among whom

* I was surprised to hear how commonly the term of abuse "kafir" (infidel) appeared to be used of Europeans in the Sudan by natives, including Takarir.

they dwell the possibility of upheavals which will give them their "chance." This is expressed vaguely in the idea of a Fulani empire in the East to be supported by further migration of Fulani from the West which has been a feature of propaganda among them.

10. It may be worth while to detail briefly the themes of this Takarir gossip.

11. The actual facts of the independence movement in Egypt I found known but vaguely to most of the Takarir in the Sudan. Nevertheless the person of Sa'ad Zaghlul appears in their talk as the clever man of affairs of native origin who is able to confront and defeat the diplomatists of Europe. The name (and picture) of King Fuad is used as the symbol of independence of Britain, while the tale of "the circular letter of the King of Egypt to the Sudan," is a very frequent topic of conversation.

12. A more fantastic set of ideas developing also from the Egyptian propaganda is based on the belief that the greater nations are opposed to Britain and could form a coalition against her. Tales of French and Turkish co-operation were the most practical minded of these visions. It was repeated to me in several places that Mustafa Kemal had been in Cairo in disguise on the occasion of the Sirdar's assassination, which he had assisted in engineering! Still more ludicrous was a conception which apparently confused Napoleon and the Kaiser as the invincible leader of the anti-British powers. A young Fulani in one place I visited had distinguished himself by reciting to his compatriots the slogan "God give victory to the Fulani, and to Germany."

13. Italy appears as the enemy of Britain in a set of rumours among Takarir east of the Niles and springing from the rumours regarding the Italian works on the Gash river. In many places also I heard tales of the hordes of Abyssinians who were to break out at the appointed hour led by a divinely-marked young hero,* and assist the Fulani to their empire.

14. The keynote of all this farrago, if keynote there could be said to be, appeared to me to be a vague resentment that "the Muslim Sultans" (i.e., personifying Islam) were not in the position that is their due.

15. What criticism I heard of the Sudan Government rarely suggested that the administration was unjust or oppressive on individuals. On the contrary, it often implied that the administration was too grandmotherly, and I actually heard the Government of the Hejaz praised for its severity to evildoers. Many Takarir praised British administration, whether in the Sudan or in Nigeria, particularly as regards the impartiality of the European officials. Nor is it really illogical in people of their type to do so, and yet eagerly lap up and repeat anti-European gossip.

16. Egyptian propaganda in the Sudan was not directly addressed to the despised Takarir by Egyptian agitators. But very many of the Takarir are constantly on the move from one important centre to another, and hear and carry

* I heard this fantasy even in Bornu in 1924; the leader was to have "pierced hands."

on the phrases and rumours of sedition. Nor could the activities of the subordinate government officials in the movement fail to have great effect on a class to whom the "mamur"* and his kind are the most important personification of authority.

17. The reaction to the Egyptian propaganda generally in a distorted and garbled form, no doubt is evident from the fact that so much gossip of this kind goes on.† Though much of it is merely silly repetition of gossip, there exists a sufficiently important element in the Fulani refugees to make the reaction of more importance than it would have had were all the Takarir merely poor class Northern Nigerian peasantry.

18. The fact is that the Takarir cannot be regarded as simple herdsmen or peasants or labourers chiefly anxious to be left alone in peace, and unaffected by the political conditions of the countries in which they have lived. To their leaders and the more sophisticated of them the idea of individual justice from a Government is a matter of comparatively minor importance. Commercial development as a policy does not interest them, though they may be glad enough to find the material benefit to themselves and say so. Political questions of a much wider character than those they knew in their native land have become real, and the imagined rights of "the Muslim Sultans" and power and authority in the hands of their own kind and creed appeal to their concern as Muslims.

19. There is also in the Sudan, and quite distinct from the pro-Egyptian agitation, a recently-born nationalist movement; this does not seem to me to call for consideration as affecting the Takarir. It is a movement of the "intelligentsia," the Gordon College graduate and similar modernised elements in the central provinces of the Sudan. As far as I was aware it had in no way spread sufficiently widely among the general population to touch westerners. It cannot, however, be omitted in the estimate of political forces in the Sudan, for it is presumably a growing movement, and it is not without relations with the religious leaders, through whose co-operation the nationalist idea may be made to appeal more widely. A relation with the Mahdism of Abderrahman may be already developing. The activities of the Third International in the Sudan scarcely, too, fall within the scope of this report, and in any case were very limited in 1925, though a Bolshevik Consul had recently been established at Jeddah when I went there, and there was talk of similar moves for Eritrea and Abyssinia.

Sudan
Nationalism:
the Third
International.

20. Not less important than the political influences, and far more potentially effective in results on the Takarir and their compatriots in Nigeria, are the religious revivalistic movements, which are better suited to the temper and mentality of Sudanese and Nigerian tribes.

Religious
propaganda.

21. It is convenient to class these forms of religious propaganda under the general term of Mahdism in its widest sense; this is, in fact, usual among many

* The "mamur" of the Sudan has no parallel in Nigeria. The mamurs are now native Sudanese—since 1925; previously, many were Egyptians. A mamur is an administrative officer in charge of a district and has police and other general duties and small judicial powers.

† I was nevertheless much surprised to find how close to the topics of Egyptian newspapers was the gossip among Takarir in one out-station in the Sudan, pointing quite clearly to the direct influence of Egyptian employees of the Government.

natives, though again it may refer to particular movements under one or other of the false Mahdis. As the term is not one in common or exact knowledge in Nigeria it may be useful to define it briefly.

Mahdism in
general.

22. Mahdism in its most general sense may be described as a state of religious exaltation which springs from the belief that the divinely appointed and expected Mahdi (The Directed One) has already appeared or is on the point of appearing on earth. According to orthodox doctrine the Mahdi will manifest himself in the fullness of time and will presage the rise of Dajjal (anti-Christ) and in turn the resurrection of Isa (Jesus). Isa will war on behalf of Islam and herald the millennium and the end of the world.

23. There have been many Mahdist "movements" in Islam, generally focussing on a certain person as the false Mahdi: and in recent times the tendency has drawn much strength in Africa from the belief in a spurious "tradition" that the end of the world must come by the year A.H. 1400 (A.D. 1980), and that the final century 1300-1400, in which the world now is, must see the appearance of the Mahdi, of Dajjal, and of Isa, the victory of Islam throughout the world in this and the coming generation, with all the wars and tumults that much of old-fashioned, even orthodox, Islam appears to expect. It will be readily appreciated that Mahdism, whether in the name of a particular Mahdi, or vaguely looking for the "day" and "the end of the world," is potentially a most important factor in arousing the ignorant and credulous African Mohammedan to fanaticism and unrest.

Particular
Mahdist
movements

24. Within recent times two particular Mahdist movements have been influential in Africa and have had their share in arousing anti-European unrest.

25. The first was the Mahdist movement of Muhammad Ahmad al Mahdi of Dongola, beginning in 1881, which resulted in the great revolt of the Sudan against Egyptian rule, in the death of Gordon, and in the strong opposition to the British reconquest in 1898.

26. The second was the Mahdist movement under Muhammad Ahmad al Mahdi, of Jaghabub and Kufra, son of the founder of the Senussi sect, whose assumption of the leadership of the confraternity in 1859 and move to Kufra in 1895 preceded the bitter opposition to the French occupation of Chad, Kanem, Wadai, Tibesti, and Borku in 1902-1913. The movement was also concerned in the persistence of resistance to the Italians in parts of Tripoli, in the outbreak on the western borders of Egypt in 1915, and in the Tuareg rising in French territory north of Nigeria in 1916.

27. Both movements appear to owe much of their success among the credulous to a belief in the spurious "tradition" already mentioned, that the end of the world must come by the year A.H. 1400 (A.D. 1980). It will be seen that both movements, too, have a strong tradition of antagonism to European conquest and rule. Both movements, too, have had a pronounced recrudescence in the last decade.

28. The Senussist leader, Ahmad Sherif, nephew and successor of the Senussi Mahdi, influenced by Turkish intrigues, organised hostilities against the allied powers in 1915-16. His fling proving unsuccessful, he fled to Syria and Turkey and is now (1925-26) in Arabia. He has been succeeded by his cousin Idris, son of the Mahdi, who lives in Cairo and is now apparently prepared to live peaceably with the European powers. Such subversive propaganda as persists is in the name of Ahmad Sherif and it appears clear that it is not organised by Idris the head of the order. This propaganda has reached certain communities in Nigeria previously influenced by Senussi activities.

29. The protagonist of the Sudan Mahdism is Abderrahman, posthumous son of the Dongola Mahdi, who was a young man of 29 when the Great War broke out. The recrudescence of this Mahdism has been largely facilitated by a policy of the Sudan Government which cultivated and favoured the religious leaders in the Sudan, latterly with the object of maintaining public opinion on the side of the Allies during the war. Of this policy the young Abderrahman took the maximum advantage and has established a formidable party attached to himself in the Sudan. The effects on the less sophisticated tribes of the western provinces of the Sudan in particular, and which extend to the Nigerian Takarir in the Sudan and to Nigeria, have been a cause of much misgiving on the part of many observers.

30. The terms Mahdism and Mahdi have therefore general as well as particular meanings. In parts of Nigeria which have been affected by the two particular movements therefore these terms in conversation or in documents may be used quite generally or again with particular meaning as referring to the Senussist or the Sudan movement.

31. Mahdism in the Sudan, however, means in practice only that movement which is headed by Abderrahman. By that the Takarir have been extensively influenced, and the effects have been considerable also in Nigeria. Nigeria, however, in addition to this, has in recent years experienced Mahdist propaganda in the name of the Senussi: and again a current of religious revivalism invoking the prestige of the Tujani confraternity: yet another phase was the circulation of documents speaking of "the day" being nigh and preaching the coming of "the Mahdi" without reference to any particular sect or personal Mahdi.

*Various of
Mahdist
propaganda
in Nigeria.*

32. While these elements can be disentangled in Nigeria, in the Sudan the Mahdism of Abderrahman is so strong that other Mahdist propaganda can scarcely be said to have a separate existence. Nor among the Takarir resident in the Sudan are to be observed the several distinct Mahdist influences (other than that of Abderrahman's Mahdism) which stood out among their compatriots in Nigeria. Nevertheless some of the most important evidences concern the Takarir community in the East.

33. Of these the most important was the attempt made to bribe the Takruri, Alfa Hashim (who fled as a refugee from Nigeria in 1903 and now resides in Medina), to lend the weight of his great influence among the Takarir to the dissemination of religious propaganda in the West. This attempt failed, and the Alfa had repudiated all use of his name in the religious movements as early as 1923.

34. Another is the circulation of a document known as "The Vision of Sheikh Ahmad." This is a revivalist document, puerile enough in itself but symptomatic of an atmosphere to be created among ignorant West African Mohammedans. It speaks of a vision of the author telling of the wrath of God and of the approach of the last day, and enjoins its further circulation on all into whose hands it may come. It was found fairly widely in Nigeria, e.g., commonly with pilgrims re-entering Nigeria both in MS. and in print, in one case along with a violent diatribe against Christian schools and hospitals; again, in one case in my immediate experience in the hands of a decent Hausa merchant travelling in the train in this case opening with an invocation of "the Mahdi" and ending with a benedictory paragraph purporting to be a quotation from Ahmad Sherif al Senussi; again, in the hands of a religious mendicant posing as a Sherif in Bornu, who after much examination confessed that he was a Tuareg by birth brought up in Kufra and avowed that he had come to Nigeria with the permission of Ahmed Sherif after sojourns in Cairo at the Al Azhar and with one of the religious notables of the Sudan. This document appears to come quite certainly to Nigeria from the East via the Sudan. Pilgrims detailed to me the circumstances of their being entrusted with it by such persons as Tukurri lodging-house keepers in the Hejaz. West Africans have been given copies in Cairo. Some copies purport to be printed in Tripoli in Syria. I was informed in Cairo of their being printed and distributed there by an Indian. I learned, too, in Jeddah that an exact, or almost exact, counterpart of this document is circulated among ignorant Muslims in India in the name of a Sheikh Abkulahi. The document purports to be the production of a holy man in Medina. It is almost certainly a pure fabrication. It is repudiated as such by the "ulema" of Mecca, from whom I obtained a "fatwa" upon it when in Jeddah.* There can be little doubt that this document, puerile in itself, can but be the production of agencies anxious to rouse the ignorant African Mohammedan to unrest.

Tujania and
Senussia.

35. In the Sudan I heard and saw almost nothing of the religious revivalism, quite definitely and particularly in the name of the Tujani or the Senussi sects, which had been remarked in Nigeria in 1923 and 1924. It had been quickly enough surmised that the activities in the names of these "tarikas"† did not originate from the acknowledged heads of these orders but probably from some organising influence behind.‡ What I heard or observed on my journey accords absolutely with this opinion.

36. I heard, for example, nothing of the man who was the most noteworthy emissary of the Tujania in Nigeria and who had travelled to Nigeria via the Nile and the Sudan. He is now believed to be a Jew of Casablanca. Presumably he, and others like him, travelled unostentatiously through the Sudan and their attention was directed to Nigeria and countries west of Chad only. Nor did I hear of the pseudo-Tujania revivalism. I found on the contrary the adherents of the order generally well-disposed to the Governments and authority, while the Alfa Hashim who belongs to this order is spoken of everywhere in the Sudan and in Jeddah

* See Appendix D, which also comprises a "fatwa" against Mahdism and a printed pamphlet against Mahdism.

† Religious confraternities.

‡ This, too, was the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor at Fort Lamy as to the Senussia propaganda.

as advising obedience to European Governments where they are just. It is now believed that the source of the pseudo-Tujania propaganda is from North West Africa and not from or through the Sudan.

37. I heard little on my journey, even in Wadai, of the activities of the Senussi agents, or of the religious and political propaganda in the name of Ahmad Sherif which had been notable in Bornu throughout 1924.* Nevertheless the name of Ahmad Sherif is still a name to conjure with and I heard it, especially among Takarir in Cairo, classed with those of Abdulkarim,† the Imam Yahia,‡ and Mustafa Kemal—the champions of Islam *versus* Europe. I learnt nothing, however, which enables me to suggest whether the propaganda in his name comes from him directly or is engineered by some organising influence utilising him. Whatever it is, it is clear, as with the Tujania, that it does not emanate from the Sudan.

38. There is every reason to believe that both the Tujania and the Senussia propaganda were political agitations veiled under the guise of religious "tarikas" which were likely to give them success in Nigeria. The Tujania was addressed to the strong Tujania and Kadiria influences in Nigeria, in particular west of Bornu, and the Senussia to the people of the Chad region and Bornu, regions previously much affected by Senussia propaganda in the first decade of the century.

39. Further, there can be little doubt but that they were engineered by definitely anti-European agencies from outside the Sudan belt—Egyptian, Bolshevik or Germano-Turk, or whatever they may be. It is fairly certain that they were not engineered from the Sudan.

40. The matter is different, however, as regards the Mahdist movement headed by Abderrahman, son of the Sudan Mahdi. Such little evidence as can be adduced to show liaison between this Mahdist propaganda and the propaganda from extra-Sudan sources does not appear to me to indicate that such liaison was ever more than incidental. On the contrary, everything I heard in the Sudan confirmed the *prima facie* impression received in Nigeria that the Mahdist propaganda in Nigeria and Adamawa in Abderrahman's name was carried on with the general knowledge, tacit approval, and occasional personal encouragement of the head of the order himself. In fact, this Mahdist propaganda in Nigeria seems to be nothing more nor less than an extension of that carried on in Darfur and Kordofan by Abderrahman's accredited agents, vouched for in many cases by the Intelligence Department at Khartoum, and that Abderrahman and his organisation are as responsible for the one as for the other.

41. In the next paragraphs it will be convenient to use the term Mahdism and Mahdi in the limited sense as touching the movement begun by Muhammad Ahmad of Dongola and now under his son Abderrahman. This is the sense in which the terms are used by natives and Europeans generally in the Sudan. This

Mahdism in
the Sudan.

* I heard of it in Abeshe and in Nahud, and in both places in the sense of its being a rival movement to Sudan Mahdism.

† Abdulkarim of the Riff in Morocco. I heard frequently discussion of his war with the Spaniards among Takarir; even in Bagirmi one questioner wished to know if he had ships with which to carry the war into "Andalus" (Andalusia).

‡ The Imam Yahia of the Yemen, who has been active successfully against British interests for some years.

Sudan Mahdism must be considered in some detail in this report, not because it is in itself the most dangerous factor to Nigeria of the political and religious movements in the Islamic world, but because it is at present the most evident illustration of the growing contact between the countries of the Nile and of the Niger in politics and religion.

42. In any consideration of Mahdism in the Sudan it must be very clearly emphasised that there are two sides to the movement there. There are in effect two wings to the party, both acknowledging with equal fervour the same head in Abderrahman.

43. One of these two groups, which may be termed that of the "new Mahdism," includes all those Mahdists who are for the most part resident in the central areas of the Sudan and whom peaceful progress and the enforced tolerance of other sects have rendered suave and worldly wise; they profess to retain nothing of the bigotry and violence of the old Mahdia.

44. The other group includes the more ignorant tribesmen, largely though not solely of the western provinces, who are in type much more the true heirs of the fanatics of Muhammad Ahmad and the Khalifa Abdulahi.

45. Both parties acknowledge with extravagant devotion Abderrahman as their head. Abderrahman himself professes, certainly to Government and all outsiders, the attitude of the new Mahdism. This does not prevent him from accepting the allegiance of the fanatical tribesmen frequently expressed in the most extreme and even blasphemous form.

46. Both parties have increased enormously in strength in the last twelve years. Mahdism generally at the commencement of the war had persisted in fair strength in spite of a mild proscription by Government. Nevertheless, Abderrahman was in 1914 a person of no great importance. The encouragement given to the religious leaders generally by Government, and especially marked from 1914, was a deliberate policy aiming at maintaining public opinion on the side of the Government through these religious leaders, in the absence, as it was thought, of influential secular leaders surviving or replacing the Mahdist régime. Of this encouragement Mahdism has taken the maximum advantage. Abderrahman was then a young man of 29. His personal ambition was fired; the organisation of the order was revived, in spite of the Government's intentions, and many circumstances have combined to develop the movement.

47. The movement was ostensibly re-established as a purely religious one and without political ambition. There were other religious sects in rivalry, of which one, the Mirghania, commanded in 1914 more influence among the better classes in the central areas of the Sudan. Nevertheless, by ways to which Government could scarcely take exception, the policy being what it was, the new Mahdism developed into a powerful party with Abderrahman probably now the most influential and wealthy native in the Sudan; in fact, marked out as the natural head of any "Sudan for the Sudanese" or "nationalist" movement.

48. The Mahdism of the western tribes is of quite another temper, though its growth in strength is none the less due to the same organisation which heads the new Mahdism. It is in principle incompatible with allegiance to non Mahdist authority. It holds the logical belief that the true Mahdi having appeared in the person of Muhammad Ahmad, the appearance of Isa is now imminent: to Isa, on his coming, alien and infidel governments must yield. By large numbers it is believed that Abderrahman is Isa.

49. This intransigent Mahdism had of course never died down among its old adherents since the reconquest. But it appears quite clear that its formidable revival in recent years is due only to the deliberate propaganda of the heads of the sect.

50. In about 1917 Abderrahman was allowed to send his agents into the western provinces. It does not appear that the emissaries to the west preached the new Mahdism there at all, or that any pains were taken that they should do so. The essential point is that the growth of the movement was great and rapid and that its complexion was quite definitely that of the older Mahdism. The opening of Darfur and the death of its Sultan, Ali Dinar, an opponent of the sect, very greatly facilitated its development in that province, important not only by its size but also by its position as gateway of the West.

51. This canvassing of the tribesmen led from the very first to strong protest from numerous administrative officers in the western provinces, whose view was that the authority of the secular territorial and tribal chiefs was being seriously undermined. This view was not accepted by the Central Government, chiefly on the advice of the Intelligence Department. In 1923, however, certain steps to restrict the propaganda in the western provinces were taken, but by then, in the view of the administrative officers in the west, the mischief had been done, and incidentally these restrictive measures were largely stultified by the use made by Government of Abderrahman in assisting them to counter pro-Egyptian propaganda in 1924.

52. There was thus produced a very distinct cleavage of opinion on this matter within the Government service. The political officers in the provinces saw what they believed was definite harm being done to good administration: the Central Government, seeing through its Intelligence Department only the apparent innocuousness of the new Mahdism and the loyalty of Abderrahman, upheld the policy.

53. Many of the senior officials of the Sudan Government stationed in the central provinces and Khartoum held the conviction that there was no harm in Mahdism, i.e., the new Mahdism; that it was a religious movement only and as such and as shown in the "ratib"* quite innocuous; that Abderrahman was thoroughly loyal and well-intentioned to the administration; that he was far too much a man of the world to countenance anything prejudicial to the administration; that his own interest lay in continuing good relations with Government; that in no case had he been directly responsible for the Mahdist outbreaks which had

* Book of prayer and ritual; the Mahdi's ratib has been very widely circulated both in M.S. and in print from the Red Sea to the Upper Niger in the years 1917-1925.

occurred, and that his own authority had a restraining influence on Mahdist fanaticism, and that this fanaticism, were Abderrahman given proper scope, would die down.

54. There was logical ground for this view, and success can be claimed for the policy in that there appears to have been little or no pro-Turkish or Islamic propaganda *versus* Europe during the war, and in that Egyptian propaganda of more recent years was not taken up by Abderrahman's following; in fact, Abderrahman posed as an opponent of the Egyptian aims and this must have had an effect. Nevertheless, it may be doubted if the policy had been necessary. Abderrahman was a nobody in 1914. If such a policy was necessary, it infers a serious lack of any alternative native policy towards the tribal and other natural chiefs in the Sudan administration, and a failure to provide the natural substitute to the old Mahdist régime in local administrations which should have been the bulwark against its revival.

55. But the attitude of the Sudan central administration must further appear to the outsider to betray a lack of readiness to appreciate conditions in the outlying provinces or the point of view of officials or natives in authority in them. In fact, it rather appears that the protests from the western provinces provoked an altogether biased defence of the policy from the Intelligence Department at Khartoum, with the disregard of facts where not conforming with preconceived ideas, and to have led to such apparent partisanship as to embitter the whole controversy.

56. All this scarcely affects Nigeria directly. But it was also responsible for what must regrettably be described as inadequate and misleading assistance from the Sudan Government through its Intelligence Department when the Nigerian Government sought its co-operation in elucidating the phenomena of religious unrest which had made their appearance in Nigeria and which seemed to have come from the Sudan. This is a matter which is past and done with and need not be again referred to here. The very great similarity between the Mahdist movement among the western tribes in the Sudan and that in Nigeria and Adamawa, not only in the phenomena observed but also in the views and actions of Government officers in first hand contact, could and should have been easily and quickly established. This would have cleared the air and been of the greatest value to Nigeria, and would have made the official views of the Sudan Central Government, as expressed by the Intelligence Department, much more commanding of confidence. It would also have been made clear that the Mahdist movement in Abderrahman's name was sufficiently single-minded to acquit it of the suspicion of collusion with Egyptian or other intrigue from outside. At the time, in Nigeria, without such candid information available, but with much more from other sources which has proved well-founded, Abderrahman's movement could not then be acquitted of this suspicion. This regrettable state of affairs of course no longer holds.

Mahdism
among the
Takarir.

57. The recent situation as to Mahdism in the Sudan having been thus indicated it will be the easier to consider it as affecting the Takarir. Mahdism among them is practically wholly of the fanatic type. Very few Takarir in the Sudan or in Nigeria are either of the education or psychological temper to be "new" Mahdists.

Early
Mahdist
connection of
East and
West.

58. It must further be emphasized that the connection of Sudan Mahdism with the Niger-Chad basin dates back to the first years of the Mahdia. The Mahdi's influence was in no sense confined on the west to the present borders of the Sudan. Not only so, but also there were in 1881 not unimportant colonies of Takarir in the Sudan. I met myself Takarir who convinced me that Bornu and Fellata were numerous in the armies operating against Abyssinia. In such records of the Mahdia as I have read one comes across occasional mention of a Bornu man or a Fulani "modibbo"* prominent in the insurrection. One of the Mahdi's letters to Darfur quoted in Slatin's "Fire and Sword" contains a boastful reference to the success of the movement as far as Bagirmi. Before the Mahdi's death emissaries of the sect had arrived in Bornu and been maltreated by one Sheikh of Bornu, to be given a more friendly ear by his weaker successor. Ultimately Bornu and Adamawa came for a few years more or less completely under a Mahdist régime through Rabeh and Hayatu.† It is clear that these countries including Bornu Nguderi were more affected than the more westerly Hausa and Fulani states, where such successes as the movement had appeared to have led merely to sporadic and unsuccessful outbreaks against the Emirs.

59. Rabeh's advent was preceded by emissaries who called upon Bornu to submit to the Mahdi and his lieutenant, Rabeh, bearer of the Sword of Victory, the "Seif-an-Nasar"; these were led by one of the messengers sent in the Mahdi's lifetime, as already mentioned in a previous paragraph. Mahdism to Rabeh, however, was but a useful card to play in his material schemes, and it had little enough lasting effect on the Arabs and Kanuri of Bornu and the Bagirmi and other people of the Shari.

60. It was otherwise with the Fulani and their leader Hayatu. Hayatu was the son of Sa'id, a son of Muhammad Bello, Sultan of Sokoto, 1817-1837. Sa'id was widely supported in Adamawa as successor to his father. He failed in his desire, and this led to a quarrel between two branches of the family. Hayatu, his son, had carved out for himself a small kingdom at Balda, in what is now North Cameroons, by about the year 1880. Hayatu embraced the Mahdist doctrine. Messengers from him reached the Mahdi, and he apparently received recognition from the Mahdi as his lieutenant in the West and as Sultan of Sokoto. Two later messengers arrived in Omdurman after the Mahdi's death and were there received by the Khalifa Abdulahi; they stayed some time and returned to Hayatu with encouraging messages and much Mahdist literature in the name of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, much of which came again into circulation in 1918-1923. They arrived back however after Rabeh's coming into Bornu, and Hayatu had by that time found it politic to join Rabeh and marry Rabeh's daughter.‡

61. Hayatu's conversion to Mahdism had a wide effect on the Fulani in Adamawa and the eastern parts of Nigeria as far west as Bornu Nguderi (Katakum and Messau) and Gombe. Very much of Adamawa became Mahdist. The most

* Modibbo—Fulani word for scribe or priest.

† Rabeh—foster brother of Suleiman, son of Zubeir Pasha, once governor of the southern Sudan under Gordon; Rabeh overran the Chad region in 1885-1892. Hayatu, see para. 60.

‡ Hawa, still living in Fort Lamy; she was not, however, the mother of Sa'id. She recently (1925) applied for a passport to go on the pilgrimage, which was refused by the French authorities suspecting ulterior motives for the proposed journey; so I was informed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

notable result, however, was the rise of the adventurer Mallam Jibrella (alias Zai, alias Geni or Gwoni), a man of Bornu Nguderi origin, in the Fika and Gombe country, who very quickly made himself stronger than the local Emirs.

62. Jibrella's strength and his invitation to Hayatu to come and join him tempted Hayatu, no doubt tired of his subordination to Rabeh, to attempt to leave Dikwa when Rabeh's attention was distracted by the approach of the French; his plans were discovered and he was killed by Rabeh's son. At the time a party of horsemen were in waiting near Dikwa to escort him to Jibrella.

63. The history of the Mahdists in Nigeria and of the two fights at Burmi has been outlined in the earlier part of this report. Jibrella's contest with the British was inevitable; he was captured and died in captivity. Mahdist influence nevertheless largely induced the second stand at Burmi by the Sultan of Sokoto, and the subsequent large emigration from Nigeria.

Break-up of
Mahdism in
Nigeria.

64. Burmi therefore, as Sir Frederick Lugard reported, "completely broke up the party of the irreconcilables, as well as the remnant of the Mahdi's following." (N.N. Annual Reports, 1902 and 1903.) Nigerian Mahdism in the persons of its more virile adherents then shifted to the Sudan and partly to German Adamawa. In only a few scattered villages of Fulani in Bornu and in the eastern parts of Bauchi and Kano provinces does it appear that the rite was unobtrusively, if continuously, practised.

65. In German Adamawa, where there had been no such lesson as Burmi gave Nigeria, sporadic outbreaks, of which the most notable was that of Gwoni Wadai, continued right up to the beginning of the war, in spite of the short shrift given by the German Administration to any revivalist mallam.

Migration of
Mahdists to
the Sudan.

66. In the Sudan, however, the Nigerian emigrants who had been Mahdists in Nigeria appear to have entered readily into the life of the Mahdist community there as it had been left after the British occupation. They settled largely on the Blue Nile where there were existing colonies of Fulani Mahdists, and continued to practise the rites in spite of the proscription by the Sudan Government. They appear to have been affected in such seditious outbreaks as took place in the Sudan under Mahdist influence. In Part I of this report also the development of a Fulani Mahdist element in the Blue Nile settlements has been noted and the instances given in which individual Fulani have been prominent in outbreaks of disorder. The anti-Government bias of Takarir in the Kassala region has also been noted.

67. The interesting and striking point in all this is that in nearly every case where a Takruri has been prominent in outbreaks of propaganda in the Sudan he has been in some way or other connected with the Mahdist community in Nigeria which was broken up at Burmi. "Sambo Sambo," who rushed the Government garrison at Kassala in 1919, belonged to a yillage in Bornu Nguderi. Ahmadu Dumbe, who led a Mahdist outbreak which was crushed at Gedir in 1915, was a native of a Gombe village, and had a brother* resident in the Mahdist village of Dumbulwa with Mallam Sa'id, the son of Hayatu, in 1923. Imam Tukur, who

* With whom I have conversed.

has been for years under surveillance or detention by the Sudan Government and was active in recent times in promoting the pilgrimage to Aba, was the Imam of Jibrella at Burmi. These, and others like them, either took part in the Burmi adventures or had close relations with those who had done so.

68. There is little of which I am aware to show that any important propagandist correspondence with their brethren in Nigeria took place in the years before 1916. Correspondence with German Adamawa was probably more common. There were Adamawa Takarir in the following of the Mahdist Faki Senin, who was crushed by Ali Dinar of Darfur in 1908; I met one of these who had visited the Mahdists on the Nile and at Omdurman in 1910 and in 1914, and returned to Adamawa.

69. Generally speaking however, as already said, Nigerian Mahdism had ceased to have any force by the time of the outbreak of the Great War, and that in Adamawa, if more lively, was in process of being crushed by the German administration.

70. It was the resuscitation of Mahdism in the Sudan which roused again to life these dormant and perhaps moribund forces in Nigeria and in Adamawa. The patent fact is that the rise of Abderrahman and his community seemed to many of the Fellata Mahdists as the fulfilment of old prophecies and hopes, and they threw themselves eagerly into the movement. The news of the developments of Mahdism, and the active propaganda to the western provinces, quickly enough was carried to Adamawa and to Bornu, and intercommunication between the Fellata Mahdists in the Sudan and in Nigeria became increasingly common after the conquest of Darfur.

Resuscitation
of Mahdism in
Nigeria
following on
that in the
Sudan.

71. It was then that the person of Mallam Sa'id, son of Hayatu, becomes the chief focus of Mahdism in the West. He was by birth and upbringing the person marked to take the part in the story. As a young boy his life had been spared when his father was killed by Rabeh's son, and a legend is not lacking as to his father's prophecies concerning him. He was brought up in the Mahdist rite by the Imam Arabu, his father's messenger to and from the Mahdi, who had made some stay in the Khalifa's victorious camp at Omdurman, after the fall of Khartoum. He remained near Balda and passed his youth within the range of the Mahdist outbreaks under the German administration. He saw, too, the beginnings of the settlements of emigrant Fellata from Nigeria on the Shari. While still a young man, he received in 1916 travellers from the Sudan who brought him first-hand information of the new status of Abderrahman and the Mahdists in the Sudan, and he had received what he believed to be a letter from Abderrahman himself. He then wrote to Abderrahman asking to be confirmed as ruler of "Balda and Burmi," the former of which was his father's town, and the latter the place identified with Nigerian Mahdism, as hitherto described.

72. Soon after this, and after a tentative move to migrate to the Sudan, as some of his relations did, he began his move into Nigeria, leaving the Imam Arabu and some of his following in Adamawa. His aim, there can be little doubt, was to get into closer touch with the Fulani in Nigeria while maintaining liaison with his preceptor Arabu and the Mahdists in Adamawa and on the Shari. He made his settlement at Dumbulwa, in the same region as Burmi and a place the situation of

which did not bring him into contact with any Fulani Emir, and by 1919 had made such progress as to cause him to be reported to the local District Officer as a religious fanatic. In his object of getting a following in Nigeria he was very quickly successful, receiving letters and presents from Fulani from great distances, and in some instances having by 1922 completely or partially won over some of the Emirs and chiefs in Eastern Nigeria, as in Adamawa.

73. During these years, returning pilgrims from the Sudan had brought news of the growing strength of Abderrahman and the Mahdists, and with them came Mahdist literature and letters of propaganda from Takarir Mahdists, with some letters purporting to be from Abderrahman himself. It was quite well known that an increasing number of Takarir in the East were turning Mahdist and were performing the pilgrimage to Aba and taking up residence there. In turn, Fulani in Nigeria were visiting Sa'id and passing on to the Imam Arabu and the Mahdist settlements of Hajj Buba on the Shari, which were becoming in effect independent of the Sultan of Bagirmi. The "Vision of the Alfa Hashim," the Dajjal prophecies, encyclicals of the Mahdi, letters to Hayatu from the Mahdi and the Khalifa Abdulahi, garbled versions of Abderrahman's visit to England, and so on, were in circulation. Old Fulani prophecies of the Fulani trek to the East, of Muhammad Bello's prophecy as to his son Sa'id and his grandson Sa'id, and of Hayatu's upon his son Sa'id, were dragged out and boomed in Mahdist circles. Appeals for help in their difficulties or in their ambitions were made to Sa'id by chiefs. Nonsense about "the day" and the imminent appearance of Isa were topics of discussion, and Sa'id himself had boasted that when Isa appeared then "my standard will arise and I shall rule over the lands of my fathers."

74. On the religious side it was believed, as in the Western Sudan, that Abderrahman was Isa and that he would declare himself when his time was ripe. The expressions were used of him which put him on a par with the Mahdi and the prophets, and must to the orthodox Muslim be therefore blasphemous. In particular a prayer was in use in which he was styled "our intercessor with God," which was believed to be in use (as since confirmed) in Omdurman in Abderrahman's presence itself. There seems every reason to believe that presents of religious meaning, including young slaves and concubines, were sent him.

75. By 1923 neighbouring Emirs had protested against the rise of a religious influence which threatened their secular authority. The Emir of Fika, in whose territory Dumbulwala lay, demanded Sa'id's expulsion. Sa'id's kinsman, the Sultan of Sokoto, some of whose influential subjects had been intriguing with Sa'id, refused to receive him into his territories. Thus Mahdism in Eastern Nigeria had become, much as in the Western Sudan, a political problem of the first importance.

The responsibility of the Mahdist organisation in the Sudan.

76. The opinion has already been expressed in a previous paragraph that "the Mahdist propaganda in Abderrahman's name in Nigeria seems to be nothing more or less than an extension of that carried on in Darfur and Kordofan by Abderrahman's accredited agents, vouched for in many cases by the Intelligence Department in Khartoum, and Abderrahman and his organisation are as responsible for the one as for the other." The Mahdist problem in Nigeria had, in fact, come into being

as one outcome of the movement on the other side of Africa which had been fostered for certain reasons by another British administration. Other intervening factors assisted to produce the atmosphere observed in 1923-1924. Some of these have been already mentioned, e.g., the Tujania and Senussia, and others are discussed later. But there is no need whatever to look outside what is perfectly well-known of Sudan Mahdism in the years 1914-1923 for the explanation of its rise in Nigeria in 1918-1923.

77. Of Abderrahman's personal responsibility for the politically subversive aspect of Mahdist phenomena in Nigeria or in the western provinces of the Sudan there is no proof probably to be obtained. The responsibility as to the religious fanaticism aroused, of himself and of his immediate organisation, it appears to me impossible to disclaim, and with that must go the general responsibility for the whole. The responsibility as regards the phenomena in Nigeria is the same as that for the situation which arose in the western provinces of the Sudan, differing, if at all, in degree only from the fact of distance and that "accredited" Arab agents were not used.

78. In expressing this opinion I am accepting as unquestionably correct the views of the great majority of officers in the Sudan Government service who had been in personal touch with Mahdism in the western provinces. These views were, that for the difficult position that had arisen there Abderrahman and his immediate circle were generally responsible, even though individual instances of extravagance in political or religious expression could not be brought home to him and in spite of the moderation professed by the Sayed himself. The essential points were that a Mahdist organisation had been established despite the previously expressed wishes and intentions of Government, and that the extension and revival of propaganda to the western tribes was deliberate and systematic. Mahdism, previously apparent in isolated outbreaks comparatively easily put down, had become a movement affecting the whole social organisation and administration of the western tribes. It is not necessary for me to comment on these views save to say that everything I saw or heard in the Sudan convinced me of their correctness.

79. What my enquiries did, however, further establish was, firstly, that there was a systematic and active propaganda of Mahdism to Nigeria and Adamawa and Bagirmi carried on by a circle of Takarir Mahdists centred at Aba and Kosti and on the Blue Nile; and, secondly, that it is quite inconceivable that Abderrahman himself can have been in ignorance of it or that he did not encourage its activities.

80. The first of these propositions was very obvious indeed to me when enquiring among the Fellata themselves, and it had indeed been surmised in Nigeria from the correspondence seen there. The second is a matter of opinion for which reasons will be given.

81. This Takarir coterie, centred from Aba, worked its propaganda by means of general Mahdist literature, sent for circulation in the West, by letters from private persons or in Abderrahman's name, and by verbal incitement to missionary enthusiasm of returning pilgrims. Of its activities one very clear example, which is moreover corroborated by certain correspondence found in Nigeria, is worth quoting.

It is that of a Bornu man who wrote to a religious teacher in Bornu in 1919 and in 1921 and in 1922, both on his own account and in Abderrahman's name. The writer was still in Aba on my visit in 1925 and enquiring for news of Bornu and of his correspondents. I heard also of other authors of similar correspondence, in particular one a Diggera and another a Fulani. Again, according to information given me near Aba, the false vision of the Alfa Hashim emanated from a Mahdist zealot living in that area. The correspondence of individual Takarir pilgrims to friends in Nigeria written under the excitement of the performance of the Aba pilgrimage was quite common. The themes of these letters were the salvation found by the writers in the Mahdist faith, the bliss of residence in Aba in the shade of the son of the Mahdi, and the obligation of the pilgrimage to it. Within a few years after 1917, when the extension of Mahdist propaganda to the West began, very many of the returning pilgrims had become active missionaries of the movement.

82. It was in conversation with Takarir from Kosti, and Aba, too, that the organisation of the Mahdists as a militant brotherhood or order was most evident. The ruling motif was devotion to the person of Abderrahman. The belief that in propagating the older type of Mahdism the interests and wishes of the Sayed were being followed was quite unequivocal.

83. The second proposition—that it is quite inconceivable that Abderrahman could have been in ignorance of all this or that he did not encourage it—is based on the following considerations. There was in the first place every natural reason that when active and systematic propaganda to the West was begun the possibilities of fomenting Mahdism among the Takarir both in the Sudan and in their own country should have been realised. The history of Mahdism among the Takarir was much better remembered in the Sudan than in Nigeria. It was perfectly natural that some renewal of the relations that existed between Mallam Hayatu and the leaders of Mahdism in the previous generation should be attempted with his son. Whether or not this was done on Abderrahman's own initiative is probably not to be known. It is alleged that Mallam Sa'id received a letter from him as early as 1916. That will probably remain quite unproved; but on no reasonable hypothesis can it be credited that Abderrahman when engaged in the ambitious project of creating a great Mahdist party behind him in the Sudan would have ignored the potentialities of propaganda to the Takarir in the West, propaganda which promised, as it indeed brought about, such a welcome consequence as increasing migration of Takarir to the Niles. Within a very few years, and in full tide by 1922, the increase of Mahdism among the Takarir and their activities in extending propaganda to the West from his very doorstep must have been quite well-known to the Sayed and all his immediate circle. So, too—unless native statements are to be invariably discredited—must have been the frequent arrivals of messages and presents from beyond the western borders of the Sudan.

84. It is admitted that Abderrahman did not, in conduct or speech, actively encourage the more extravagant phases of Mahdism and that his personal attitude is restrained and moderate. Such a line of conduct, however, was only obvious commonsense. It is nevertheless equally clear that he completely failed to

impress the new Mahdism as professed by himself upon his less sophisticated followers, even those living constantly near him, just as the new Mahdism seems to have had singularly little effect in colouring the propaganda in the western provinces. That he deprecated extravagance in his presence and even sometimes denounced it in general and occasionally reported its exponents to Government is admitted everywhere, even by zealot Takarir. Yet the fact remains that all this failed to convince the rank and file. It was a religious belief to them that he was Isa and only counteraction much more vigorous than Abderrahman permits himself will avail against that. His denials, which are easy to make whatever his own intentions may be, were unconvincing, and considered by the zealots to be simply a matter of policy. In no single case, not even from Abderrahman's agent in Aba itself, did I hear anything to show that he denounces fanaticism in such an unequivocal way as would make his denials effective to the devotee; in such a way, for example, as the Alfa Hashim, by letter only, made very widely-known among the Takarir in the Sudan that the vision imputed to him was a forgery.

85. In conversation with Takarir in the region of Aba and the Niles I was much struck with the credibility of their statements where first-hand and touching the conduct or utterances of Abderrahman himself, in the midst of much fantastic nonsense and gossip about his divinity and future. Further west, be it said, it is harder to distinguish fact from fiction. There did not seem to be difficulty for the ordinary person to approach him and even to have personal conversation with him. I heard, too, of numerous persons who visited him as messengers from the West.* In the accounts given me of conversations with him, the tenor of remarks attributed to him was almost invariably the same discreet, non-committal and benevolent, with commonplace enquiries and comments on the pilgrims coming from the West. The messengers from the West seemed to be all told to go to Aba and stay there some time and return some day to the Sayed. By this credibility of statement on the personal conduct of Sayed himself I was the more convinced as to the essential facts to be inferred, *i.e.*, the receipt of messages from the West and the knowledge of the activities of Takarir propagandists and approval thereof. All this seems to me much more convincing than the disclaimers of Abderrahman, which are easy and politic for him to make. That there should be conscious chicanery on the part of the Takarir propagandists in defiance of the known wishes of the Sayed or even without reason to believe in definite encouragement from him seems not to be imagined.

86. With this quite obvious good faith on the part of the propagandists in Abderrahman's countenancing of their efforts may be compared the equal good faith of those that received it in the West. It is inconceivable that universally the religious leaders in the West, even as far as Nigeria, whether Mahdist or not, should have been convinced as they were that Abderrahman himself was the inspiration of the propaganda, had it not been so, or had he made any real effort to deny it. Communications are now too easy, travelled persons too numerous, and knowledge of the central Sudan too accurate for the better classes in the West to have been completely deceived.

* If evidence from Takarir has any value, I cannot doubt but that Abderrahman received letters directly from Adamawa.

87. There remains the matter of the considerable Mahdist literature and correspondence from the Sudan to Nigeria, of which much has been said in previous papers. It is initially essential to consider these documents separately in their separate categories, and therefore to ignore for the moment entirely both those political documents which reached Nigeria purporting to come from Egypt or Syria, and the soi-disant Senussist papers or other revivalistic pamphlets. These had nothing to do with the advancement of the cause of Abderrahman's Mahdism in the West and it is only obscuring the issue to treat them together.

88. The Mahdist literature proper, *i.e.*, of Sudan Mahdism, falls into several groups. There is the religious literature of the 'eighties, copies of which were numerous, the "ratib" or prayer book of Mahdism, and other books of ritual, and the encyclicals of the Mahdi himself or of the Khalifa Abdulahi. These are certainly genuine enough documents. There are copies of documents sent to Mallam Hayatu from the Sudan from the Mahdi or the Khalifa, the authenticity of which there is no reason to doubt. There were numerous modern productions modelled on the above and other religious papers, many well-written and in Sudan hand-writing. There were bowdlerised versions of Abderrahman's visit to England, his presentation of the "Sword of the Mahdi," the "Seif-an-Nasar," to the King, and of speeches of Abderrahman. There were also many private letters from Takarir in the Sudan to their friends in the West, extolling Abderrahman, urging entry into Mahdism and indulging in the extravagant phrases of fanaticism. Lastly, there were the letters purporting to be from Abderrahman himself to personages in the West. Of these one is admittedly sent from him to Mallam Sa'id and is dealt with later. Of the others it is extremely improbable that the authorship can be proved to have been his. It is quite possible that some are the impudent forgeries of enthusiasts, much as the "Vision of the Alfa Hashim" was a forgery. There are one or two, in particular, for example, that to the Imam Arabu, which might very well be attributed to the Sayed. But of many I am convinced that the true explanation is that they were authorised by him though not dictated or seen. This is the specific allegation of the sender in the case of two letters in my own knowledge, to wit, that the letters were faithful précis of conversation. In the circumstances existing in the Mahdist organisation and the relations between the Sayed and his followers, nothing seems to me more probable than that those whose business it was to stimulate Mahdism among the Takarir should seek and obtain authority, probably tacit in some cases, for some proposed action, and thereafter use the Sayed's name. I am afraid this matter, without enquiries in the Sudan of a nature which would do more harm than good, must be left at that.

Letter from
Abderrahman
to Sa'id.

89. To these general causes dealt with in the previous paragraphs has to be added an avowed action by Abderrahman in 1922 of a definite kind. In March of that year a letter was sent by Abderrahman to Mallam Sa'id with the knowledge and approval of the Intelligence Department, Khartoum, by whom a copy was retained. This was in reply to one sent him by Sa'id already mentioned, a copy of which was also retained by the Intelligence Department.

90. This is the one undoubted incident of Abderrahman's personal dealings with the west beyond the Sudan. It is so because it is the only one which appears

to have come within the knowledge of the Intelligence Department. I do not see any reason to assume, however, that on this account it need have been the only such incident. Abderrahman's dealings with the western provinces of the Sudan were necessarily the subject of discussion between himself and the Intelligence Department; hence the use of accredited agents whose commissions often bore the imprimatur of the Department. No such formality affected his intercourse with regions beyond the Sudan. I see no reason to believe that the letter from Sa'id which was brought by him to the Intelligence Department—a letter incidentally in which Sa'id proposed to come to the Sudan—was the first evidence to the Sayed of the Mahdist developments in Nigeria and Adamawa, nor the reply the first and only authorised message to the West. It is the only such action presumably made under the authority and direction of the Intelligence Department, but that in no way can disprove the probability of previous dealings of a not dissimilar nature.

91. The letter appeared to the Department harmless enough in itself,* and the Department was apparently under the impression that Sa'id was still resident in French territory and unaware that he had come to live under another British administration; though the fact should not have been difficult to discover, for relations of Sa'id recently come from Nigeria were then resident on the Blue Nile and the messenger who came from Sa'id stated Sa'id's intention to migrate. Abderrahman's reply was carried through to Nigeria before the end of the year in spite of delay in Darfur, where, indeed, the messenger conversed with a political officer. It arrived at Dumbulwa at a time when the Mahdist zeal had reached a high point for a variety of reasons and caused a first-class sensation. The verbal messages which went with it, as recounted by the Dumbulwa witnesses examined later and as confirmed by the messenger himself† to me in Darfur in 1925, met the highest ambitions of Mallam Sa'id. He was to be "in the West even as Abderrahman was in the East," and "all the 'Ansars' in the West were to be put under him." The messenger was a Mahdist fanatic in whose mouth no verbal message or statement of Abderrahman's words or account of the Sayed's prestige in the Sudan would lose anything in the telling.

92. The letter was certainly genuine. The verbal messages certainly were believed to be so. To the Mahdists of Dumbulwa, very many of whom had been Hayatu's or Jibrella's men, and to the other Mahdist communities to whom Sa'id hastened to communicate his good news, it must only have seemed as if their hopes were fulfilled and that "the day" was very near at hand.

93. This may appear much to make out of a letter which might be argued innocuous in itself, sent, as it might be said, as a mere gesture on Abderrahman's side, and by the hand of a Fulani "fiki" of no importance. To imagine that any other effect than that suggested above could have been produced is, however, completely to misunderstand the mentality of the community at Dumbulwa and the other Mahdist settlements. These were composed of ignorant Fulani already religiously excited, including among them many who had passed through a period

* The real import and importance of the letter, e.g., the references to Baida and Burni, were not appreciated by the Department.

† See statement by Hajj Shuaibu in Appendix B.

of religious excitement twenty years before, and they were at the time anxiously looking for signs from the east. What Abderrahman's real actions and sentiments may have been is beside the point. He was the accepted leader of the sect and a word directly from him was received by the community as an earnest of the truth of their beliefs.

94. The situation at Dumbulwa was therefore produced by some years of Mahdist activities which were the direct sequelae of the Mahdist propaganda in the Sudan and which culminated in a letter from Abderrahman sent with the knowledge of the Intelligence Department and delivered with the accompaniment of verbal messages of a definite kind. It need not be that this situation necessarily heralded an armed outbreak against the Nigerian Government, but the conditions were akin to those which have preceded serious trouble in other similar countries, and were closely akin to those which had arisen in the western provinces of the Sudan; which had aroused very strong anxiety and protest from political officers there: where, moreover, there had been recent experience of a serious outbreak at Nyala, in which, incidentally, numerous Fulani were engaged as late as 1921.

95. In fact, Mahdist propaganda in Abderrahman's name had produced results in Nigeria closely parallel to the results which it had produced in the Sudan. The parallel is still more strongly brought out by consideration of the circumstances under which the letter to Sa'id of 1922 was sent out from Omdurman. The messenger was to have accompanied a well-known agent of Abderrahman who was being sent to Darfur, though he did not in fact do so because of this agent's delay but went ahead. The circumstances and event of this agent's journey are curiously instructive when compared with the case of Dumbulwa.

96. The agent received a letter or "taukil" (commission) from Abderrahman to act as his agent in Darfur, initialled by the Director of Intelligence. In it he is called "Emir," in itself a point of significance, and it is enjoined that he be treated as Abderrahman's "wakil"; the letter contains also injunctions to the Mahdists to be obedient to Government, pay taxes, etc., similar to the unexceptionable injunctions in the letter to Sa'id. Nevertheless, the agent, on entering Kordofan and getting among the Baggara tribes, caused such a ferment as to lead to his removal by motor in the interests of public security, this being on the complaint by the local chief.

97. A very similar result was the outcome of the letter to Dumbulwa. Mallam Sa'id, now posing as the lieutenant of Abderrahman in the West, had quickly brought himself into clash with the local native administration and on the protests of the local Emir was in the same manner as the agent above mentioned removed by motor as a menace to the public security. That is to say, that Abderrahman's action at one and the same time with regard to Mallam Sa'id and to his Darfur agent led in both cases to an almost identical result, to wit, an impetus to Mahdism among ignorant fanatical people in Kordofan and in Bornu which led in both cases to their removal as an urgent necessity of public safety.

98. The circumstance relating to this letter from Abderrahman to Sa'id have rather been emphasised as they bring out in a particular degree the connection and parallel between recent Mahdism in Nigeria and that in the Sudan, which has been insisted on in this report, the former being the direct off-spring of the latter.

99. There are, however, two further factors for whose part in advancing Mahdism in the West allowance must be made. They are independent of Abderrahman and his organisation, which bears the initial and general responsibility. Both factors indicate the rôle which Mahdism can easily assume as the religious side of political agitation. other factors influencing Mahdism in the West.

100. One of these factors is that side of the psychology of the Fulani race which might be described as Fulani racialism: and its influence has been considerable. The other is the contact of the agents of unrest engineered from without the Sudan with Abderrahman's Mahdist movement.

101. The mentality of the Fulani couples an intense and innate pride of race with a real political sense and ambition developed in recent generations. This latter dates from the stimulus of Islam just over a century ago which led these pastoral cowherds to seize political power in many states of the Upper Niger region, including much of the present Northern Provinces of Nigeria and northern Cameroon. The leader in this Jihad was an Usuman ibn Fodio, a Fulani himself, stimulated by his experiences of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Fulani racialism.

102. European expansion has usurped the political domination of the Fulani chiefs in this thickly populated region; but the political ambition of the Fulani leaders to rule is not dead and will not die. As already described in earlier parts of this report, a not inconsiderable number of political refugees migrated to the Sudan rather than live under the alien power in their little kingdoms. To-day this Fulani racialism is a quite notable feature among the Fulani living in the East; its features have been indicated in earlier paragraphs. It would almost appear that in the atmosphere of the Sudan the Fulani have found an environment more favourable to their dreams than in Nigeria. In Nigeria, though that spirit is not absent, it is permissible to believe that the reality of rule by Fulani Emirs partially satisfies or partially supplants these dreams. Fantastic they may be, but that they do persist admits of no manner of doubt whatever and is evidenced in the conversation of very many of the Fellata in the Sudan, in the popularity of literature touching the prophecies of the Fulani return to the east, and in documents recalling the preachings and glories of the Sheikh Usuman ibn Fodio.

103. The nucleus of the upholders of this Fulani racialism is no doubt the remnant of the Burmi malcontents, whether Mahdists of Jibrella and Hayatu or of the Sultan At-Tahiru. These people have not experienced the mellowing effects of peaceful prosperity and the partial satisfaction of their political aspirations in the reorganised emirates. Instead, most of them have lived a vagrant life in the Sudan and in the Hejaz as poor and despised pilgrims, as casual labourers welcome only for cheapness of their labour, as suspected adherents of any suspicious outbreak. A number of these people lived in the Hejaz for many years and imbibed

no doubt still stronger anti-Christian and anti-European leanings in the one country in their knowledge not ruled by an infidel power; and a number of them probably came into the Sudan only since the war.

104. The stimulus to this Fulani spirit is to-day as it was a century ago, religious. It appears beyond question that its recrudescence among Fellata in the Sudan as in certain environments in the West is due to the quickening stimulus of Mahdism. In turn, too, it would quickly embrace and emphasise the anti-European element in the Mahdist tradition. Hence arises the intermingling of Fulani political visions with Mahdist religious enthusiasm.* Mahdism as the religious side of their spirit of resentment to European domination has had a wider appeal than it might otherwise have had, and has coloured their activities in its propagation among their compatriots. The same parallel is, I think, to be observed in Mahdism among some tribes of the western provinces of the Sudan and in Wadai.

Activities of
agents of
political
intrigue from
outside the
Sudan.

105. Of less extent - as far as the evidence goes—but of effect on the development of Sudan Mahdism in the West, has been its contact with the agents of the subversive agencies working from outside the Sudan.

106. In the Sudan no conscious liaison between the Mahdist organisation and the Egyptian or other outside forces can be imagined. Further, as has been so often said, the revival of Sudan Mahdism in Nigeria requires no further explanation than the visible movement in the Sudan itself.

107. Yet other forms of religious revivalism have been deliberately used as a cloak for subversive propaganda and there is no inherent reason why Sudan Mahdism should not also have been so used, or, rather, being already an active force in itself, been so used as a vehicle for such propaganda. The question is—at what point did Mahdism end and purely political intrigue take up? The question divides itself into two parts—did the Mahdist organisation lend itself to the spread of more obnoxious and political propaganda? and—did the agencies who made it their business to engineer unrest in Mohammedan Africa utilise Abderrahman's Mahdism as a cloak or vehicle?

108. The answer to the first of these questions is certainly in the negative. As regards Abderrahman and his organisation in touch with himself it is unthinkable, as has been said, that there was ever any conscious liaison with the Egyptians or other such outside influence. As regards the propaganda to the West, those Mahdist agents who were active and effective were for the most part simple enthusiasts who drew their inspiration directly from the Mahdist organisation and had no ulterior aims in view.

109. I think, therefore, that the Mahdist missionaries to the West may generally be acquitted of any ulterior motive other than the propagation of what they conceived the true faith and of the belief in the material as well as spiritual victory of the Mahdists over unbelievers and alien Governments in a near future. Nor is it to be believed that in giving sanction to the propagation of Mahdism in the West was Abderrahman himself in any way conscious of assisting to promote the interests of Egyptians or other movements outside his own.

* This is, for example, the aspect of Mahdism which most impresses the Shehus of Bornu and of Dikwa, who are of course not Fulanis.

110. The answer to the second part of the question - did the agencies aiming at stirring up unrest among African Mohammedans utilise Abderrahman's Mahdism as a cloak or a vehicle for their propaganda? - is less assured. It must always be borne in mind that Sudan Mahdism in its own areas was so dominant as inevitably to appear to comprehend all other disturbing influences. It was for this reason that originally to natives in the Chad region, affected by the news and rumour brought by returning pilgrims, all the religious and political unrest observed appeared to be merely differing facets of the Mahdist movement headed by Abderrahman.

111. The evidence, such as it is, indicates in the writer's opinion that contact where found was incidental, as it was inevitable, rather than that any astute conspiracy to exploit Abderrahman's Mahdism was widely in operation.

112. That the unsettling effect of the spread of Sudan Mahdism was welcome to the engineers of political unrest in primitive Mohammedan Africa is extremely likely. It may even have suggested the exploitation of the other "tarikas." It even may have suited, conceivably, the objects of pro-Egyptian agents in the Sudan.* But the plain fact is that Sudan Mahdism was a great and live force independent of the directors of unrest and, if it suited their plans that it should grow vigorously, there was no need whatsoever to do anything else than to leave it to the activities of its own devotees. The missionary zeal of the Mahdist propagandists to the West needed no fillip or encouragement, financial or otherwise, from outside; nor could the alien propagandist - had he wished - have much influenced the movement in any special way useful to himself.

113. There were instances where other and political ends were combined with Mahdist propaganda, but they appear to me to show either that the agent, being a Mahdist at heart, inevitably moved in Mahdist circles, or that, not being a sincere Mahdist, he found it convenient to fall in with the growing movement; rather than that his principal intentions and instructions were to use Mahdism to further the propagation of political unrest.

114. Against such instances must be placed those numerous known cases where the agents and channels of deliberately subversive propaganda to the West have had nothing to do with Sudan Mahdism. The Senussist propaganda again came through circles previously Senussist, while the Tujania missionaries on their side never used Abderrahman's name. It is true that the "vision of Sheikh Ahmad," not a production of Sudan Mahdism, was often found in the papers of returning Mahdist pilgrims, but that was a pamphlet in general circulation and picked up incidentally on their journey. There is again no evidence that the channels through which were sent one particular type of strictly political propaganda which reached the Niger-Chad region, to wit, the letters to Mao and Nguigni and Fittri, generally had anything to do with Mahdist activities. These letters were quite different in type and tone from the usual Mahdist document. Nor, from what I heard in Cairo and elsewhere, were persons employed in taking or passing on these letters known as Mahdists.

* It has been suggested that some Egyptian mamurs favoured the extension of Mahdism among the ignorant tribesmen.

115. It will be useful nevertheless to dwell upon two instances where persons employed in seditious activities also did engage in fomenting the Mahdist movement of Abderrahman.

116. One of these instances is the case of a charlatan Fulani "fiki,"* an originaire of Marua, who had lived at the Bornu court at Kukawa, and subsequently became one of Hayatu's men, going after Hayatu's death to Mecca and finally settling down in the Sudan as a hanger-on of the Mahdist leaders. He appears to have paid three visits to Nigeria in the decade between 1913 and 1923 and to have visited every Mahdist centre of importance, carrying in 1916 or so a letter alleged to be from Abderrahman.† He was at Nyala in 1920 before the outbreak there.

117. The point that distinguishes him from other Mahdist propagandists is that he was certainly engaged in some business touching the Tuareg revolt in the Air and Agades region under Kaossen in 1916. It is very strongly believed that he had been employed by the influences which were behind the troubles in Cyrenaica and the Kaossen revolt. Information in Nigeria and in Cairo curiously accords on this point.

118. The other instance is that of a minor chief in southern Wadai. He is a person of comparatively little importance, yet his name appears to be known in every politically-minded circle amongst the Takarir from Kano to Cairo. This man owes his position not to hereditary or tribal right but to successful ingratiation of himself with the French. He keeps up a correspondence with Wadaians in Nigeria, in the Sudan, and in Cairo. He is spoken of sometimes as a Mahdist, sometimes as a follower of the Tujani sect and sometimes as a follower of the Senussi. It would appear that he is a busybody ready to take a share in any intrigue or propaganda which comes his way. There cannot, I think, be any doubt but that he has been used by anti-European agencies working from Egypt or elsewhere. He is quite definitely not a genuine Mahdist fanatic. His chief personal interest probably is his belief that in any unrest or unsettlement in Wadai he will be able to profit and aggrandise himself.

119. The Fulani "fiki" was a well-chosen and effective agent to Fulani circles. It is possible that he was deliberately encouraged to foment Mahdism on his journey; where he could he certainly did so and effectively. His principal functions were, however, to guide a person of importance from the Nile to Kaossen in 1916, and to prepare the minds of influential people in the Niger-Chad region for the idea of armed insurrection from the north.‡ It is to be remembered that the most curious rumours were then afloat in the Chad region, one of them speaking of a visit of Slatin Pasha to Wadai and Borku and his expected arrival from the north. The "fiki's" movement in Mahdist circles seems to me to be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that it was the circle he knew best from old association. Being, too, a sincere Mahdist, he preached Mahdism and strove for conversions to the rite while not neglecting the commissions he had been given.

* Fiki, fikih, fakih—Arabic for scribe or priest.

† He visited Mallam Sa'id at Balda and again later at Dumbulwa.

‡ A Hausa pilgrim was arrested by the French in Tchad as early as 1913 with papers showing a similar object.

120. The Wadaian on the other hand appears to be the natural sedition-monger who would take up Mahdism as he would take up anything else. Placed as he is among the very mixed populations of Wadai he is the better able to run several lines at once. That he is, or was, used and assisted by agencies outside the Sudan is scarcely to be doubted. That he is, or was, used by them for the definite purpose of fomenting the Mahdism of Abderrahman seems to me extremely unlikely, and his actual assistance to the Mahdist cause has been very small and much discounted by the diversity of his activities. The effectiveness of this person as a propagandist of Sudan Mahdism appeared in his own country to be very much less than it had been reported in Bornu to be.

121. Interesting and, indeed, significant, especially for the future, as are the cases of these two men and their coteries, yet they must, I think, be considered as indicating rather the incidental contact of one movement with another, than as evidence of any astute cynical exploitation on a big scale of Sudan Mahdism.

122. The very important fact, however, stands out clear in all this matter, that Mahdism—Abderrahman's or another form of it—is potentially the religious side of any political unrest in the countries of the Sudan belt of Africa; and this is so, whether or not exploited by the engineers of anti-European agitation. This fact is to be observed among western tribesmen in the Sudan, in Massalit, in Bagirmi, and among the Fulani. It was even quite clear in petty intrigues in Bornu in 1923 when the atmosphere was much charged with Mahdism. This is, perhaps, the most important side of the whole matter and more important than details touching Abderrahman. For it affects a much wider area than the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and very much bigger populations. The opportunity to the engineers of anti-capitalism is very obvious indeed.

123. To return to the effects of Mahdism upon Takarir in the Sudan. I gathered that the numbers of them who belonged to the sect as late as 1915 were comparatively few, though for their numbers the proportion of religious fanatics was large, as evidenced in their prominence in petty outbreaks and propaganda. That the number of converts had become very large by 1922 and was increasing rapidly admits, I think, of no manner of doubt. It was commonly believed by interested circles in Nigeria that "all" or "nearly all" the Takarir in the Sudan were Mahdists. Travellers from the Sudan very commonly expressed this, or at least represented Mahdism as the winning side in a contest between the Mahdist and the non-Mahdist Takarir. Mahdism was further becoming a kind of religious counterpart to the political visions which a large class of Fulani appear unable to let drop.

Rise and
decline of
Mahdism
among
Takarir in the
Sudan.

124. How far Mai Wurno and Mai Ahmadu of Messau would themselves have been carried away it is hard to say. The former certainly would not have missed any

125. A matter therein referred to deserves further amplification. The belief of the Mahdist party generally is that the influence of Abderrahman with the Government is very great indeed; in fact, almost secular authority is attributed to him. I was commonly informed that a Mahdist aggrieved at his treatment by the administration or by failure in a law suit, for example, would consider it quite a natural thing to appeal to Abderrahman to have things influenced in his favour. As far as this had foundation I understand that Abderrahman, as in fact any of the religious leaders in the Sudan, had always, and not unnaturally, the ear of the Intelligence Department for the representation of any grievance. To the more fanatic-minded of his followers his influence was credited to supernatural means.

126. There is an interesting parallel with all this to be found in the case of Mallam Sa'id of Dumbulwa. Sa'id believed quite definitely that he could get the order for his deposition rescinded through the mediation of Abderrahman, and to this belief his long letter to Abderrahman, intercepted in Bornu, is a very striking testimony. Again, Sa'id, invested with something of Abderrahman's mantle as his lieutenant, was believed by Mahdists in Nigeria to have the power of influencing the administration by his prayers if not by more mundane means; and some of the letters received by him from Emirs in Nigeria again testify in the clearest fashion to this faith.

127. This belief in Abderrahman's powers—secular or supernatural—was, I think, a powerful lever in increasing his following among the Takarir, as among the local people. His journeys and the manner in which they were carried out—I was an eye-witness on two occasions of these and of his receptions and the superstitious veneration displayed—could not in themselves have failed to have had a great effect upon the unsophisticated pilgrim from the West.

128. Nevertheless, great as had been the increase of Mahdism in the Sudan among Takarir in the years 1915-1923, there was, I think, a notable decline in the years 1924-1925, and it could no longer be said in 1925 that a majority of the Takarir had turned Mahdist or that the Mahdist propaganda was on the way to complete success amongst them.

129. In 1925, outside definitely Mahdist circles among the Takarir, gossip adverse to Abderrahman was, I found, quite common. This was in essence the rather shrewd and true criticism that Abderrahman was much more interested in his material prosperity than in the divinity of his mission. His house at Khartoum, his building operations at Aba, his well-known money-making activities were all instanced to me as evidence that he was not the divinely-sent one who should champion the ancient faith. I heard, too, contempt expressed of his acceptance of gifts of concubines from the ignorant tribesmen—a somewhat surprising comment to come from a Sudani or Nigerian primitive-minded Mohammedan. I met, moreover, quite a number of Takarir who had left Aba Island, some because of the Government's order, some, as they quite frankly told me, because they had been made to work too hard there, and they had found the zeal of some of the "muhajirin"* and the "ansar"* too much for them.

* The "muhajirin" (companions) and the "ansar" (helpers) are terms used as terms of honour for the first disciples and lieutenants of the Prophet; used among Mahdists in similar sense in respect of the Mahdi and of Abderrahman; the titles have a "militant" sense. See also para. 82.

130. Of the reasons which have brought about this decline, very much the most powerful has been the written denial by the Alfa Hashim* of the vision imputed to him and of all rumours connecting him with religious "bida'a."† The restrictions put by the Sudan Government on the Aba pilgrimage and other steps taken in 1923 have had, too, a considerable effect. The deportation of Mallam Sa'id in Nigeria had a considerable influence in checking the ardour of those who were interested and instrumental in pushing Mahdist propaganda to Nigeria. The verbal deprecation by Abderrahman of any belief that he is Isa and his other discouragement of fanaticism have presumably had a certain effect, though heavily discounted by other facts. But he cannot be both man of the world and at the same time spiritual head of a sect and personifying in himself a Messianic belief without losing some confidence of the more primitive zealots.

131. It would be hard to exaggerate the influence of the Alfa Hashim's letters upon the Takarir in the Sudan. In nearly every Fellata settlement which I visited, someone or other appeared to have had a letter or a copy of the principal letter from the Alfa. This man appears to have a position of unique influence. His long residence in Medina, whence he appears to keep in regular correspondence with persons in the Sudan and in Nigeria, his personal history dating back to the French occupation of Melle and his part in the Sultan of Sokoto's "jihad" against the British, his aloofness from political intrigue, and his clear and fair-minded advice to those that seek it from him, combine to give him a remarkable hold on the Takarir, though not, I am informed, in wider circles in the Sudan.

132. His well-known denial of Mahdism does not, it may be noted, save him from false rumour even now. I heard more than once of his reported conversion to belief in Abderrahman. That this should be possible illustrates rather the store the Takarir set upon his countenance and the gullibility of the ignorant. There is no question that the Alfa—unlike Abderrahman, be it noted—has done very much to dissipate the rumours circulating round his name. His success can largely be measured in the decline of the belief in Abderrahman amongst Takarir in the Sudan.

133. This decline may be a temporary phenomenon. It is always possible that Abderrahman's advance from strength to strength among surrounding peoples may appear too solid a proof of the rightness of Mahdism for numbers of the ignorant Takarir pilgrims not to be again swept up into it.

134. A mental atmosphere among the Takarir free of the overshadowing dominance of Sudan Mahdism is to be found in their colonies in the Hejaz‡ and in Cairo. Indications of political propaganda among them have, therefore, a separate interest from those touching the great bulk of the Takarir in the central parts of the Sudan.

Influences
affecting
Takarir in
the Hejaz.

* See para. 33.

† Bida'a—innovation, heresy.

‡ Generally speaking, I heard much less about Mahdism and Abderrahman on the Red Sea than further west. Nevertheless, at Port Sudan, the Sheikh of the Takarir there—a Sokoto man—summed it up tersely as "satiru" (a serious outbreak in Sokoto province in 1906).

135. Conditions in the Hejaz in 1925 had broken up the community of the Takarir there, and there is little to be learned in detail of particular recent effects of influences under which they there come. At the time of my visit a Bolshevik Consul had been established in Jeddah, but had not, I understood, commenced anti-British activities. Similar consulates in Eritrea and (?) Abyssinia are expected to be formed and also to be used as channels for propaganda into the Sudan.

136. That the Takarir colonies in the Hejaz contain a rather bigger proportion of bad characters than elsewhere has been indicated in earlier parts of this report. Formerly, also, they contained a fair number of the Burmi intransigents, but of these many have gone to the Sudan as one result of the recent wars.

137. There has also existed, and still exists, a number of Takarir in the Hejaz who are active in reproaching pilgrims from their own homes with their subjection to the Christian. It would appear that these have been under the influence of the unenlightened theologians of Islam, who were presumably a ready tool for pan-Islamic or other intrigue against Britain of the last two decades. In the circumstances of the Hejaz in 1925, definite plans of propaganda in Nigeria—as have been previously reported*—could scarcely be in action. Nevertheless, it would appear that much of the flood of pamphleteering to Fulani in Nigeria is to be ascribed to this coterie of Fulani irreconcilables. In it the ill-balanced Muhammad Bunuf, son of the Sultan of Sokoto, At-Tahiru, appears to be prominent. This element should be readily capable of utilisation by the agents of world revolution. If utilised—and intelligently utilised as it may be by the trained product of "agitators' colleges"—it must be a really harmful influence through which the ignorant pilgrim must pass.

138. As it happens, however, in 1925, not only is the Takarir community broken up, but also the influence of the Alfa Hashim among the Takarir is greater than that of the subversive element. As in the Sudan so also in Jeddah, but in more detail, I heard of repeated good advice which this man had administered to westerners.

Influences on
the Takarir
in Egypt.

139. Less, however, was to be learned at Jeddah in 1925 than among the Takarir in Cairo. Some details of conditions and personalities worthy of remark are given in the earlier part of this report and more fully in an appendix. Though the Takarir colony in Cairo and Egypt is apparently very much smaller now than it was wont to be—and shows no signs of increasing—it still forms a channel easy and potentially important for penetration of political agitation into the Nigerian emirates. It has, moreover, quite certainly been so utilised in recent years.

140. The Takarir colony in Lower Egypt differs from those in the Sudan and on the Red Sea in one important point. In the latter a large number of the individuals, often the majority, are passing pilgrims in fact or in intention. In Lower Egypt, almost all have for one reason or another lived there for some years and have little intention of moving on soon, if at all. Some Al Azhar students have a vague idea of returning home sometime—that is all.

* e.g., in 1920, when the Emir of Katsina was approached.

† See also Part I, paras. 23 and 76.

141. My enquiries in Cairo covered nine days only, and were prosecuted independently of almost any assistance. Nevertheless, I learnt sufficient to believe that with co-operation from all possible quarters much might be discovered regarding propaganda directed at the Niger-Chad region. Some outline of the facts touching the Bornu "ruwak" in Al Azhar and the community of Takarir in Lower Egypt has been given in the earlier part of this report and details of the various personalities in an appendix.

142. To practically all the Takarir, even the lowest-class vagabonds, the political ferments in Cairo are a lively interest. There is nothing surprising in this, for these touch the riff-raff and even the half-baked schoolboy youth of the cosmopolitan population of the city. Moreover, there is a circle among the Takarir in Cairo who have been active in the anti-British demonstrations, and who in their meetings indulge in expression of violently anti-British sentiments. At least one of the members, moreover, a man born in Adamawa, has a long acquaintance with Tunis, and has a reputed wealthy patron* in Egypt and a house and some means; he exerts himself to induce other Takarir to join in these seditious activities. Another is son of an old hothead from Katagum, who got into trouble in the Sudan for slave-dealing and came to Cairo with the son, then a boy; this man has plans for visiting Nigeria. Another Takruri of Bornu origin I found to be aware of the communication from Cairo to Kaossen, who led a Tuareg revolt against the French in 1916, and this man had himself been employed to carry letters from Egypt to the Chad region, again from a wealthy patron.* It is noteworthy that the Bornu language was at one time studied in Cairo by a German linguist from Al Azhar students of the Bornu "ruwak." Some correspondence between Cairo and Lagos was also evident and the passage of a member of the Shitta family of Lagos to be noted. Some Syrian merchants would appear to have an interest in Lagos politics, while another was reported as having a correspondent in Kano and to finance certain Wadaian sedition-mongers; he and his father had had, too, relations with the Senussi dating back at least twenty-five years. The goings and comings of Wadaian malcontents is no less interesting to Nigeria, and one of these has a line of correspondence through Takarir with Wadai. The milieu in which the Takarir move is from most points of view a bad one. Nevertheless, in a number of those I met, though sophisticated in the anti-British phraseology, the absorption did not appear to me to be more than skin-deep and they seemed sincerely pleased to hear and talk with me of their native land.

143. This résumé of enquiries in Egypt concludes the review of political and religious influences upon the natives of West Africa to the countries of the East. The following paragraphs attempt to summarise details already given and the views and opinions thereon expressed.

144. In the first part of this report an account has been given in some detail of the settlements of natives of the Niger-Chad region in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, on the Red Sea and in the Hejaz, and in Egypt. These colonies, which are an outcome of the pilgrim traffic, now contain a population not inconsiderable in

General
Summary.

* A separate memorandum is being submitted on this subject. See Appendix E.

numbers, to wit, ninety thousand, including both settlers and travelling pilgrims. These numbers are steadily growing, and reasons particular to the Sudan, demographic and economic, give the settlements in that country a position to which in more thickly populated West Africa their population would not entitle them. Again, though the bulk of the recruits to them to-day from Nigeria are Hausa peasants of the poorer and more ignorant classes, they contain a considerable nucleus of earlier emigrants, chiefly Fulani, who are, as a body, and in some cases individually, interesting to Nigeria. Of these, some took part in the Mahdia of the Sudan in the 'eighties. Many more were actors in the events of great and even critical importance in the early days of the British occupation of the Nigerian emirates and they had left Nigeria thereafter more or less as political refugees. Some of them have been active in fanatic outbreaks in the Sudan. Again, the journey of the trans-continental traveller has become much more easy and rapid since the beginning of the century and overland communication between east and west, by letter and personal messenger, never interrupted, has greatly increased in recent years. The Arabic newspaper and pamphlet, printed in Khartoum, in Egypt or in Syria, is also now in circulation in Nigeria, its arrival largely facilitated by these factors.

145. All this has brought the Niger-Chad region much more in touch with the Islamic world of the Sudan and of Egypt and of the Hejaz than at any previous time: for before 1900 the North African littoral rather than the Nile valley was the natural line of communication with the outside world. The political movements of the Nile valley and the Red Sea are now much more likely than before to have importance to the Mohammedan areas of Nigeria; indeed, probably more than those of any other region. Not necessary

146. These facts make the pilgrimage traffic and the settlements of the Takarir in the East, which are chiefly important to the administrations there as labour colonies and but very occasionally of any significance in affairs of public security, to be of political interest to the Nigerian Administration. They form the most apparent and likely factor in the spread, in the Nigerian emirates, of religious and political movements likely to be disturbing to the easy and natural development of these emirates.

147. For some years previous to 1924, the inhabitants of the Sudan had been exposed to the influence of movements hostile, actively or potentially, to European domination, and by these Takarir were inevitably affected. These were principally the political anti-British agitation engineered from Egypt, and the survival of Sudan Mahdism. The Sudan Nationalist movement should be mentioned as of potential importance in the Sudan, but it has not affected the Takarir. During the same years also the northern emirates of Nigeria were subjected to propaganda from without. Political anti-European propaganda, comparable though infinitely minor in intensity and scope to that of the Egyptian sedition-mongers in the Sudan, found its way to certain limited circles; and religious revivalism which might be described as Mahdism in its most general sense, of which Sudan Mahdism of the party of Abderrahman was one important phase, was producing in the not unfavourable atmosphere of primitive Nigerian Mohammedanism a pronounced effect in certain localities.

148. That these phenomena in Nigeria were a direct outcome of the movements in the Sudan was a very natural surmise, especially as the persons active in Nigeria had apparently come from the Sudan.

149. The event has shown that something very much more important and potentially dangerous to Nigeria was nascent; for the real root of the propaganda in Nigeria—excepting always Sudan Mahdism—is to be sought not in the Sudan, but in engineered intrigue against European domination which finds expression in so much agitation and unrest in so many areas throughout the world. Moreover, the direction of this anti-European propaganda—Third International or whatever it may be—is sufficiently subtle to utilise any movement, political or religious, which in any way may weaken the local European power in the minds of the subject races. To its operation therefore is believed to be due the religious agitation in Nigeria in the name of the Tujania and Senussia orders as well as one or two other phenomena of religious revivalism; to it is also attributed the political propaganda to limited circles above mentioned. The spread of Sudan Mahdism in the West is, however, to be explained by its recent history in the Sudan. That all this is so is evident from fuller knowledge of the various movements whether in the Sudan or in Nigeria.

150. Of all the factors concerned, the first observed in Nigeria was, as it happened, the spread of Sudan Mahdism. The identity of its manifestations and causes with those of the growing Mahdism of the Western provinces of the Sudan was established, though obscured for a time, by an official policy in the Sudan towards a modern phase of Mahdism in the central areas. The other phases of religious agitation, however, which were observed later, could not be traced to such definite and obvious sources either in the Sudan or from the recognised heads of Islamic confraternities. It was soon enough clear that they were probably a cloak for endeavours to create an atmosphere favourable to political unrest. The deduction that agencies more secret and astute than those responsible for the spread of the Mahdism of Abderrahman or even the pro-Egyptian movement in the Sudan have turned their attention to Nigeria is impossible to evade and is supported by much positive evidence. The conclusion is still more insistent on consideration of the purely political propaganda addressed to personalities in the Niger-Chad region, without or often almost without any appeal to religious enthusiasm. This consisted of direct frank appeals to persons of influence to enter into relations with the enemies of Britain and France in other lands, *e.g.*, Egypt, and to act as agents in a sort of intelligence service. In several of these letters conceptions of local circumstances are revealed which point to the authorship of outsiders with a considerable knowledge of the Niger-Chad region. In one in particular an acquaintance with local history is shown with a political appeal based thereon—puerile as the appeal may be—of which it is difficult to imagine anyone but the expert Teutonic-minded ethnologist to be the author. This again accords curiously with the known employment of German students of African history and ethnology on intelligence work during the war, and the significant fact that a German student of languages was at one time in close touch with the Bornu "ruwak" in Al Azhar, from which persons have been employed in carrying letters to the west.

151. It is, however, with particular evidence of facts and people as personally observed that this report deals. That evidence concerns the more immediate instruments and channels of propaganda through the westerners settled in the East. To find competent agents to work in such areas as the emirates of Nigeria must be a great and initial difficulty facing the directors of propaganda. Generally speaking, there is little chance of the alien passing freely and unobserved in those areas, and language is alone a difficulty, even though Arabic be useful. The cosmopolitan commercial development of centres in the Northern Provinces must facilitate ways and means in the present and future, but, though there is evidence that advantage has been taken of this, it has as yet been but limited.

152. It is, therefore, in the persons of Takarir who have lived in the East that the desired agents can at present be most readily found, imperfect instruments though many of them must be. It was very evident to the writer after being constantly associated with them for many weeks that these people are not all to be considered as merely ignorant and unobservant travellers unaffected by the politics of the countries in which they have lived.

153. The details touching the colony in Egypt deal with a very small colony indeed, considered in numbers, but perhaps for that reason, and as these people are more definitely than elsewhere strangers in a strange land, they indicate rather notably the possibilities and actual beginnings of use of the westerners as the instruments of propaganda. They must further be taken together with the other sides of the subject as shown elsewhere. In the Hejaz and on the Red Sea there is also a class of Takarir—long absent from Nigeria, irreconcilable to the present régime in their own home, very easily influenced by any old school Islamic appeal to religious bigotry or racial prejudice—who are capable of employment by the active and intelligent agent of unrest as an avenue to the West. This is already much more than conjecture, the attempt has been made, and further attempts may be expected. In the Sudan and the Hejaz the existence of coteries of Takarir of restless and unsettled mind and life, listening readily to gossip malevolent to the British domination, and preserving a memory of past disturbances in which they took part and a lively sense of expected upheavals, has been indicated in earlier parts of this report. It is an element which is scarcely paralleled in Nigeria itself. A number of such persons may be said to spend their lives in the unsettling atmosphere of the road between settlement and settlement, some as pilgrim agents or as inquisitive and irresponsible seekers and purveyors of rumour. From among them are to be found the agents of the spread of Mahdism, and the carriers of pamphlets, letters and a certain mentality to the Niger-Chad region. From among them, too, certain are known to have addressed themselves with or without letters to communities and personalities in the West. The long chain of settlements from the Red Sea to the Chad is their easy road. The strength of Mahdism as the important politico-religious movement affecting their class along this route, and the tendency of the Fulani to translate any political movement in terms of their own racial visions, promote the excitement in which such intrigue would thrive, as also obscure the activities of the real secret agent conscious of his mission.

154. Moreover, in the Sudan itself internal political agitation is a thing of some considerable reality, and in this reality there is a vast difference between the

conditions in the Sudan and those in the emirates of Nigeria. Political intrigue in the form of Sudan Nationalism or in more obnoxious form is really alive. The form of administration in the Sudan gives it there an orientation different from that which any tendency to be at present envisaged in the emirates of Nigeria could take. But in many ways the Sudan resembles the Northern Provinces more than any British colony, and its political developments have much to interest the Nigerian Administration.

155. The extent and success of the pro-Egyptian propaganda movement in the Sudan is probably quite unrealised by the Nigerian political officer taking his ideas from the public press. The picture of the Sudan as a country of Africans prosperous and contented and loyal under the present British administration and dreading the possibility of Egyptian rule may be defensible in argument, if applied in the most general sense and to the many provinces of differing character which go to make up the Sudan; but it requires the very greatest qualification. The fact is, that the pro-Egyptian propaganda had real effect both directly and indirectly and not only on the limited class on the Nile, but in nearly every centre and town of size in the country. It did not reach the more primitive or outlying tribes. But in the Sudan the modernised class has a relative importance greater than in most African countries; this class is not only strongly represented on the Nile, but also much more than in Nigeria in every Government office throughout the country and also largely in the military forces. Moreover, this class is Mohammedan. Again, in addition to the direct propaganda from Egypt, the national developments in other eastern Mohammedan countries have had the natural reaction on the minds of the modernised circles in the Sudan. Accordingly, even those to whom Egyptian control of the Sudan was no goal may be nevertheless ready to countenance tendencies against the present form of administration.

156. Neither Egyptian propaganda in its local Sudan form nor Sudan Nationalism, however, extended to Nigeria, though indirectly they have had influence in spreading anti-European ideas through the pilgrim and other travellers. What did come directly from the Sudan to Nigeria was the first observed form of religious excitement in the form of Sudan Mahdism.

157. The opinion has been expressed in the earlier parts of this report that Sudan Mahdism in Nigeria, though in form a religious movement, had been potentially and in some cases actually dangerous to public security in emirates of Nigeria. This opinion was held in Nigeria by political officers and natives of position who came into personal touch with it. Observation of the movement in the Sudan can only confirm in the fullest way this opinion. Moreover, the similar views expressed in the Sudan by so many officers who had served in the western provinces, and who protested against a complaisant headquarters' attitude, must command the entire adherence of anyone who has had experience of the same movement among similar people in Nigeria.

158. Nevertheless, observation of Mahdism in the Sudan must dispel any idea that Mahdism is pro-Egyptian or in conscious liaison with revolutionary propaganda, or that its dissemination owes anything—except incidentally—to Egyptian or other outside agencies. Its impulse and enthusiasms are its own, and for its spread in the West the activities of its own organisation have sufficed.

159. Moreover, the existence of the new Mahdism professed by modernised and sophisticated people is a feature of the movement without parallel among Mahdists in Nigeria or among the Takarir in the East. It explains in some way the previous government policy and the attitude towards Mahdism in official papers at one time issuing from Kbartoum; though it cannot, as it seems to the writer, make any the less regrettable the policy which has put the western provinces of the Sudan without natural political bulwarks of sufficient strength at the mercy of the Mahdist organisation.

160. The activities of Fulani—mostly those imbued with the Mahdist or Burmi tradition—in Sudan Mahdism is a matter of much interest to Nigeria, both as illuminating the importance of Burmi in Nigerian history and as emphasising once more the vitality and psychology of this race. Their visionary political ambitions, puerile as they may be, have also been a feature of the atmosphere of recent years. Religious appeal is still, however, the stimulus to their temper, and in these recent years it has been Sudan Mahdism, historically of some tradition among the Fulani, that has supplied this stimulus.

161. The growth, with but temporary setbacks, in the strength of Sudan Mahdism, does not call for detailed emphasis here. It is well known to everyone who knows the Sudan. It must be realised that it is already a political force of the first importance whether in the form of fanaticism among tribesmen or as among some of the "intelligentsia" a religious side of the nationalist movement. To Nigeria its importance is not to be gauged by the extent to which it may wax and wane locally from time to time; the appeal of the movement to Nigerian Mohammedanism must be potentially great for years to come, for it might at any time become a kind of religious side to political trouble in the countries from the Nile to the Niger. On the policy of the Sudan Government, presumably, the future of the movement very greatly depends. Reliable information from the Sudan as to various phases of Mahdism and official attitude thereto must always be of very real value to the administration of Nigeria.

162. Suffice it to say that the present position (1925-1926) is by no means reassuring. The movement as it now stands—even though it be not necessarily opposed to good administration in itself—appears to the writer incompatible with the straightforward political development of native communities in important parts of the Sudan each in its own natural way. Government attention in recent years has been constant, but action taken must appear to the outsider as dictated by opportunism. The question has not been tackled in any consistent way. Admittedly it is excessively difficult. But it is hard to believe that a more satisfactory handling cannot be the outcome of the attention from many several angles that the question has now brought upon itself.

163. Mahdism is, of course, but one of several disturbing influences against which the natural development of the Nigerian emirates should be safeguarded. It has been considered in some detail in this report not because it is necessarily the most dangerous factor in itself but because it is at present the most evident illustration of the growing contact between the countries of the Nile and of the Niger in politics or religion. The lesson it has brought Nigeria has already been important.

164. Reviewing generally the whole question, it may be said that, in the outbreak of anti-European and anti-Christian propaganda in Mohammedan countries of Northern Africa in the years succeeding the war, the emirates of Nigeria escaped lightly. None of the movements prejudicial to public security originated in the country itself, nor were endemic to it, save and in a minor degree Sudan Mahdism and the Senussia, and both of these owed their recrudescence to impulse from without. In the emirates themselves there existed no spontaneous political or politico-religious tendency of local growth. Nor was there any intelligentsia, like that of the Sudan, modernised yet Mohammedan, which might be tempted by personal or political ambition or religious sympathy to respond favourably to agitation. On the contrary the whole orientation of political conditions in the emirates is conservative. The outbreak of Sudan Mahdism was checked in a sufficiently decided and open manner as to carry effect even beyond Nigerian borders; and in other ways also were the Emirs reassured. The astutest move to obtain cover for other religious revivalism met with active check from the quarter approached and provoked some reaction.

165. Nevertheless, the lesson of the last few years in Nigeria, and still more clearly evidenced in the Sudan, is that the more secluded areas of Mohammedan Africa are now definitely within the range of the forces which aim at directing world-wide revolution against European and Christian domination. These forces, moreover, are content to employ any influence, religious or political, which serves the first object of undermining "capitalism." Moreover, in the future the ways and means of approach will be better realised and channels more effectively exploited.

166. Sound policy in administration which will make every possible use of the best local elements in the country, and not exclusion or restraint of propaganda, alone will ensure that political development will be on orderly and natural and easy lines. Historically, the present Nigerian system of administration through Emirates each preserving their own individuality may have partly originated in necessity, though quickly to commend itself to experience as a sound native policy. In the not dissimilar countries of the Sudan the administration is in a sense the inheritor of Turkish machinery and it commenced its task with an equal partner and near model in Egypt. A militarised bureaucracy and recognition of non territorial religious communities may well have been among the natural and inevitable developments. Yet it is, perhaps, unfortunate that with so much efficiency and high standards in the details of administration there should have been so little attempt to envisage a native political development which should be the bulwark against the internal and external disturbing influences. Nigeria appears fortunate in a policy which provides a natural conservative opposition to such influences. Moreover, it seems to meet in considerable degree the burden of political gossip among westerners in the East, which seems to give less attention to the details of administration or to commercial development than to the position, powers, dignities, and revenues of "the Muslim Sultans." Inelastic, the system may be short-lived; yet, if capable of moulding itself to changing circumstances, it should not fail to win realisation that it can meet the fair aspirations of nationalism, which must exist and become conscious of itself sooner or later in every African community.

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History of Islamic Propaganda

1955

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APPENDICES

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**GENERAL CONDITIONS IN THE FRENCH "COLONIE DU TCHAD,"
INCLUDING WADAI.**

The following notes are based not only on general observation and conversation with natives en route on my journey through French Territory and on the enquiries of the persons who accompanied me, but also on some general knowledge of the French Colonie du Tchad after eleven years in Bornu and frequent meetings with travellers passing through, and in particular on considerable conversations with several French officers on my present journey. These included M. Reste, the Lieutenant-Governor at the time at Fort Lamy; the General Bordeaux, commanding the troops in Afrique Equatoriale Francaise, who as the Capitaine Bordeaux had been extremely active in intercepting the slave-raiding and other activities of the Senussists and the communities under the Senussi influence in the country of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and northern Kanem as early as 1906, and whom I met on tour at Abeshe; M. Pecaud, the Veterinary Officer, a well-known personage who has been very many years in the Tchad; and the Dr. Jamot, now carrying on a very fine work in charge of the Medical Services in the Cameroon, whom I met with his field laboratory investigating sleeping sickness in the Logone country, and who accompanied the original expedition which conquered Wadai.

2. It must first be emphasised that a large part of the Tchad is now under civil administration, that is, all the south-western part of the Colonie. Only Wadai, Dar Sila, Borku, the Eguei, and, I think, northern Kanem, are still under military administration, as, of course, is also Tibesti and the Bilma and Kawar oases which are under the separate administration of Afrique Occidentale Francaise.

3. The civil administrators belong to a combined service for the whole of the African tropical colonies, and are liable, after leave, to be sent anywhere in the French Colonies in Africa in the tropics, including Madagascar. Nevertheless, quite a number of officials do come back to the Tchad, rather more so than in many of the other colonies. As far as I could see, a good many of them are keen and energetic and like their work. Very few have any useful knowledge of native languages, though there are a few "officiers interprètes." Generally speaking from the criterion of administration in Nigeria the fault of even the best of these officers appears to be that they busy themselves almost entirely in carrying out, or trying to carry out, schemes of administration imposed from the top, without any attempt to understand the native point of view. There is too much machinery and too much paper.

4. The personnel in the eastern districts through which I passed is to be contrasted. It is quite clear that there are no longer available in the Tchad successful

7. It should be said that the Wadaians are not very deserving of sympathy. They are as a whole an unpleasing people, unstable, lazy, violent tempered, fanatic, and, above all, drunken. Almost the whole population in the villages in some parts is drunk for days on end at certain times of the year, and more offensively so than such natives as the hill pagans of Nigeria. The real fact is, of course, that the natural social system has been smashed up with the conquest of Wadai and the failure to persevere with any form of administration under the old chiefs. There are now no chiefs of any wealth or standing, and the more opening for the "fikis." It may be that a civil administration may effect something better, but it will be a hard task. Incidentally, I understand that it was intended to allow back from exile one of the greater Agits (chiefs) in 1925.

8. Nevertheless, I think that there is this to be said for the French administration in Wadai, to wit, that they have established an effective control of a difficult region, even if it is control which is ignorant and blundering. It is well-known that they had for several years a very hard problem in the holding of Wadai, owing to the difficult character of the inhabitants, their religious fanaticism and strong hatred of the European, above mentioned, and especially to the fact that the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan authorities did not control Darfur until 1917 and Dar Massalit till 1920. It seemed to me that the hold now established is strong and that the administration, if much less developed than in the average colony, is a good deal more effective than it can have been even a few years ago. Further, taxes are not high and the whole paraphernalia of colonial bureaucracy has not been introduced. There are, too, no subsidiary services manned by educated alien Africans. The ordinary peasant and herdsman, therefore, is on the whole little interfered with, and he can keep out of the way of the administration with fair success so long as he is quiet.

9. These points are the more noticeable, as on entering the western districts of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan one encounters the contrast of the elaborate machinery of that government, efficient and with very high standards, but marked by a distinct tendency to "over-administration," and a most surprisingly big personnel in the subsidiary services manned by persons who, whether Sudanese or Egyptians, are here, to all intents and purposes, aliens.

10. A criticism which I believe was made by a certain well-known and competent French civilian official who travelled through the Sudan, and whom incidentally I have met, is rather to the point. It was that the Sudan was "over-administered," and had growing up in it the seeds of political trouble more rapidly than in the Tchad, where the French administration was content to keep the country quiet and let development come later in due course. He was, of course, speaking of the interior rather than of the south-western portions of the Tchad.

11. In fact, it may not be too much to say that, though there may be occasional murders or attempts at murder, of individual Frenchmen—much more rare now than before the Sudan Government's occupation of Darfur and Massalit—there is less likelihood of "risings," like that at Nyala in the Sudan in 1921, in Wadai than in the Sudan. It seems, too, difficult for a native movement to get sufficient "focus" in Wadai; poverty, disunion, e.g. of Arab and Wadaian, may be part

causes; but I think the heavy and prompt hand of the French military administration has much to do with it. The position is not flattering to French administration, but for the time being Wadai is quiet, and appears to get quieter steadily.

12. There is at present a notable emigration from parts of Wadai and Dar Sila into Dar Massalit in the Sudan, as I saw and was informed by French officers. Under the recent boundary agreement, people on the border were given six months to opt on which side they wish to live, and to move accordingly. Apparently it was intended in the agreement that thereafter inter-migration should be controlled and limited. When I was in Abeshe, there was, on the other hand, a caravan of immigrants from Darfur proper into Wadai, and I heard of other immigration. I met many Tuareg on the Wadai and Darfur boundaries. Many of these appear to have been in Darfur in Ali Dinar's time but to have migrated westwards since. With some of these Tuareg I spent some hours at a well in Darfur, and a lively debate broke out as to the respective merits of Darfur or Wadai as a domicile. They all spoke Hausa.

13. There is a French customs officer at Abeshe, not under the direction of the Commandant of the "circonscription de Ouadai." An attempt is made to regulate the incoming trade, and collect dues. From all I heard, this is not really effective, and the exasperation caused is a topic of conversation, naturally exaggerated, among westerners right across the Sudan and must do harm, much outweighing the revenue it brings in. This was the opinion of the Military Commandant.

14. The town of Abeshe, though only a shadow of its former self, would appear to have recovered somewhat from the loss of population and importance from which it was suffering some years ago, and in which the 1913/14 famine played no small part. It is still important as a trade centre, and the Tripolitan quarter is notable. The export trade in cattle to Nigeria seems to be the biggest and most profitable enterprise. At favourable times cattle are sent eastwards, but I was told that this trade is much smaller than a few years ago, when there was a demand for meat in Egypt during the war, with the failure of supplies from Syria, and when the Sudan Government's veterinary restrictions were less marked. There is an import of stores, including liquor, into Wadai from the Sudan through Greek merchants.

15. Things in the western part of the Colonie under civil administration must be looked at in quite a different light. That country is probably as well administered as many parts of Africa. The colony does well financially compared with other parts of the A.E.F. The Lieutenant-Governor in 1925 was a man of considerable gifts and sympathetic insight. There was a considerable road programme, and plenty of good work being done by departmental officers. Tchad, too, from the visits of motorists and aeronauts was, in 1925, much in the public eye in France. That the general principles of policy differed much from those in British colonies, and that there is more paper work and bureaucratic formalism, is simply due to the fact that the country is French-governed.

16. Particular interest for Nigeria, however, attaches to the position of things in Bagirmi. To any reader of the accounts of the French expeditions against Rabeh

it will be clear that the French were under a very strong moral obligation to restore Abderrahman Gaorang as Sultan of Bagirmi, and to give him every kind of support. This duty has not been shirked, but it has proved difficult to carry out, as being so much opposed to the usual French ideas of colonial policy. More especially, too, since Gaorang's death, and the succession of his son, has the French treatment of Bagirmi been vacillating, until the Sultan has degenerated more and more into a figurehead.

17. In recent years, too, there has entered into the question the complication of the heavy immigration of Fulani from Nigeria and Adamawa, for these people were not prepared to submit themselves to the Sultan's authority unless they found that backed by the French. In the last few years, moreover, the religious stimulus of Mahdism has whetted the nationalist or racial sense of these people. At one time, therefore, the Fulani had made themselves practically independent of the Sultan, and were grouping themselves under a Mahdist leader, an emigrant from the Bornu Nguderi region of Nigeria, who was, of course, in direct relationship with the Mahdist leaders in Adamawa and in Nigeria.

18. Although this side of the question was not, I think, at all appreciated by any of the French officers, what was realised by the Lieutenant-Governor was that the Sultan of Bagirmi's position would become impossible unless something were done to put the Fulani in their place. This was done, and the Lieutenant-Governor had himself seen the Fulani leader, Hajj Buba, and greatly reduced his importance. The Lieutenant-Governor incidentally explained to me that some of the runaway Bagirmi chiefs who had come to Bornu had done so precisely because the Sultan had objected to their paying court to Hajj Buba, and that he understood they had gone to join another Fulani leader in Nigeria, i.e., Mallam Sa'id, though the Lieutenant-Governor did not know him by that name. He, in fact, confused Mallam Sa'id with Hajj Shuaibu of Marua, of whom he knew something. I understood that the position in Bagirmi had improved greatly at the time of my visit.

19. Nevertheless, the Lieutenant-Governor told me that he was not at all satisfied with the state of things in Bagirmi, and I understood him as meaning that he considered the administration through Gaorang's son would not work. He said he had the poorest opinion of the Sultan himself.* A principal fact, of course, is that the French officers in Bagirmi make it quite impossible for the Sultan to maintain authority. As an example of this I may quote a "chef de sub-division," a very keen and energetic officer, who, in answer to my enquiries, said that his sub-division was certainly part of the territories of the Sultan, but that the Sultan was in no way consulted as to affairs in it, and that he had in practice nothing to do with things outside the districts immediately touching on his capital of Chikina.

20. I had an interesting sidelight on Bagirmi from a young Italian traveller whom I met in Bornu, and again in Fort Lamy, and again twice in the Sudan, who passed through Bagirmi on a route much more southerly than mine. He had passed right across Africa from the Atlantic coast, spoke two languages, Hausa and Arabic, and had observed very keenly. After describing to me the settlements of Nigerians in Bagirmi, of Bornu people come there through the famine of 1913-14,

* The Sultan was partly educated in France.

of Hausa pilgrims, and of Fulani chiefly from, as he said, Bornu Nguderi, he went on to say that of all the countries he had passed through Bagirmi was the most restless and unsettled (he had not passed through central Wadai); he described the people as irritated at the "ignorance" of the French of the things that mattered. He spoke to me, too, of persons he had seen in Bagirmi who appeared to have a surprising knowledge of politics far beyond Bagirmi, and of one in particular whose interests appeared to be in Morocco.

21. With regard to the general question of propaganda in the Tchad territory, I had several interesting conversations with the Lieutenant-Governor. They arose out of a mention by him of the Fulani immigration, and his saying that he desired to keep the Fulani under close surveillance. The Lieutenant-Governor's views are summed up in the following quotations from memoranda written by me when in Fort Lamy, dated 17th, 18th and 19th February, 1925:

" 19-2-1925. He then went on to give his general impression. He believes in the existence of propaganda as fomented from the east and north, but considers that there is not (now) in Wadai, Bagirmi and Kanem, a nucleus or 'field,' intellectual or political, such as exists, as he said, i. in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, ii. in Nigeria, iii. in the Timbuktu region. He considers the Sultan of Bagirmi a poor creature, the Fulani (looking on them as nomads only) as not under religious influence, and Wadai as steadily losing political importance, i.e., as having been an artificially maintained state in a poor country based on slave-trading and which, its *raison d'être* having disappeared, had now no intellectual centre to which appeal could be effective, as in Nigeria, Timbuktu, etc. He regards Kanem, Bagirmi, and Wadai, therefore, as unimportant links in the chain of Sudan political groups east to west; in figures he spoke of there being but 300,000-400,000 people to form the field for Islamic propaganda (ignoring the pagans on his Ubangui border), and pointed out that of these a big proportion were very bad Muslims, and that they consist of a most heterogeneous collection of races and tribes mixed up in small communities among each other and always quarrelling among themselves—quite unlike the solid groups of people of similar race as can be found west of Tchad or east of Wadai.

" I avoided bringing up the point as to the activities of Ahmad Wad Gamar. Nor did I mention conscription in the Sudan.

" He mentioned the letter sent him from Bornu, and said he had had investigations made to which he had given personal attention; but that these had necessarily to be made through the local officers whom he described as quite prejudiced against regarding religious propaganda, even if existing, as likely to affect the administration; that he himself did believe in the existence of propaganda and its potentialities; but had to confess that he had found little enough to go upon (*see below*).

" I showed him some of our letters and gave him copies of two which interested him, viz., of a version of the Fulani 'hijra' and one a soi-disant Senussi letter asking for news and speaking of Egyptian help against the English and the French. I mentioned the Fulani 'nationalism' cum Mahdism and touched on other points generally.

" He said very little about Borku and the north except to tell me that Bruneau de Laborie is exploring in Tibesti. Says Senussi-ists do go about paper-distributing but that he considers this and other abracadabra as largely a form of begging for alms.

" I formed the impression I give it with all reserve that the northern parts of Tchad, being still under military occupation, are not entirely controlled by the Lieutenant-Governor here and that the metropolitan government has a lot to do with what is done there ; but no doubt the Lieutenant Governor is informed.

* * * * *

" 18-2-1925. M. Reste expressed much interest in the Fulani migration matter and asked me to give him a short private note, which I have done. He went on to say—and this is quite news to me—that there was a notable migration of Fulani through the Tchad some years ago ; that the group had wandered about, got up into Wadai and then disappeared into Darfur, describing their departure as about five years ago. This is interesting ; I seem to think I have read some note relevant in the Sudan Intelligence reports, and the date would mean that these Fulani got into Darfur not long before the Nyala show in which there were Fulani concerned.

" M. Reste then went on to speak of Sidi Ahmad Sherif, saying that of course he was a whole-hearted enemy of European government and that his coming out again into the limelight is important. He told me of his being in Damascus and suggested that there would be something between him and the Wahabis. I was, however, in a position to produce a copy of the newspaper " Lataif al Masawara " with photos of the Sid in Beirut, etc., and letterpress with a report that the Caliphate had been offered to him. We then mentioned a rumour that he was aiming at a return to Kufra.

" He said that, of course, there was Senussi influence in Kanem, but that the centres were small in themselves. He did not think there was any to speak of south of the lake. He had issued a confidential circular to officers to report specially on any Senussi circles in their districts.

* * * * *

" 19-2-1925. Spoke with M. Reste again this morning. He told me he had official information that Sidi Ahmad Sherif was intriguing, but that he did not think that he aimed at returning to Kufra, which would be a poor centre for his activities. Their latest information was that he was in Syria, and that they had no information at all of a projected return to Kufra. Regarded Kufra as much too well looked after on all sides. Quoted a letter from Bruneau de Laborie.

" As to Abderrahman, he said that he was really very little known in the region, indeed, by the commonalty of Bagirmi and in the Fort Lamy region, but very probably much better known in Wadai.

" Considers the Borku and Tibesti thoroughly in hand, but that the Massalit and Sila people always require watching and are the much the most likely to give trouble in the colony. States they keep four companies in Sila and eastern Wadai.

" Again expressed great readiness to hear from us at all times and appreciation of any co-operation."

22. To the above notes I have to add that on reaching Wadai I found the impression that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Colonie exercised but a limited control over the military territory, strengthened from the conversation of the military officers.

23. M. Reste's remarks about the Massalit and Sila country as the danger point were also confirmed. The French officers in Wadai, even though they are new to the country, do not forget the losses incurred at Derjeil and Bir Tawil; and most of the French officers in this region still continue to live in a state of nerves as regards the natives. My own impression would be that of the Lieutenant-Governor and the General Bordeaux, that the country is too strongly held, and the native communities too divided, to make anything in the way of an organised rising possible.

24. Of Mahdism I heard the same fantastic stories in Wadai as I heard in Bornu and was again to hear among the Takarir in the Sudan. I heard, too, of first-hand attempts of Abderrahman to send messages to the west by westerners, and one man made a statement to me in which he alleged that the Sayed in person had tried to persuade him to carry such messages. I was not then, however, in a position to assess the value of such statements.

25. I have every reason to believe that French officers generally had not any real knowledge of the matter. Had it come to their notice I do not doubt but that they would put it all down to the malignant activity of "fikis."

26. Of Senussi propaganda in Wadai I heard but little save that it exists, and that, as in Bornu, Sidi Ahmad Sherif was the man of destiny. A certain amount of rivalry between the Mahdism of Abde.rahman and of the Senussi was apparent in the conversation of those to whom I spoke. In three days' living in a French fort I had naturally little opportunity of carrying investigations further.

Copy of letter to Lieutenant-Governor Colonie du Tchad on Fulani emigrations eastwards, and allied matters.

Confidential.

FORT LAMY,

18th February, 1925.

Dear M. Reste,

With reference to the prophecy of a "hijra" or migration of the Fulani from west to east, which is widely current in certain circles, and a translation of a version of which I have given you, I think the following notes will sum up the relevant points of which we spoke:—

The Fulani are, of course, notoriously a race susceptible to the influence of prophetic utterances, religious enthusiasms and political ambitions.

Moreover, the fact that there has been noted at several points in the Sudan actual migration of Fulani eastwards, of individuals and in groups, makes this mentality a matter of more than mere academic interest.

No doubt the prophecy mentioned is playing its part. As far as I know the versions contain lists of places, names from west to east, as in the version given you with special note of rocks or hills, and generally ending with a reference to Jeddah "of our mother Eve."

Of political influences, no doubt the ambitions of Mai Wurno, son of the Sultan of Sokoto, killed in a fight with the Government troops in Nigeria in 1903, and an ex-Emir of Messau, both of whom are heads of important Fulani communities on the Nile, have had weight. Both of these fled, in 1903, to the Egyptian Sudan, rather than to submit to live under British rule in Nigeria. They aim, no doubt, at filling positions of influence in the administration in their new home, and both would appear to have had success, especially the former. Their following consists of Fulani, Hausas, and others from the countries in the western Sudan, whom they have attracted. Their aims are the more facilitated in that there is a big demand for casual labour on the Nile, whereby newcomers can readily find means of subsistence, e.g., the great dam at Makwar, the cotton plantations in the Gezireh and at Tokar, etc.

Then, there is the pilgrimage, which certainly does not seem to lose influence, and the routes are much safer and easier than ever.

Psychologically more interesting still has been the part played by Fulani in the recrudescence of the activities of the adherents of the sect of the "Mahdists," led by Abderrahman, son of the famous Sudan Mahdi.

This appears to date back to the early eighties, when Mallam Hayatu, a member of a junior branch of the Sokoto family, who had made for himself a petty independent sultanate at Balda, now in Cameroons near Marua, sent his messengers to the Mahdi, and was given or claimed the position of "Khalifa" of the Mahdists in the west. He found it necessary or prudent to join Rabeh, who often posed as a Mahdist, and whose daughter Hawa he married. His ambitions became, however, too ill-disguised, and were betrayed by Hawa, and he was killed by Rabeh's son, Fadl-Allah, at Dikwa in 1899.

In recent years, there has been a great increase in the activities and influence of the Mahdist sect, and Abderrahman became a person of considerable importance. In 1918 or so Mallam Sa'id, son of Hayatu, migrated from Balda to Dumbulwa, just outside the Bornu emirate, and apparently an attempt was made to establish similar relations between him and Abderrahman as had existed between his father Hayatu and Abderrahman's father the Madhi. Sa'id's development was nipped in the bud by the Resident Bornu and he was removed to another locality by the Nigerian Government.

It is said by the Sudan Government that Abderrahman is loyal to the Sudan Government, but, nevertheless, it has apparently been necessary to have the activities of the sect limited.

The chief emotional lever in Mahdism would appear to be the belief—not peculiar to this Mahdist sect alone—that the world must come to an end by the year (Muhammadan) 1400 A.H., and that, therefore, the present age must see the appearance of the Mahdi, of anti-Christ, the re-appearance of Christ, and all the marvels, tumults and disorders which herald the last day; or—in a word—that "the hour" is nigh.

It would appear that these ideas have potentialities inimical to peaceful progress in countries inhabited by unsophisticated Muhammadans under European domination.

It may well be, too, that this Fulani racialism cum Mahdism is but one of several disturbing influences in the interior of Africa; but that is a matter which demands more knowledge than is available to an observer in one locality only.

Truly yours,

(sgd.) G. J. LETHEM.

Appendix B.

STATEMENT OF HAJJ SHUAIBU OF MUBI.

The attached statement was made by Hajj Shuaibu, a one-eyed man, and a native of Mubi in Cameroon, now in Adamawa Province, Nigeria. He must be distinguished from the Hajj Shuaibu of Marua, who is referred to in para. 116 *et seqq.* of Part II of the report, and whose activities were of a wider and more subtle nature.

2. Hajj Shuaibu, the one-eyed, was the bearer of letters between Abderrahman, son of the Mahdi, and Mallam Sa'id, son of Hayatu; the relationship between whom is given in paras. 60 and 71 of the report. Of the genuineness of these letters there is no doubt, for they were shown to the Intelligence Department at Khartoum by Abderrahman. The effects of the receipt of Abderrahman's letter to Sa'id have been related at paras. 91-93 of the report.

3. Hajj Shuaibu himself did not appear to me to be anything more than an ingenuous Mahdist zealot, whose life history nevertheless is illuminating and illustrative of the manner in which Takarir from the west, whether or not Mahdists in the old days, have been caught up in the movement in the Sudan, become hangers-on of the Mahdist organisation, and in time became the instrument in the revived spread of Mahdism among the Takarir in the Sudan and to the west. A very similar life history was given of themselves by very many Takarir in the Sudan with whom I conversed.

4. His statement was given quite readily and freely; but he was not brought to talk without a certain amount of angling. I discovered that he was in El Fasher on my first arrival there in March, 1925. He was then "wanted" by the Sudan Government, at the instance of the Intelligence Department, but his presence in El Fasher was unknown to the Governor of the Darfur province. I informed the Governor of his whereabouts, but recommended that he be not arrested. He was, as a matter of fact, very suspicious of enquiries and I did not attempt to see him.

5. On a later visit to El Fasher his suspicions were allayed, and I assured him that I had no desire to harm him; in fact, I gave him, at his request, a "certificate," and put him under the patronage of the Deputy Governor. He then talked freely, and ultimately made the statement attached. I have no doubt that he knew a great deal more than he said, but what he did say appeared credible and reliable. This, too, was the opinion of the Deputy Governor of Darfur, before whom the statement was taken, and who had himself first-hand knowledge of many of the details recorded.

6. The statement is notable in three ways, as well as being so typical of the history of Takarir Mahdists in the Sudan. For—

- (i) It confirms in a remarkable way nearly everything that was reported of the Mahdist community at Dumbulwa.

- (ii) It shows the close relationship of the Mahdist propaganda in Nigeria with the Mahdist organisation in the Sudan, the former being the natural offshoot of the latter.
- (iii) It shows a very close parallel between the effects of Mahdist propaganda on ignorant tribesmen in the western provinces of the Sudan and in Nigeria.

7. With these comments the statement may be left to speak for itself. I should, however, indicate who are the various personalities mentioned in the text.

8. The first mentioned is Imam Tukur; this man was the Mahdist Imam of Burmi under Mallam Jibrella; he was the most influential mallam in the Mahdist village of Sabun on the Blue Nile, where he once entertained a Takruri wife of the Mahdi who was collecting gifts from Mahdists; he founded later the Mahdist village of Sereyo, near Roseires. He was under detention by Government in the Fung Province; but later took an active part in running "the pilgrimage to Aba." He has been for some years regarded as a suspicious character by the Sudan Government and I have seen several papers in which he is mentioned.

9. The next mentioned is Ahmadu Dumbe, seen with Abderrahman as early as 1914. This man was a Burmi man, who has still relations in Nigeria. I have seen a brother of his who has lived in Dumbulwa for some years. This Ahmadu Dumbe - known in the Sudan Government Confidential papers as Ahmadu Omar - created a religious disturbance which ended in his being killed by Government troop. at Gedir, the place where the Mahdi had his first successful fight with Government troops and to which Ahmadu, having declared himself Isa, had proceeded with his following.

10. The next mentioned is Fahi Yaghub Ahmed. This man had been a prominent Mahdist agent in Darfur for four years before 1921 and his conduct had been found so inimical to good order that he was imprisoned and deported back to Abderrahman at the end of 1921. It was directly under this man's auspices that Sa'id's letter was taken to Abderrahman.

11. Of the others mentioned, Adam wad Hamed was Abderrahman's last official representative in Darfur, until, in response to the protests of the Provincial Governor in the Western Province, all such agents were withdrawn.

12. Tayyib Khalifa Ali, who wrote the reply to Sa'id at Abderrahman's dictation, according to Shuaibu's statement, is a Gordon College graduate who at present lives in Aba. I had a long conversation with this man when I visited Aba. We talked of the Takarir, and when I mentioned Sa'id, and the exchange of letters between him and Abderrahman, he said he had never heard of Sa'id, and that it was quite unthinkable that Abderrahman should have written to a Takruri in the West.

13. Most notable of all, in this connection with Abderrahman's letter to Sa'id, per Shuaibu, is Mohammed wad Ibrahim. It will be observed in the statements that Shuaibu was to go with him to Darfur, that Shuaibu actually waited for him in Darfur until he heard that he had got into trouble for apparently seditious acts

in Kordofan. As a matter of fact, Mohammed wad Ibrahim received a "taukil" (commission) from Abderrahman as his agent in Darfur, dated 21.3.1922, and initialled by the Director of Intelligence. In it, Mohammed wad Ibrahim is entitled "Emir," and it is enjoined that he shall be treated as Abderrahman's Wakil. The "taukil" contains injunctions to the faithful to be obedient to the Government, pay taxes, etc., similar to Shuaibu's account of the letter he carried. Nevertheless, the immediate effort of Mohammed's passage through Kordofan was to cause such restlessness that, on the complaint of the chief of the Messiriye Arabs, the Inspector of the Western Kordofan found it necessary to proceed to the locality where Mohammed was, and to remove him by motor as a matter of urgency. The case is a striking parallel to that of Mallam Sa'id, in 1923, when the Resident, Bornu, found it necessary to proceed to the Fika emirate on the complaint of the Emir of Fika and have Sa'id removed by motor, as a matter of urgency. Thus it appears that Abderrahman's action at one and the same time with regard to Mohammed wad Ibrahim and Mallam Sa'id per Shuaibu led in both cases to an almost identical result, to wit, a fresh impetus to Mahdism in Western Kordofan and Bornu (in a sense simultaneous, if allowance is made for the greater distance of Bornu from Omdurman), which caused in both cases vigorous complaint by the local recognised native chief, and almost identical action, as a matter of urgency, by the Inspector of Western Kordofan and the Resident, Bornu.

STATEMENT OF MALLAM SHUAIBU.

(Taken at El Fasher on 19.6.1925 in presence of C. G. Dupuis, Esq.,
Deputy Governor, Darfur Province.)

My name is Shuaibu and my father's name Mohanuned, but I am often also called Mallam Abba. I was born in Mubi (in Yola Province, Nigeria). I am by origin a native of Bornu of Birnin Gasargamo, but my family have been for three generations living among Fulani and I no longer speak the Bornu language, only Fulani, Hausa and Arabic.

About twenty years ago I started with my father and several women of our family on the pilgrimage. I was then about 29; this was the second year after the fight at Burmi,* but neither I nor by father were in that. We met with Mai Wurno, son of the Sultan of Sokoto, who was killed at Burmi, in Bagirmi† and accompanied him and his Fulani following to Dar Sila‡ and remained there two years. Mai Wurno was expelled by the Sultan of Dar Sila, who disliked so many Fulani gathering there, but we did not go with him. We later of our own accord went to Kebkebia.

In Kebkebia we fell in with Faki Senin and entered into the Mahdist tarika. We were with him when Ali Dinar of Fasher fought and killed him. My father was killed and I was wounded in the nose, right eye and side. So I lost my right eye. I was captured, but my life was spared. All our family were taken captives and enslaved.

I came to Fasher where I lived with Adam Rijal. I then set out to meet the Mahdist in the east and beg help from them in ransoming my family. I went first to Sabun where I found Imam Tukur, who was once Imam with Mallam Jibrella;§ he was the chief person of the Fulani there and with him was Mallam Hamadu; Bello Dadare was also living there; Mai Wurno's town opposite Sheikh Talha was quite small; it was beside Ereidiba.

I collected 40 dollars at Sabun, and went to Singa to Mallam Tayyiba, a Garua man whose father was one of Hayatu's men, and there I got nine dollars.

I then went to Omdurman and sold my donkey; I went to Yusuf el' Hindi and asked help. He said he would help me if I would wait, but I said I must go back to help my family and so he gave me a rial and some provision for my journey and off I went. I did not see Abderrahman, son of the Mahdi.

I came to Fasher, ransomed my people, all I could, and got one released from the Kababish; two girls were in Ali Dinar's household and were not recovered till after his death.

* This fight was in 1903.

† Country lying just east of the Shari River.

‡ Country lying just west of present Sudan-French Equat. Africa boundary.

§ A Mahdist follower of Hayatu-ad-din, father of Mallam Sa'id; he was captured by Nigerian troops in 1902, a year before the fight with the Sultan of Sokoto at the same place, i.e., Burmi.

I stayed about two years, and in the famine year* I went to Omdurman, staying four months at El Obeid trading. I then went to Omdurman and visited Abderrahman staying a month with him. He was staying in the Abbasiye house: Fulani and Hausa were also with him.

I then returned to Fasher, and after about a year† I went westwards to go and see my relations. I went to Mubi where I stayed about a year and to Yola. In Yola I heard of the conquest of Darfur.

Then I returned via Marua and Fadare, and in Fadare‡ I met with Mallam Sa'id. We talked together, and he said he had a letter from Abderrahman, brought him by a man called Shuaibu like me. He was one of Hayatu's men and went on the pilgrimage after Hayatu's death; he came back westwards with this letter and went on I know not where. I think he has died in the West. Sa'id showed me the letter. I saw the superscription but not what was in the middle of it. He also showed me a ring "fairuz," with a red stone, which he said Shuaibu had brought from the East. He did not say it was a present from Abderrahman. Sa'id then asked me to take a letter to Abderrahman, and I agreed, and received one from him.

All this was after I had heard of the conquest of Darfur.

I returned to Darfur and passed my second rains|| en route, the previous one being in Yola. In Dar Sila I heard of the death of Ali Dinar.

I reached Fasher and found Savile Pasha Governor. Mr. MacMichael was not there.

I stayed on more than three years in Fasher and did not go on with my letter from Sa'id. I just delayed.

I knew the latter was a request from Sa'id to Abderrahman that he should persuade the Government (Sid-ad-Dar, Sirdar) to give him, Sa'id, the command of his father's country of Balda. Sa'id also I heard started and came east but turned back.

I also had a letter from Gwoni, Sultan of Mubi, to Abderrahman expressing allegiance.

I told Faki Yaghu' Ahmed, however, that I had these letters; he had been for four years teaching Mahdism and zikrs in Darfur and had been put in prison and released. He was recalled by Abderrahman and went east, taking me. The party got on the train at El Obeid and went to Kosti.

There we went to Gezirat Aba and met Abderrahman, Adam Wad Hamid, Tayyib Khalifa Ali, Mohammed Wad Ibrahim and Imam Tukur, whom I had met at Sabun, now chief of the Fulani at Aba.

I presented my letters and Abderrahman asked why I had delayed so on the way, and I said it was only God's will.

We stayed nine days in Aba and then all went to Omdurman in a wood boat.

* Dry season, 1914.

† From statements as to contemporaneous circumstances would appear to be in second half year, 1915.

‡ Region round Balda and Boggo in North Cameroons.

|| Rains of 1915 en route westwards, rains 1916 in Yola, rains 1917 en route returning—? or rains 1915 in Yola, rains 1916 in returning.

ADDENDUM

PAGE 17.—*Insert at end of first paragraph:*

Ahmadu Dumbe who afterwards was killed at Gedir was also with him.

We stayed seven weeks in Omdurman. Abderrahman talked with me about the Fellata.

Abderrahman said to me that he put all the Ansars in the West in Sa'id's hands, and that Sa'id should be in the West even as he, Abderrahman, was in the East.

I also heard from Abderrahman himself about "the sword"; people used to come to visit it, and Abderrahman promised to show it to me but he did not.

Then a reply was written, Tayyib writing while Abderrahman dictated; this was in my presence. Abderrahman asked me where Sa'id was and I said in Fika. I had heard this from Fellata. Abderrahman asked if this was in French or English boundary, and I told him it was in English territory.

This letter was taken by Mohammed, a Fellati, and a trusted friend of Abderrahman's who used to ride in the motor with him to Khartoum, to show to the Sid-ad-Dar.

I was ordered to wait on the bank of the river, and I slept there with Mohammed Wad Ibrahim, who handed me the letter.

We then went off with Abderrahman as well to Gezirat Aba, Sidi Ali going to Khartoum, and there Mohammed Wad Ibrahim was ordered to go to the west, I to go with him, and Faki Yaghub to look after the mosque.

I, however, had a dream, in which Abderrahman appeared to me and reproached me for being late. I told Mohammed Wad Ibrahim and said I must go off. He told me to go but to wait for him in Fasher.

I went off and waited in Fasher two months for him. I heard he was arrested in Kordofan for preparing or collecting weapons, on complaint of Nazir Mohammed Dafallah of the Messeria.

I then went on, and after five months on the journey following the northern road by Umm Hajar I came to Bornu, lodging in Yerwa in the house of Maiturare.

In my passage through Fasher, I was called up and questioned by the Inspector Bimbashi Andrews, and I told him my errand. He asked me questions and sent me on with a letter to Geneinah. There the Resident asked for my letter to Sa'id, which I gave him, but did not open it.

On my arrival in Dumbulwa I went and greeted Sa'id. He immediately asked where was the letter from Abderrahman, though I had said nothing about it. I then went back to my lodging in the house of Ibrahim and took it out of my book and brought it to him.

He was very pleased and read the letter.

Everybody was pleased, and on Friday the letter was read out in the mosque, part; one part, a separate part, was not read out.

I also told Sa'id of Abderrahman's conversation, and that he had said that he put all the Ansars in the West in Sa'id's hands and that he, Sa'id, should be in the West even as he, Abderrahman, was in the East. This pleased him much and it was told to the people.

The letter saluted the Ansars and also told them to behave well, hold the *ratib*, obey the Government, pay the taxes, and do the roadwork. I went out myself on roadwork with Sa'id.

I stayed three months and seven days in Dumbulwa. After a month I was given a wife. I left her there, two months pregnant.

Many people came from everywhere, bringing presents.

There was much zikr-ing and praying, the zikrs were five rows deep.

I also told people about "the sword," and of the papers about it.

I was in Dumbulwa when Sa'id was arrested. He was summoned to Potiskum to see Mr. Palmer. I was going with him, but he forbade me to come.

When I heard from a Hausa man, whose name I don't know, that Sa'id was arrested and that the Fika people had come to Dumbulwa, I jumped on my horse and ran away. This was a fine horse that Sa'id had given me. I took nothing with me.

The Emir of Fika was a bad man. The old Emir who died just before I came was a good man who loved Sa'id. Sa'id was a good man who was a friend to Government just as Abderrahman is.

From Dumbulwa I ran avoiding Bornu to Bui, where I lodged with Momma Fellata* ; but he frightened me, saying the Emir of Fika would have me arrested.

I then went by a roundabout route to Fort Lamy, where I took a French pass and returned to Fasher.

In Fasher I saw Bimbashi Andrews again, who told me Sa'id had been taken away to Sokoto. I got a passport for Mecca from him, but my mother and camel have died and I am staying here.

Questioned as to the prayers at Dumbulwa, and in particular a special prayer quoted by Mr. Lethem ending "bi sidna Abderrahman as-sadik wasilatna ila Allahi ta'ali," Shuaibu states:

"This prayer was introduced by me into Dumbulwa. I brought it from Omdurman where I had heard it and where, when I was there, it was used at the end prayers on all the five occasions of prayer. It was in use in the Mosque and in Abderrahman's own presence. I believe Abderrahman himself introduced it; it is in use among Mahdist now."

Shuaibu then dictated the prayer, a copy of which with translation is attached.

Sworn nineteenth June, 1925.

(Sgd.) C. G. DUPUIS,
Dep. Gov.,
Darfur Province.

* Momma Fellata was senior Political Agent and head messenger in the Bui Division of Bornu Province: he had been a flag bearer with Hayatu and with Rabeh.

Appendix C.

WEST AFRICANS IN CAIRO :
THE BORNU "RUWAK" IN THE AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY.

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NOTE.

I am aware that to anyone really conversant with the affairs of Al Azhar and the movements and influences which are in relation with it, much of these notes may appear superficial. I thought it worth while, however, to take notice of any little detail mentioned among the people with whom I conversed, who are no doubt inaccurately informed and ignorant, but who are at least representative of their class and should display the reactions and delusions which may be expected in their fellows; moreover it happens not infrequently that a casual remark or note may be correlated with something known elsewhere.

Notes on the Bornu "ruwak" in the Al Azhar, and the community of West Africans in Egypt generally, have been included in the second part of the Report, paras. 149-164, and are repeated here.

I. NIGERIANS IN CAIRO AND LOWER EGYPT.

1. Nigerians with whom I conversed in Cairo estimated their total numbers in Lower Egypt as about 120. A list made out by one of them likely to be well informed gives 61 adult males, of whom 41 were in Cairo.

2. The distribution of these Nigerians, adult males only, was given to me as follows:

In Cairo.	Al Azhar students	...	...	17
	Others	...	...	24
In Alexandria	...	...	...	9
In Zagazig	...	...	...	6
In Suez	...	...	...	3
In Ismailia	...	...	...	2

61 adult males only.

3. In upper Egypt I also met one elderly Bornu man on the station platform at Assuan, who is resident there.

4. Some of these Nigerians have taken out papers at the Cairo Consulate as British subjects, or as "British protected persons," and I asked H.B.M.'s Consul to supply the Nigerian Government with a list of them.

5. I gather that, in addition to these numbers given above, there are many slaves and ex-slaves of Nigerian origin and even Nigerian birth. For example, I saw one young woman whose father had been a Bornu man, once a slave, who had freed himself and left an inheritance in land to his daughter. The mother had been an Egyptian. There are also a number of Nigerian women in the Mugharbalin quarter, as it was called to me, who seem to be, or have been, harem slaves, and now make a good living as "bori"* dancers, sorcerers, women's doctors, retailers of aphrodisiacs, and so on. I was informed there were about 50 of them in Cairo. One whom I met was a pleasant and typical Hausa woman of mature age.

6. The majority of these Nigerians follow callings which, where not definitely criminal, are disreputable, or, where honest, humble. Two murderers and four thieves were indicated to me, as well as two beggars, two drunkards, and no less than twenty charm sellers and sorcerers. The Nigerian has an undoubted reputation in Egypt as a caster of spells, as a compounder of medicines, aphrodisiacs and poisons, and as a cheap jack necromancer. Messenger, porter, soldier, sweet seller, bead-seller, servant, are other professions given. On the other hand I met one opulent-looking Hausa, an ex-sergeant in the West African Frontier Force, living a life of easy comfort on the fortunes of his wife, a one-time harem attendant, and three full-blooded Bornu men more or less genuine students at Al Azhar, and four respectable-looking merchants in a small way; also two young men who were chemists' assistants, while I heard of another who was interpreter in the Customs in Port Said. The sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak" was a young man of some presence and personality. I believe the former sheikh, who died two years ago, was also a man of decent standing.

* "Bori" is a term used in Nigeria for a hysterical dance.

7. Of the place of origin of these Nigerians it may be interesting to note that, as in the Sudan, the western regions of Nigeria are poorly represented. I traced one man only of the Sokoto region, a Melle Fulani, one from Katsina and two Yorubas. As in the Sudan, it is eastern Nigeria and that region which before the Fulani conquest of the Hausa states formed greater Bornu, that is the home of most of the eastward-wandering Nigerians. For example Gummel, Damagaram, Matsena, Munio, Katagum, Mandara, Jemare (in Cameroon) are all represented, as well as modern Bornu proper.

8. No doubt there is an interesting story to be told of the history of the Bornu "ruwak"* in Al Azhar. I am afraid the facts may be lost, and I was far too short a time in Cairo to be able to suggest where they may be elicited. The place which Bornu once widely held in the knowledge of North Africa and the East as synonymous with the region now comprised by much of the French Colonie du Tchad, the French Colonie du Niger, and British Northern Nigeria, it still retains in Cairo. The section in Al Azhar into which all West Africans, in fact all students hailing from west of Wadai, are enrolled, is the "ruwak barnawiya," which is shown in a printed list given me by the registrars as ninth of the sixteen "foreign" "ruwaks" in the University.

9. An experience of my own is also illustrative. I visited the monastery of the Bektashi dervishes which is situated behind Cairo on the edge of the Mokattam hills, and fell into conversation with the venerable-looking brother on duty. He spoke of the visitors with whom he had conversed, and who had come from far countries, and asked me whence I came. I said from very far away "in the negro lands of the West," and he immediately replied with the query "from Bornu?" and went on to say that he knew of the country from the books he had read.

10. Be that as it may, Bornu is no longer a recruiting ground for Nigerians in Egypt, save for an occasional returning pilgrim. Hausa and Fulani, again nearly all returning pilgrims, are more numerous, but genuine searchers after learning at the fount of Al Azhar are few and far between, nor would it appear that they are encouraged.

II.—CENTRES OF WEST AFRICANS IN CAIRO.

(a) THE MOSQUE OF SURUR AGHA.

(b) THE BORNU "RUWAK" IN THE AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY.

11. (a) THE MOSQUE OF SURUR AGHA.—I found in the Mugharbalin quarter a small mosque called by my informants "zawiyet Surur Agha," which is much frequented by westerners. On going to it at the time of evening prayer I met six decently dressed and respectable-looking Nigerians collecting for the prayer. I had been informed that Surur Agha had been a Bornu man of Birni origin, who had made money and left this mosque as a pious foundation for the use of westerners. At the mosque, however, I was informed that Surur Agha had been a "nubai" of unknown race, and had westerners in his service only, to whom as

* "Ruwak"—Nation or section: students at Al Azhar are grouped in ruwaks according to their country of origin.

a class he wished to show his gratitude. On dying, some ten years ago, he left the mosque and two houses and land to trustees for the benefit of westerners, the mosque for their use, the houses for their lodging or letting for revenue for their subsistence, and the land also similarly for revenue. It appears that though the mosque had been left to them to use, they have not received any benefit from the houses or land, and that though complaints have been made, and a law suit (?) initiated two years ago, nothing has been effected, and they have been threatened with eviction from the mosque. I heard as regards this one story that Umar Mohamman Nawwar (*v. infra*) offended the trustees, and another that a murder of a Somali committed in one of the houses by Tunisians had caused the revenue of one, or both, houses to be taken away from the westerners.

12. I had some conversation with these Nigerians which appeared to give them much pleasure, and I then accepted the invitation of one of them to go with him to see his house and family. Here all his neighbour, were brought in to have coffee with me, including his landlord and one Upper Egyptian clerk in the offices of the Survey Department, who curiously indulged in a panegyric of the British head of his department.

13. (b) THE BORNU "RUWAK" IN AL AZHAR. The Bornu "ruwak" has always, I believe, as now, included all Al Azhar students from the countries of the Sudan belt west of Wadai.

14. Finding that there was a distinct lull in demonstrative anti-British propoganda, if not in feeling, in Cairo, I thought it feasible to visit the Al Azhar myself. I did so, not in the guise of an official from Nigeria, but as an interested tourist, and I had a young Berberine student as my mentor and guide. I was most courteously received, and penetrated, as far as I know, into every corner of the mosque, and into the living and studying rooms of every ruwak. I was shown the manuscripts in the library by the Sheikh in charge, and was entertained to coffee and cigarettes by the registrars, who showed and explained to me the registers and the various certificates issued, and gave me a form showing the divisions into ruwaks, and filling in for me the numbers in each. In many of the student rooms I entered, I was asked to partake of coffee.

15. As it was explained to me, there are forty ruwaks (for "ruwak" the mediæval university term of "nation," as still in use, for example, in Scottish Universities, appears the best equivalent). Of these forty, twenty-four are "Masriyun" (Egyptian) and cover the native Egyptian students, and sixteen are "Gharbau" (foreign) and cover the students from outside Egypt. Apparently the full certificate of "alim," which qualifies the holder as a teacher, the third and highest certificate given, as I understand, can only be given to an Egyptian; it is a certificate of much consideration. Foreign students can get a certificate testifying to their attendance and studies only.

16. Of the sixteen foreign ruwaks only the Turkish, one hundred and eighty students; Syrian, three hundred; Mugharba (i.e. Morocco, Algeria and Tunis), two hundred; and Javan (including Malaya, China, etc.), one hundred and fifty,

are large. The others in order are: The Haramam (Hejaz and neighbouring region), forty; Barabra (that is the Berberine country), thirty; Sennar (most of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), twenty-one; Habarta (*i.e.*, the Somalilands, Abyssinia, Eritrea, etc.), twenty; Yemen, twenty; India, twenty; Bornu, seventeen; Kurd (Kurdistan and Central Asia), fifteen; Sulimania (*i.e.*, Afghanistan), seven; Soleih (*i.e.*, Dar Sila and Wadai), five; Ardofor (*i.e.*, Darfur), four; Baghdad, three. I am told that even ten years ago the Bornu numbered not less than forty.

17. Most of the ruwaks have rooms, one or several, assigned to them, in which there is generally a small library of books belonging to the mosque, and where students may keep their own books, hold conferences, or small lectures, and even live, sleep and eat. Students get a bread ration from the funds of the mosque, and the Sheikhs of ruwaks are salaried. The Bornu ruwak has one room and a small set of books. I found in it some dozen boxes and cupboards with books of students, and four men, three Bornu men and one Fulani, living in it. The Bornu Sheikh gets £E.1 p.m.

18. The ruwaks which would most interest Nigeria would appear to be the Sennar, the Soleih, the Ardofor, and the Bornu. The personalities in the Sennar ruwak are known to the Sudan Government Agent. The Darfur ruwak is moribund and no sheikh appointed to succeed the deceased holder of the office. The Soleih ruwak, small as it is, is noteworthy for its sheikh, an ardent anti-European; though his ruwak is so much smaller than the Bornu, he gets £E.5 p.m., I was told, as against the Bornu Sheikh's £E.1. It was suggested this favour was due to his political opinions; it is possible that it is due to the comparative wealth of the foundations.

III.—PERSONALITIES AT THE AL AZHAR AND CAIRO.

19. SHEIKH MOHAMMAN IBN MONGALI, Sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak" in Al Azhar.* This man had been first described to me as a Matsena man, and later as a Katagum man. In the British Consulate I saw papers, including correspondence with Nigeria, in which he was described as the son of a Mallam Mongali of Gowarzo in Kano. When I met him he claimed to be a son of the late ex-Emir Aliyu, of Kano, deposed by the British in 1902-03, and exiled to Lokoja. He was emphatic in his claim to me, and gave a detailed account of himself. The most essential points in his story are that he was born in the year of the cattle sickness (! 1893) (he is, therefore, still a young man), son of Aliyu and a concubine; that he fled in 1905 from the British in Kano, went on the pilgrimage, and drifted to Cairo in about 1915.† In 1922/1923 he took out papers as a British subject at the British Consulate after correspondence with Nigeria (Governor of Nigeria's despatch 11057/5 of 5-4-1923). In these papers he is shown as a son of Mongali, but he

* NOTE ON SHEIKH MOHAMMAN ALI.—Mohammad declares that his father was the Emir Aliyu, and his mother a concubine called Yergali, that he was brought up in the care of his uncle the Barden Kano and of Mallam Mongali of Gowarzo, that he was at school under Mallam Habu (or Hagu) near the Wombai gate of Kano at the time of Aliyu's fall, when he was sent back to Mallam Mongali Gowarzo for safety. States that his nearest relations were: his uncle Barden Kano, a tall, black, one-eyed man who lived in Kano, and had lands at Fogolawa, Jimras, Gezawa, etc.; his uncle Turaki, killed in the war of Dan Yaya with Sarikin Warjawa north-east of Kano; his brother Musa who went to Stambul as a soldier; his sisters Chimo, married to Galadima of Gowarzo, and Juma, married to Mallam Abba, a Kukawa man.

† NOTE ON SHEIKH MOHAMMAN ALI'S JOURNEY.—Went to Bornu, remained four years, when Abba Rufai, brother of the Shehu, gave him a horse and he left on the pilgrimage. In Darfur arrested by Ali Dinar, he believes on instigation of Mallam Habu, but released.

explained this away to me, saying that at the Residency where he first went with his petition he was so laughed at by the interpreter, for claiming to be "the son of a king," that he ceased asserting his parentage. He intended returning to Nigeria and obtained a British passport (No. 3293, issued in February, 1924) from the Consulate, the Nigerian Government undertaking to pay his expenses. He claimed to have the expenses of his wife and child also paid for him, the wife only being of half Nigerian origin; this was refused, and Mohamman did not proceed.

20. About eight months ago he became Sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak," a post which had been vacant for two years or more.* With reference to this appointment it seems to be thought by some outsiders that Mohamman Ali owed his appointment to the influence of the Residency, however unlikely it may seem that the Residency would have touched such a matter.

21. Be that as it may, Mohamman Ali has been in the habit of frequently going to the Residency, the British Consulate, and the Sudan Agency, and to have made a regular nuisance of himself with requests for work, protection papers, passage to Nigeria, etc. This has certainly earned him the reputation among the other Azharites as a pro-Britisher, and it is said of him by them that he is a British spy on westerners and others in Al Azhar, and that he had the support of the Residency.

22. I found Mohamman Ali a young man of negroid features, fine physique and good presence, well dressed and intelligent. For a Tukurri in the East his *savoir faire* and standard of education appear not inconsiderable, and I imagine his knowledge of Arabic, both colloquial and written, is not bad, though I did not test it. He is probably too talkative, and has developed a pushing manner which might not commend him to Europeans in all circumstances, but I think he is on the whole a good fellow.

23. As to his claim to be a son of ex-Emir Aliyu, if quite untrue, it is curious he should have made it so emphatically and in detail to me. He does not seem to have made it to other Nigerians; I think it should be investigated.

24. I am inclined to believe his protestations of pro-British feeling. He spoke freely of what he called the follies of the Zaghulust Azharites. I do not see what interest he has to serve in taking up the attitude he has, and he has everything to lose in his present position. He hopes, of course, to retain interest and support from the British offices in Cairo, and he also hopes to return to Nigeria, and would like to get a Government position there. It is quite possible that with the modern developments of Northern Nigerian Centres, and their Native Administrations, he might be useful, Egyptianised Nigerian though he be.

25. I think at least the Nigerian Government should keep in touch with him through the Sudan Agent in Cairo, a suggestion which I will amplify in a separate letter to the Nigerian Government.†

* Previous holder Sheikh Abd-al-Aziz, a Zaria man, long resident in Cairo, from 1800 or before.

† Mohamman Ali lives at Haret Habib Effendir 3 Shari Darb al Jamamiz.

26. **UMAR MOHAMMAN NAWWAR AND HIS SONS.** Umar Mohammad Nawwar, like so many of the Nigerian irreconcilables in the East, is a native of Bornu Nguderi, born about 1868. He left Nigeria in 1911 with a passport dated June of that year, issued at Katagum.*

27. He went on the pilgrimage with two boys, whom he alleges are his sons. It is by others alleged they are slave boys whom he hoped to sell.

It is further stated that at Suakin, in about 1914 (?) he had business with a Sheikh Sa'ad, Sheikh of the Takarir there, who was prosecuted and imprisoned for slave dealing, and that Umar Mohammad Nawwar fled to Cairo. However that may be, the two boys are still with him in Cairo as his sons.

28. I did not meet this man. I had hoped to see him casually on my visit to the Surur Agha Mosque, but he did not come that day.

29. He seems to be somewhat of a cantankerous old gentleman. He is said to have quarrelled with the trustees of the Surur Agha foundation, and also to have quarrelled with several of the Al Azhar students, whom he used to revile and beat and whose subsistence rations he peculated. He is said to be now more tractable, and on fair terms with the present Sheikh whom he assists.

30. He was, however, perhaps the most prominent person among the Nigerians, and hoped to become Sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak." I heard of him in the Sudan as the "Katagum Sheikh at Al Azhar."

31. He has taken out papers at the Consulate as a British protected person.†

32. He has no very definite occupation. He is enrolled as an Al Azhar student, but his attention to learning is nominal, and he works as a watchman on shops, making about £3 p.m.

33. From notes I have of his conversation,‡ he would appear to be sympathetic to, but not active in, the anti-British propoganda of Al Azhar.

34. There is also interest in his son *Abakar*. This is a young man born in Nigeria in 1904 or 1905, who appears to have been behaving recently as a full-blown student supporter of Zaghulul, considers himself an "effendi," and has been active in the processions and demonstrations; he is even vaguely reported to have learnt bomb throwing.

35. This is the man mentioned in the Director of Intelligence, Khartoum's, letter No. D.1/x/30894/F(566)/1(A), of 8th December, 1924, to the Chief Secretary,

* Umar Mohammad Nawwar born about 1868 at Zabi Abunari in Bornu Nguderi (in Katagum emirate) being descended from the family of the first Emir of Katagum who were Shuwa Arabs, and is the son of Mohamman, who was son of Nawwar who was son of (? Sultan) Abuna. States has a consanguinean sister, perhaps still living, called Mairam Bangu, in Shuwari in Gombe (? town).

† Papers in Consulate re son and father give address as 4 Haret Mugharbalin, probably wrong.

‡ NOTES ON CONVERSATION OF UMAR MOHAMMAN NAWWAR.—(1) Asked X, a Nigerian, recently arrived in Cairo, how many millions of Muslims there were in Nigeria, and did they like the English, or would they prefer Muslim Sultans. X replied he was a poor man and no judge of these things. This conversation was then interrupted by a policeman. (2) Told X that his son Abakar wished to return to Nigeria: he, Abakar, is quite an Egyptian, and speaks and writes their language, but he gets no profit out of it; he gets £4 per month as a school messenger; he would like to become headman of Zabi Abunari; Adam lives in another town. Says self and Adam do not want to leave Egypt or live in Nigeria under the English.

Lagos, reported to be "Secretary to a party of West Africans living in Cairo, who make it their business to stir up disaffection against the British." I think, perhaps, that is too precise a way of describing Abakar's position. I did not find that he is really head of anything, nor that he has much influence over more than three or four Nigerians, but his actions have been avowedly anti-British; he is still interested in Nigeria, and he is worth attention.

36. He also has obtained registration at the British Consulate as a British protected person on, as the papers at the Consulate curiously state, the attestation of the Sheikh of Al Azhar. He has further applied for a passport, but this the Consul has not granted him pending reference to Nigeria which has not been made. I have also been informed vaguely that he has sent to Nigeria to procure a passport, which is to be sent him to Cairo and enable him to return to Nigeria as a returning pilgrim.

37. He earns his living as a messenger attached to a school,* and is not enrolled as an Al Azhar student.

38. From notes I have of this man's conversation,† it is clear he has the usual phrases of Islamic political propaganda on his lips. At the same time he spoke, as others of whom I heard in the Sudan and Cairo, of the effeminacy and lack of virility in the Egyptians, whose actions would never come up to their talk, etc., and he actually spoke of his desire to go to Nigeria, and become a village headman, if he could, in his father's native town in Bornu Nguderi.

39. I have no doubt, however, that this man, young and unimportant as he is (one of the main sources of strength of the Zaghulists is the half-baked school-boy youth of Cairo), is of potential value to any eastern intriguer wishing to get in touch with Nigeria and maintain propaganda there. I have at present no definite information of his corresponding with Nigeria beyond the vaguest gossip, which is quite unreliable. At the same time it is interesting to note that he speaks of going to Nigeria, and he has tried to get a passport.‡

40. It would be desirable for the Nigerian Government to have prior information of his leaving Cairo for Nigeria, and to have his movements scrutinised there.

41. Umar Mohamman Nawwar has another and younger son, Adam, who is a post-office messenger, and who does not call for remark.

42. MOHAMMAN ZUBEIR.—Mohamman Zubeir is a Fulani of Marua birth, who had lived many years in Tunis, where his father died. He would appear to have lost many of the characteristics of a Tadruri, and cannot, or scarcely, now speak any Nigerian language. He came to Cairo some seven years ago, but was

* The name of the school was given variously as Khalil Agha and as Diwan Khassa Abdin.

† CONVERSATIONS OF ABAKAR UMAR MOHAMMAN NAWWAR. Said to X, going soon to Nigeria—salute my brethren in the west. Asked about the English, X said they were good, and gave positions of authority to natives and large salaries. Abakar protested this could not be so. Said, thought of returning to Nigeria; the Egyptians did not carry out what they said they would, spoke much but effected little or nothing; excited people and let them in for trouble; they were dogs. Would look for X in Nigeria. This conversation in the house of Mohamman Zubeir.

‡ I asked H.R.M.'s Consul in Cairo to make a note on Abakar's dossier in the Consulate to warn the Nigerian Government confidentially should Abakar take a pass to proceed to Nigeria.

at first refused admission to the Bornu "ruwak," by the late Sheikh, as not being a genuine Tukururi. He went to Alexandria, and a "pasha" there, as I was informed, influenced the Sheikh of Al Azhar to have him registered in the Bornu "ruwak." He is said to be well off, and has a big house where he receives, and has a salary as a mosque attendant and a prayer leader.* He is said to have influential friends, and to be well known to Zaghulul.

43. He is an ardent Zaghululist and anti-European, and would appear to try and use such influence as he can obtain over Nigerian and other westerners to adopt his opinions.

44. I think this man must be the "Moghrabi Alim" mentioned in the Director of Intelligence, Khartoum's, letter, D.1/x/30894/F.556/1 (A) to the Chief Secretary, Lagos, of 8-12-1924.

45. From his conversation reported to me,† he appears to take a lively and intelligent interest in every political upheaval throughout the Islamic world.

46. I greatly regret I am unable to furnish any detailed information as to this man's past or present activities, or as to whether he is in any sort of communication with the Western Sudan. I consider him to be a personage of distinct interest to Nigeria, about whose activities it would be desirable to have more detailed information from time to time.

47. The following three Nigerians have been particularly indicated to me as under the influence of Abakar Umar Mohamman Nawwar, Mohamman Zubeir, and Adam Bahr (*q.v. infra.*). They are: *Hajj Musa Hussein*, native of Damagaram in Cairo since the French conquest of Damagaram—another West African irreconcilable. *Hajj Umar Mandara*, native of Limanti on the Dikwa—Mandara frontier. *Mohamman Musa Mai-Gizo*, a Hausa, town of birth unknown; lives in the Abbasiyye quarter and makes a living as a fortune teller, sand-gazer, etc., pretends to foretell the exit of the English from Egypt. Was a thief in Jerusalem during the war, is said vaguely to have been in correspondence with Nigeria lately.

48. I am told also that they attend meetings of the "Nubian" club in the Shari Abdin, an institution which I have been told by outsiders is a harmless one politically, though regarded by some of my Nigerian informants as concerned in the Sudan for Egypt agitation.

* Mohamman Zubeir is said to be a salaried prayer leader and teacher in the mosque of Buniyama (?).

† CONVERSATION OF MOHAMMAN ZUBEIR. Asked X, recently come from Nigeria, if the men of Maria and Bornu and Bagirmi would amount to a million, and if there were 1,000 ulama and 100 walls, and on X saying yes, said, then surely if they join with the Egyptians they can drive out the English. On X saying, if so who would be better than the English? said, "your words are sinful, it is a sin for a Muslim to say he likes English kafirs"; "if you were here some time and drank of the Nile your wit would be sharpened, but the people of Sudan are ignorant." Then spoke of Abdulkarim, saying he had a million subjects, and that Mustafa Kemal had three or four million and Fuad still more; said "then there are you in the west; unite, and the world is ours." On X saying he heard not of Fuad but only of Sa'ad, said Sa'ad is a man of heart, I will take you to him, he will give you presents, perhaps £100"; and he promised to take X the next day. Went on to speak of the four great Sultans of Islam, Abdulkarim and the Imam Yahia and Mustafa Kemal and Ahmad Sherif. The next day X was taken to a certain Sherif Mohamman ibn Saleh by Mohamman Zubeir, who said X belonged to a good family in the west, etc. The Sherif then took X to a house where as they arrived he saw an old man getting into a motor and the Sherif said that was Sa'ad but that they could not see him. The next day X went to the Sherif but he was not at home. X believes all this was

49. Another man, *Abdulkarim Saleiman*, town of origin Katsina, was described to me as a "Mahdist Dervish" by his fellow Nigerians. He appears to have done three years in prison for manslaughter, and to be a thorough rogue. He has tried to get papers as a British protected person I understand. He was not reported to me, however, as belonging to the set led by Mohammed Zubeir and Adam Bahr.

50. **HAJI IBRAHIM ALI KARAMI ZUNUMA LAGIREMI.** This man is a Tubu of Bornu, a native originally of the "baduwi" region of Bornu. I saw him in the room of the Bornu "ruwak" at Al Azhar, and on two other occasions.

51. He appears to have been a relation or associate of Mallam Mohammed Sumami, the Chief of Nguenguimi, in the French Colonie du Niger, and to have lived at a place called Karami, near there.

52. I am informed he was at Al Azhar, from about 1914 till 1919, or 1920, and then went back to the Chad region, bearing books and letters given him by a "Pasha in Alexandria," who gave him 1,000 rials (10 pt. pieces), who was to give him more on his return. On his return, however, the pasha was dead.

53. It seems to be extremely probable that this man was the bearer of the letters to Mallam Mohammed Sumami, which were found in Bornu in 1923.

54. I obtained also, through this man and a third party, a most interesting account of the movements of persons concerned in the "Kaossen" revolt in the Agades region of the French Colonie du Niger in 1916-17.

55. This is to the effect that Kaossen had a brother called Bulhan, who came many years ago to Tripoli in Syria and to Beirut with two "Turks" called Sherif Abd-el-Melik and Sherif Musa, and that Bulhan married the daughter of Sherif Abd-el-Melik, and had by her a son who was called Sherif Musa after his parents' friend. Bulhan returned to Kaossen and died in Africa. His son Sherif Musa heard of his Tuareg parentage from his mother, and in the course of time came to Cairo to the house of Sheikh Mohammed Hanlawi, a relation of the Sherif Abd-el-Melik, and got hold of some westerners who told him of his uncle Kaossen, and of his doings in Africa and his journey to Darfur, to the Senussi country, etc. Sherif Musa desired a guide to take him west, and it was understood that Egyptians or Turks provided money for this journey. He went to Omdurman, met Mallam Shuaibu of Marua, and took him as his guide. They went together to Kaossen, and in the fighting 1916/17 Sherif Musa was killed.

56. It is also known from several sources that this Mallam Shuaibu on this journey visited Mallam Sa'id ibn Hayatu, the would-be Khalifa of Abderrahman, son of the Mahdi, in the Chad region. Moreover an informant of mine in Darfur stated that he had been shown by Mallam Sa'id a ring "fairuz," which Mallam stated had been brought him as a "present from the East" by this Mallam Shuaibu. This remark seems significant in view of the fact that letters from the

57. A spurious communication ...
these various matters and suggesting a personality as a common source.

58. YORUBAS IN CAIRO, AND LAGOS CORRESPONDENCE. There is a certain HAJJ IBRAHIM MUSA, native of Ilorin, living in Cairo. I got in touch with him through one of the kavasses at the Consulate, and he used to bring me kola nuts every day till I left Cairo. He seemed a pleasant, simple soul, and overjoyed to meet a European to whom he could speak of his native town. He gave me a little information as to communications between Lagos and Cairo. The route is via Marseilles (the Fabre-Frassiniet line in particular). Ibrahim used to receive occasional parcels of kolas from the late Hajj Ali Fahmy of Lagos, and is also in correspondence with a mallam in Ilorin.*

59. Recently also there passed through Cairo a certain ISMAEL AYINDE SHITTA of Breadfruit Street, Lagos, who gave the Consulate the maximum amount of trouble in arranging his repatriation. He appears in the Consulate papers as a disciple of the Ahmadiyya movement, and as claiming to be the son of the Sultan of Lagos. He would appear to be a member of the Shitta family of Lagos, who were prominent in the Jama'at party there. I believe something is known in Lagos of the activities and connections of these people. He posed as a destitute and invalid pilgrim. On being repatriated from Cairo via Marseilles, he remained some time in Marseilles pleading illness, and appealing to the Consul in Cairo by ill-spelt and ill-worded letters in English, for further financial assistance, finally leaving there in January, 1925. His repatriation appears to have cost about £67, a quite unnecessarily large sum. The only other point of interest about him is that he took with him printed copies of the spurious "Vision of Sheikh Ahmad," which is frequently referred to in my report.

60. MUSTAFA BABI AL HALABI AND ISA BABI AL HALABI. - These two brothers are Syrians and men of some wealth. They appear to be general traders, and deal in printed books, and to have a printing press. They appear to have had some sort of connection and correspondence with Lagos since the visit to Cairo of the late Hajj Ali Fahmy of Lagos, who stayed with them. I did not discover that this connection is other than one of trade only, nor did they seem, as I was informed, particularly anxious to deal with Hajj Ali Fahmy successors in Lagos, whom they did not personally know. They are, however, sufficiently interested in Lagos to enquire of a Nigerian, who recently came to Cairo with letters of introduction to them, news of Lagos "politics" and the influence of Muslims in Government in Nigeria, and it is not uninteresting nor untypical of Cairo interest in Nigeria, that, their questions answered, they went on to ask their guest if he had brought them aphrodisiacs to sell.

61. A personality in Al Azhar of considerable interest to Nigeria is that of SHEIKH ADAM BAHR, Sheikh of the Soleih "ruwak," though he is not himself actually a Nigerian. Soleih is generally taken to be a spelling of the word, generally

* Hajj Ibrahim Musa, alias Sheikh Ibrahim Musa or Ibrahim Goro, of Ilorin, says he is well known to people in Ilorin including the Emir and court. Has an Ilorin correspondent, Mallam Badande, and correspondents in Lagos, the sons of the late Hajj Ali Fahmy and Tanko Baki and Abderrahman Adja (Adsha, Adasa); this latter recently married his concubine, a daughter of a cousin of the present Shehu of Bornu, after much correspondence with the Shehu. A daughter of Faki Aliyu of Wadai (q.v.), appears to be one of his wives in Cairo.

written as Sila, or Silla, in English and French, the name of a petty sultanate lying south-east of Abeshe, the capital of Wadai. In the Al Azhar, it is in the "ruwak" Soleih that students from the whole region between Darfur and Bagirmi, in particular the region best known nowadays as Wadai, are registered. Adam Bahr is himself a native of Wadai; of his history in Wadai, I know nothing. The "ruwak" itself is of no importance, containing only five students, but Adam Bahr apparently receives no less than £5 p.m. as Sheikh.

62. He is active in any kind of anti-British propoganda in Cairo, and colleague in these activities with Mohamman Zubeir and Abakar Umar Mohamman Nawwar mentioned *supra*. This is the man mentioned in Director of Intelligence, Khartoum's, letter D.1 x 30893 F (556 1 (a) of 8th December, 1924, to the Chief Secretary, Lagos.

63. I heard little, and that vaguely, of this man when I was in the Sudan. But in Cairo I was informed that he maintained a regular correspondence with Wadai and the West, particularly through a Hausa shoemaker or leather worker, who is sometimes in Omdurman and sometimes in El Obeid. Names given me also of correspondents in the west are Sheikh Hassan Wadai, once Sheikh (of the Soleih, "ruwak") in Al Azhar, Sheikh Adam Wadai, also once an Azharite, and the "Sultan of Wadai" (presumably Mohamman Saleh Doud Mourrah, in exile in Fort Lamy). Further he appears to receive financial help from Mahmud ibn Kahhal, *q.v. infra*, who is in turn reported as being in regular correspondence with Wadai, in particular with one Wust-al-Kheir who died this year, and the well-known Ahmad Wald Gamar of Umm-Timan, who is referred to in my report. None who know this Adam Bahr appear to doubt for a moment that his correspondence is a vehicle for dissemination of anti-European propoganda and news.

64. I heard one curious story, too, in Cairo, that this Adam Bahr was mixed up in the assassination of a man of Bornu origin named Masu'ud Omar at Ssendj in 1924. As related to me, Masu'ud Omar was a Bornu slave in the service of the Khedive Abbas, who was sent to school and later into the Egyptian Army, and that he had pro-British leanings. It was also suggested that he was a spy, but on whose behalf, my informant could not tell me.

65. FAKI ALIYU WADAI.—This man is one of the fraternity of mallams who appear to remain in fairly close touch with each other right across the Sudan. I heard of him in Bornu as corresponding with mallams there, rather in the sense of the genuine Alfa Hashim letters, and I found him in Alexandria. He had left Wadai last year for the second time, saying he could not tolerate the French regime, and the lack of consideration there shown to the ulema. He does not appear, however, to be an anti-European propogandist in practice. He puts religion above politics, and throws scorn on the politically-minded Zaghululist movement. He had a strange story to tell of a young Wadaian of his acquaintance who was bribed by the Watanists to assassinate an Englishman of position in Cairo about two years ago, but the boy lost his courage and ran back to Wadai.

66. It is also said of Faki Aliyu that on his first visit, he came with three slaves, of whom one died, and two were sold in the Hejaz, and that he himself suffered imprisonment at Halfa.

67. FAKI YAKUB WADAI is a religious fanatic who came to Al Azhar some three years ago, but, finding the spirit there not sufficiently ascetic, went to Syria, and returning announced that he was going back to Dar Tama to go into "retreat" and there to await the "jihad." It is said that Mahmud ibn Kahhal, who spoke approvingly of him, gave him £100.

68. There was a man of Sudanese origin spoken of to me, viz., AHMAD IBRAHIM (or IBRAHIM AHMAD) SHAHIN, who is nominally a member of the Sennar "ruwak," but was not, I was informed, much of a student. I understand he is a Jellaba or Berberine but born in Egypt. He lives in the Fahamin (?) quarter, and goes annually or oftener to the Sudan with trade goods. I was informed that his visit this year had been a short one, but that in the previous year he did a long round trip, visiting Medani, Makwar, Khartoum, and Port Sudan. He is believed by my informants to have been then taking part in propaganda work in the Sudan to Egypt movement, but he is said to be very secretive and never to give himself away. No doubt this is the man mentioned in the Director of Intelligence, Khartoum's, letter, to the Chief Secretary, Lagos, No. D. 1/30894/F.556/1A of 8th December, 1924, as being an ally of Mohamman Zubeir and Abakar Mohamman Nawwar, but I did not myself hear him classed with them. He left Cairo while I was there.

69. Another personality in Cairo much spoken of among Nigerians is MAHMUD IBN KAHHAL.* As I am told this man is a Syrian, by origin, but his father had lived in Abeshe, and the son has kept himself in touch with the West, not only as a trader but as a medium of news and correspondence. For example, in Wadai, Wust-al-Kheir who died last year, and the notorious Ahmad Wald Gamar, have both been mentioned to me as his agents, and in Cairo he gives financial support to the Sheikh Adam Bahr already mentioned. He is said also to be engaged in trade in illicit articles to and from the Senussi oasis. In Nigeria he is said to have had a correspondent also of Syrian extraction; and this latter's brother, who speaks Hausa in addition as well as Arabic, English and French, has visited Kano thrice, on one occasion travelling via Lagos and returning overland. On these journeys he had traded in books.

70. I understand that Mahmud ibn Kahhal is employed by the Sudan Government for the purchase of the "robes of honour" used in the Sudan as presents to chiefs. He is, however, certainly regarded by several of the Nigerians in Cairo as interested in anti-European movements in the Sudan and North Africa, and they believe he is always ready to pay cash for tit-bits of information.

71. I have, however, no detailed information as to anti-European propaganda by him, but from what I have heard from his conversation, and of his reputation among the Takarir, I think it probable that he has knowledge of attention paid to the west by political and religious intriguers.†

* NOTES ON MAHMUD IBN KAHHAL.—His correspondent in Kano is said to be Mohamman Nadim; the brother who travelled to Kano is Mohamman Lutufi Nadim. On the latter's sojourn to Kano he is said to have visited Emir Abbas.

† CONVERSATION OF MAHMUD IBN KAHHAL WITH X. Asked if he came from Borgu, and X's replying not Borgu but Bornu, went on to say he liked westerners, and his father had made money in the West; there were great sultans also there. He asked of the English, and on X's praising them said "you are ignorant" and asked "How many years have they ruled?" On X's saying 25 years, he said "That is a short time, but their rule becomes bad after a longer time, rule by Muslim Sultans is best." On X's saying "But where is there sovereignty among the Muslims?" he replied that there were great men in Kemal, and the Emir Yahaya and Abdulkarim and Ahmad Sherif and also in Egypt.

72. Among the teachers in Al Azhar most spoken of among westerners is MAHMUD KHATTAB AS SIBKI. This man is a notorious hot gospeller, very anti-European and anti-modern.

73. I understand that in his youth he was a brigand, who became a student of Al Azhar, and has had the general ability to become an "Alim." He appears to have been very successful, and to have collected a very large following, which is sometimes spoken of almost as a sect by itself and called the "Sibkiya." Not unnaturally he has fallen foul of the authorities, and has, I believe, been under close supervision, if not detention, during some of the troubles in Egypt.

74. His lectures are much frequented by westerners, in spite of his occasional denunciation of the Maliki rite. They attribute to him every sort of extravagant utterance. The coming of the Mahdi and Isa within thirteen years to come, and that following the Christians is to be compared with following the mirage, were quoted to me as utterances of his made during my stay in Cairo. He appears also to denounce modernism in any form, even to the wearing of the Tarbush.

75. Khattab As Sibki's influence amongst the westerners extends, however, beyond Cairo. I heard of him amongst Takarir in the Sudan, under the name of "Sheikh-ul-Islam Mohammad Suk al Khattabi." He appears to remain in correspondence with old pupils who have gone back. A portion of a letter to him from Bornu was seen in his possession, and in Tokar a Bornu mallam, who travels much, and is widely known amongst the Takarir, had a letter* inviting him to come to Cairo and become a teacher to the Sudanese and Takarir.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

76. LIST OF NIGERIANS IN CAIRO AND LOWER EGYPT.

In Cairo.

(17 Al Azhar students, given separately below.)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-----|--|
| 1. | Abakar Umar Mohamman Nawwar | ... | School messenger. |
| 2. | Umar Zakaria | ... | Messenger in Sultan Fuad's household. |
| 3. | Hajj Khalil | ... | Beggar. |
| 4. | Hajj Mohammad Adam | ... | Charm seller, etc. |
| 5. | Hajj Ali Zaria | ... | Once in W.A.F.F. No occupation. Has money. |
| 6. | Adam Barao | ... | Thief. |

* LETTER FROM MAHMUD KHATTAB AS SIBKI TO A BORNU MALLAM IN THE SUDAN. This letter was seen in Tokar in the hands of a well-known Bornu mallam, known as Hajj Ahmadu or Gwont Ahmadu, or Mayu Ahmadu. This man left Bornu on his third pilgrimage about ten years ago. He has relations in Bornu, including the present Kad of the Native Court of Damaturu. He is well-known and influential among Takarir in the Sudan, has a reputation for learning among them, and travels considerably. He visited El Obeid, Tokar and Rahad during April-June, 1925. He is on the whole inclined to return westwards, but somewhat fearing the expense and uncertain of his reception in Bornu. This letter from Khattab As Sibki was sent to him by Ibrahim el Teleibi in Omdurman. It asked him to come to Al Azhar to become a teacher to Sudanese and westerners, and went on to say that the faith could not be added to or deducted from; that the people of Sham, Baghdad and Mecca had distorted it, but that Khattab preached the true faith as was preached also in Morocco.

In Cairo (continued).

7.	Hussein Abubakr	...	...	...	Charm seller.
8.	Adam Umar Mohammad Nawwar	...	...	...	Messenger in postal service at Banaha.
9.	Wawa Aziz	...	...	...	Beggar.
10.	Mohammad Musa	...	...	...	Fortune-teller.
11.	Musa Hussein	...	...	...	Charm seller.
12.	Abdulkarim Suleiman	...	...	...	Charm seller. A murderer.
13.	Adam Askari	...	...	...	Soldier.
14.	Abdurrahim Tahir	...	...	...	Messenger in Govt. service.
15.	Ibrahim Mohammad	...	...	...	Chemist's Assistant.
16.	Abukukr Abdulahi Fransawi	...	...	...	French Doctor's Assistant.
17.	Hajj Isa Abubakr	...	...	...	Eye Doctor. Charm seller.
18.	Hajj Kheir Takaho	...	...	...	Beggar.
19.	Hajj Othman Tunisi	...	...	...	Charm seller.
20.	Hajj Yahaya Jibril	...	...	...	Charm seller.
21.	Hajj Mohammad Abukar	...	...	...	Sweet seller.
22.	Hajj Mohammad Suleiman	...	...	...	Thief and charm seller.
23.	Hajj Mohammad Maiabaya	...	...	...	Vagrant.
24.	Ahmad Abubakr	...	...	...	Charm seller.

In Alexandria.

1.	H. Abubakr Mohammad	...	...	...	Trader.
2.	H. Abdulahi Bagau	...	...	...	Thief.
3.	H. Omar Ishaku	...	...	...	Charm seller.
4.	H. Mohammad Sambo	...	...	...	Interpreter at Customs.
5.	H. Rizka	...	...	...	Beadseller.
6.	H. Jibril Abdulahi	...	...	...	Charm seller.
7.	H. Ibrahim Dasuki	...	...	...	Charm seller.
8.	H. Tahir	...	...	...	Charm seller and Kola seller. A Yoruba.

In Zagazig.

1.	H. Adam Ibrahim	...	...	...	Charm seller.
2.	H. Mohammad Mandarawi	...	...	...	Charm seller.
3.	H. Abdu	...	...	...	Charm seller.
4.	H. Abdulaki Seid	...	...	...	Charm seller. Once at Al Azhar.
5.	H. Mohammad Sarki Dinderpo	...	...	...	Drunkard.
6.	H. Mohammad Ali	...	...	...	Thief and murderer, in jail.

In Suez.

1.	H. Abubukr	...	...	...	Charm seller.
2.	H. Musa	...	...	...	Charm seller.
3.	H. Othman Abu Abdulahi	...	...	...	Charm seller.

In Ismailia.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| 1. | H. Hussein | ... | ... | ... | ... | Charm seller. |
| 2. | H. Ali Kulda | ... | ... | ... | ... | Servant. |

List of Students in the Bornu ruwak in Al Azhar.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Mohammad Ali | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sheikh, <i>v. notes.</i> |
| 2. | Mohammad Ahmad Kiari | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Bornu). |
| 3. | Mohammad Mohammad Omar | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Bornu). |
| 4. | Mohammad Zubeir | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Marua), <i>v. notes.</i> |
| 5. | Ibrahim Musa | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Ilorin), <i>v. notes.</i> |
| 6. | Ibrahim Karami | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Bornu), <i>v. notes.</i> |
| 7. | Abdulahi abd-al-Mumin | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Gumel). |
| 8. | Musa Mohammad Adam | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Damagaram). |
| 9. | Haruna Abdulahi Isa | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Kano). |
| 10. | Musa Ibrahim | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Melle). |
| 11. | Ali Yakub | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Kano). |
| 12. | Umar Mohammad Nawwar | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Katagum), <i>v. notes.</i> |
| 13. | Abubakr Suleiman | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Kazaure). |
| 14. | Othman Omar | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Melle). |
| 15. | Ahmad Mohammad | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Kano). |
| 16. | Mohammad Al Amin | ... | ... | ... | ... | (Of Bornu). |
| 17. | Salam Nasr | ... | ... | ... | ... | (?). |

17—Is attached by the Sheikh al Azhar to manage the bread ration. He is not a student.

77. SLAVE TRADE BY NIGERIANS VIA CAIRO.—I heard of four cases of westerners bringing slave children for disposal in the East and passing through Cairo. In one of these the dealer, a Kano man, had been assisted through Omdurman by the agent of the Takarir Sheikh in Omdurman.

78. EX-WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE SERGEANT IN CAIRO. A man calling himself Hajj Ali Balarabe Richifa is living in Cairo who states that he enlisted in the W.A.F.F. in about 1899, spent most of his service in "C" Company, 1st Battalion, and at the time of the Kano-Sokoto expedition was a Sergeant, but no longer a Sergeant at the time of his discharge in 1914, when he went on the pilgrimage. He mentions Colonel Kembball, Major Willis and Captain McIntyre, as officers under whom he served. He asked me to obtain for him discharge papers, as, he says, he lost the originals on his journey from Nigeria.

I expect he imagines these papers would be useful to him in getting papers as a British protected person if he wishes.

He has the reputation of being well-off, and he has no occupation. Some say it is his wife who has the money, she being one of the Takruri women who visit the harems of the wealthy.

79. SOURCES OF INFORMATION. Where the information embodied in the memorandum was not from personal observation, or is not specially noted, it was obtained from the persons mentioned below. Chiefly from two, to wit, Mohammad Ali, Sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak," and a certain Mohammad al Amin, a Bornu man whom I brought with me from the Sudan.* The former is not at all likely to be actually in the confidence of people active in anti-British propaganda, but he is a knowledgeable person who keeps his eyes and ears open. The latter has so often provided information which has been confirmed from other sources that I place some reliance on his information even when unsupported. In addition I had many items of information from the following persons directly: Ibrahim Goro, Ibrahim Karami, Mohammad Ahmad Kiari, Hajj Ali, Adamu Mohammad, and I had several conversations with Khalil Effendi, a Syrian employed by the Sudan Agency, on, I understand, confidential work, to whom I was introduced by Mr. R. Davies of the Sudan Intelligence Department, and who facilitated my visits to Al Azhar, and confirmed or commented on several of my notes.

DIARY NOTES OF MALLAM MOHAMMAD AL AMIN OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN
CAIRO, PERSONS MET, ETC., ABBREVIATED WHERE NOTES HAVE BEEN INCLUDED
ELSEWHERE.

9.VII.25. Went to Al Azhar, asked an Abyssinian to direct him to the place of the Bornu, was directed up a stair and told on the fifty second step he would find two doors, the second of which was the room of the Bornu. Followed the directions and, knocking on the door, entered and found two men of Bornu, Hajj Mohammad Ahmad of Kajal and of Galulu near Geidman in Bornu and Hajj Ibrahim Karami Zumama Lagiremi of Jili, a village near Gubio in Bornu. With them he sat and talked, saying he had come to study at Al Azhar but not to go on the pilgrimage yet. He was asked his native place and relations, and on his telling these, his questioners wept over him and brought carpets and water, and entertained him.

He then said a person had helped him and his servant on the journey and they had left his luggage with him, whereupon all went to the Hotel Continental and got his boxes from Mr. Lethem.

On return to Al Azhar was advised to lodge in a "wakf" house frequented by westerners* and on going there found one Usuman, a Fulani of Bornu Nguderi, who had been 45 years in Cairo, and had a son, a tailor in the Army. Also a Faki Mohammad al Karami of Shellal, once a clerk in Shellal, and Abubakr of Halfa, and Hassan of Berber. These he saluted and chose a room on the third storey, where there was water and a latrine.

In the evening he went with Mohammad Ahmad to hear Khattab As Sibki, a teacher of the Hadith, who lectured on Abu Daud, and preached about the Kalifs and the coming of the Mahdi and Isa, and that there were but 13 years to wait.

Questioned Mohammad Ahmad, who said Khattab was a person like Gwoni Bukr Tatagana and Mallam Ahmad El A'araj (recently turned out of Yerwa by the Shehu of Bornu) and he invents what he says, pretending it is from the books; it is "the intoxication of learning."

Hears Khattab has a mosque in his own house, rich with carpets and electric light: owns lodging houses and farms.

10.VII.1925. Went to prayers at the mosque of Hussein with a Senussi fiki, named Hussein of Kufra, an old man; had conversation as to the nonsense of the pretence that the tomb of Hussein could be here. The Senussist, delighted with the conversation, took him to a café.

In the afternoon went to a Tujani meeting. Company was hustled by a policeman who told them to make less noise; policeman seized him by the shoulders and he shammed being a deaf mute.

* In the Haret Yahud in the Shari Khani Abu Tagiya 5; house is a wakf of Jamil Hanina.

In the evening again visited Khattab As Sibki. Was questioned by a man as to why he did not cross his arms in prayer and replied he followed the Maliki, not the Shafei, rites, and belonged to the Tujani Tarika. Gave his name as Abdulahu bin Obeidullah of Sokoto. His questioner was Mohammed Nur of Kurdi in Egypt, a pedlar, and of the Samaniya sect.

A son of Khattab As Sibki named Mohammad Al Amin, a teacher of geography in Cairo, then questioned the pedlar about him.

11.VII.1925. Was visited by Mohammad Al Amin, the son of Khattab, but avoided conversation, pretending to have eye sickness. On his friend Mohammad Ahmad asking why he did so, said did not wish to have dealings with a man in Christian employ.

Whereupon Mohammad Ahmad praised him, and said there was a Pasha in Alexandria who wanted a man like him for a commission.

Saw numerous westerners, Hajj Umar Uban-Yara, once of Kafiogi in Bornu Nguderi, 35 years in Cairo, Hajj Musa of Dutsin Gadawur, whose wife was a Ngala woman, Hajj Abdulahi Abd-ul-Mumin of Gummel, Hajj Umar of Matsena.

13.VII.1925. Saw Umar Mohammad Nawwar, Hajj Musa ibn Hussein of Damagaram, Sheikh Yahaya of Kano, Mohammad dan Hadejia, Umar Mandara of Limanti in Mandara, H. Usuman of Shirra, Sheikh Mohammad Ali of Kano, H. Ibrahim Goro of Ilorin.

Also visited Mustafa and Isa Babi-al-Halabi and presented letters from Lagos.

Also visited Sheikh Mohammad al Bakhit, a learned alim, who asked of the English rule in Nigeria, saying "their religion is different from ours, but they are just"; who also asked if he (Mohd. al Amin) was learned, and laughed on his saying "no," but said, "you have sense," when he said he could not understand how the tomb of Hussein could be in Cairo.

Also visited Sheikh Sambutiya, an assistant of Mohammad al Bakhit, and a Sheikh Abderrahman Gari-al-Koran, both of whom praised the English but denounced the French.

16.VII.1925. Visited Mohammad Zubeir, native of Marua, long in Tunis.

Visited Hassan Khayyati who took him to the house of Sidi Idris, the chief of the Senussi, who was dressed like a Turk in a black frock coat. He received and returned their salutations and was hospitable, but asked no questions and said nothing.

Visited Ibrahim Ahmad Shahin, a Sudani by birth or origin.

17-18.VII.1925. Visited Alexandria with Umar Mandara, saw Faki Aliyu in house of Abukr Mohammad Tujani; Faki Aliyu refused to present himself for examination at Al Azhar.

Visited Idirisa wad al Mahdi in house of Hajj Ali Maghabub in the Shari Midiyan, who complained of fewness of visitors from west, saying western Governments prevent their coming. On name of Ahmad Sherif being mentioned said "Be silent."

18.VII.25. Also Ali Muzayyin, a sweetseller in Alexandria for twenty years.

In Cairo visited Umar Mohamman Nawwar and met his son Abakar in the house of Mohamman Zubeir.

Visited Mahmud ibn Kabhal and had conversation.

Heard of Faki Yakub from Mohammad Ahmad.

19.VII.25. Received message from Mahmud Khattabi and visited him privately. Asked *re* Ahmad Zuruk (Hajj Kiari).

Visited Mohammad Bakhit, and asked him of the injunction of Sheikh Ahmad of which he had seen printed copies in Cairo. Mohd. Bakhit said it was certainly bida'a and should be stopped.

Hears the pamphlets are printed at the Yusufiya printing office in the Shari Khalil Masri 55, under the auspices of a Hindi called Mahmud Ahmad Almadiyya, who calls himself Khalifa al Masih.

Appendix D.

A—"Fatwa" by "ulema" of the "Shari'a" court of Mecca against the spurious "Vision of Sheikh Ahmad ibn Hazim."

B.—"Fatwa" by "ulema" of Mecca against Mahdism.

C.—Pamphlet against Mahdism.

Fatwa = Legal opinion.

Ulema = Scholars, divines.

Shari'a = "Canon" law.

Mufti = Jurisconsult who delivers a fatwa

A.

The first Arabic document is an original manuscript obtained for me by the Munshi Ihsanullah, an Indian clerk in the Consulate at Jeddah. At the time of my visit, during the siege of Jeddah by the Wahabis, he went with a safe-conduct through the besiegers' lines to Mecca. I had had several conversations with him on the subject of spurious documents which appeared to issue from the Hejaz, and which came into the hands of ignorant pilgrims and so reached Nigeria. He took the opportunity of being in Mecca to obtain this "fatwa" for me. It would conceivably be useful in Nigeria to persuade Emirs or leading mallams of the spuriousness of the same or similar documents circulating in the future. The document would have the more weight in Nigeria in that one of the divines giving it his imprimatur is "mufti" of the Maliki sect.

It is suggested that photographic copies be taken of it, as were taken of document B.

For notes on the "Vision of Sheikh Ahmad," its origin and circulation, see paragraph 114 of Part II of the report.

B.

The second Arabic document is a photograph of an original manuscript obtained by the Munshi Ihsanullah as an outcome of his conversations with me and forwarded by H.B.M.'s agent at Jeddah to the Foreign Office, thence to the Colonial Office and Nigeria. The same general remarks as apply to the first document apply to this also.

Further, the chief author of the fatwa is a well-known Maghrabi divine in Mecca, Sheikh Muhammad Habibullah al Shingaiti, who refers enquirers to his printed pamphlet against Mahdism, the document C which follows.

The fact that this personage is a West African in the widest sense, and that the "fatwa" is also confirmed by the Maliki mufti, should give it added weight to Nigerian Mohammedans.

C.

The third document is the printed pamphlet against Mahdism, of which the author is the well-known Maghrabi divine in Mecca, Sheikh Muhammad Habibullah al Shingaiti, who also gives the first opinion in "fatwa" B and therein refers enquirers to his printed pamphlet. It was also obtained for me by the Munshi Ihsanullah.

Maghrabi—West African in the sense of Morocco and Algiers and their hinterlands.
Shingaiti—A native of Shingait or Shingaiti, the chief centre of the country of Adrar, the hinterland of Cabo Blanco and the Rio de Oro.

A. Translation of a "Fatwa"

BY

"ULEMA" OF THE "SHARI'A" COURT OF MECCA AGAINST THE SERIOUS
"VISION OF SHEIKH AHMED IBN HAZIM."

Original attached.

1st Hand.

What do you (long may your merit last) say regarding the vision of the man called Ahmed ibn Hazim the dweller in Medina the Enlightened (upon its inhabitants be the most effective blessings and peace), which is to the following effect --

I was reading the august Koran on a Friday evening in the mosque of the Prophet (the blessing of God be upon him and peace) and I fell asleep. And in my sleep I saw the Prophet (the blessings of God be upon him and peace) and he said to me, "Oh, Ahmed, say to the Moslems that I am weary on account of them; they do not heed my testament (wasiya) and God is wrath with them. As for the Moslems, they observe fasting and the pilgrimage and then die without Islam and in the last two years 80,000 of the Moslems died without Islam, save for one.

Let any man who sees this testament write it from village to village and from country to country, and collect the Moslems and read to them. And he that doubts this is a disbeliever (Kāfir) in God and His prophet and he that believes in this testament is safe with God and His prophet and on the day of resurrection (all such) shall enter paradise without a reckoning. So say to the Moslems, 'Turn to God in sincere repentance, the hour is close and peace, so study it well, oh Moslems and Moslem women. If you are an Amīr or Kadi, then read it among yourselves. If you believe in God and the last day and peace, then have compassion on your brethren. He that is in heaven has compassion on you; and God has mercy only on his servants who are compassionate and peace.' "

Is this vision, and others like it, condemned by the judgment of the Shari'a, and is the man who dies a professed Moslem condemned on the ground that he dies in unbelief or not? Deliver a fatwa to us, for you have the true doctrine.

2nd Hand.

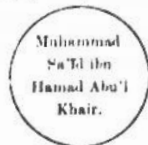
In the
name of
God and Muhammad.

Praise be to Thee.
We have no know-
ledge, save what
Thou has taught
us.

The judgment of the Shari'a does not confirm this vision and does not condemn a man who dies a professed Moslem on the ground that he dies in unbelief, for it is contrary to the blessed Shari'a. It is not permitted to recite this testament or to publish it. Indeed he that says or publishes it is in danger of unbelief himself.

The man who believes in it is guilty of rebellion and has merited thereby the charge of ignorance. That which he deserves is prohibition, and he has no profit from it (?): upon him is the sin of it and the sin of him that acts in accordance with it until the day of resurrection, because the said man who saw the vision is unknown in the country of the two holy places, and probably his statement that he saw the vision is a lie and a falsehood and a forgery. But the truth of the matter God (may He be exalted) knows best.

The statement in his own hand of the seeker after (divine) support and truth, Muhammad Sa'id Abu'l Khair Mīr Dād the Hanifite Deputy Mufti of Mecca the Blessed, may God pardon him.



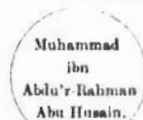
seal.

3rd Hand.

My reply on this matter is the same as that of the meritorious Deputy Mufti of Mecca the Blessed. I am the poor servant of God, may He be exalted, glorified and made illustrious.

The first Deputy of the Shari'a Court.

seals

**4th Hand.**

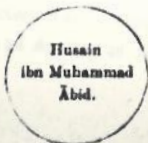
My reply on this matter is likewise the same as the reply of the meritorious Mufti of the Hanifite Saiyyids in Mecca the Blessed. I am the poor servant of God, exalted be He, and one of the Mudarrisīn in the Mosque of the Harām, 'Abbās ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz al-Mālikī.

seal

**5th Hand.**

My reply on this matter is likewise the same as the reply of the meritorious Mufti of the Hanifite Saiyyids in Mecca the Blessed. I am the poor servant of God, may He be exalted, the Mālikite Mufti, Husain ibn Muhammad 'Ābid, one of the Mudarrisīn in the Mosque of the Harām.

seal



B. Translation of a "fatwa"

BY

"ULEMA" OF MECCA AGAINST MAHDIISM.

Question.

What do you, the ulema of the Holy Place of Mecca, say about the person or persons appearing in India and elsewhere who claim to be the expected Mahdi? Is their claim justified and acceptable or are they deceivers and false prophets? If they are false prophets and deceivers please give the reasons why, and also state what punishment may be inflicted upon them and their followers according to the Shari'a.

Answer.

All praises to God and peace be on the Prophet Muhammad. After which the ulema are bound to state what is written in the Holy Book, and a curse will be upon those who hide what is ordered by God after they have received reasonings and instructions.

The question about the Mahdi has already been asked by someone and I replied referring them to my book in which I have fully proven all such who claim to be the expected Mahdi or Isa to be liars and deceivers both by the traditions and the verses. I am sure that this work is quite sufficient to refute their claims. The previous questioner only asked whether the claim of these people is right or wrong so I replied in short and quoted the open traditions and the sources from which these traditions were taken. There is no need to add anything to my pamphlet to prove such claims false.

But about the punishment of such persons this question was not asked and the Shari'a law varies considerably according to the circumstances, and if the legal code does not indicate clearly the punishment then it depends upon the wisdom of the Imam who judges the case on its merit.

The Kadi gives such punishments as is considered necessary, called "Ta'zir al Shari'a" i.e. lawful punishments which are defined by the Ibn Asim in his book in which he states that in some cases a man may be punished by a definite fixed punishment, in this case stoned to death: also they may be punished by reproof, or be made to stand upon their feet, or by deprivation of social rank, or by stripping off the head-dress, or by beating, such punishments always depending upon the offender's physical build and his dignity and rank.

Shaikh Khalil al Maliki in his book suggests the same punishments as also does Ibn Rashid. In fact the punishment depends on the conscience of the judge.

Once upon a time the learned Shaikh Ahmad son of Hajar el Shafi was questioned about the people who believed in a person called Muhammad, son of Sayed Khan al Jafruni, who claimed to be the expected Mahdi, and whose followers claimed that everybody who did not accept him as such was an infidel, i.e., a "kafir."

Upon these people the learned judge issued a "fatwa" stating that these people were the enemies of orthodoxy and disbelievers of the facts proven by the continued traditions. By proclaiming as "kafir" all Muslims who did not believe in him, and by their belief in him they had committed a kufr, and according to the Shari'a are themselves "kafir," and if this "takfir" is on account of them denying the "al sunna," i.e. the prescribed law, then they must be killed if they do not repent, and if they deny it on account of the continued traditions, then their punishment is in the hands of the Imam.

The said Sayed Imam Hajar wrote a book on this subject which he named "el Qul al Mukhtasar Fi Alamat al Mahdi al Muntazir," i.e., short notes on the signs of the expected Mahdi, in which he gives over one hundred signs which may be discernible on the appearance of the real Mahdi, and by which the real Mahdi may be recognised, and has issued the "fatwas" of Abu Sarur, Ahmad son of Ziya el Hanafi, and Muhammad, son of Muhammad el Khatabi el Maliki, and they give full details about the "kufr" of such persons as claim to be the Mahdi, and state that they must be killed on account of their infidelities, which are contrary to the Shari'a.

It is quite clear that the above-mentioned learned ulemas would never make "kafirs" of such persons or their followers unless they found their actions contrary to the Shari'a about the Mahdi and the signs of the Mahdi.

The chief signs of the Mahdi are that (1) he must appear at Mecca and the people should give their hands into his at the place in the Holy Mosque, (2) all the followers of other religions will enter Islam and act according to the "Shari'a" and the Holy Book.

All those who claim to be the Mahdi and are not accompanied by the above signs, and those who follow them are punishable.

The real Mahdi will occupy the whole world from north to south and both worlds, and we pray to God that He take us on the right path and lead us Himself as we ought to go, and prove the falsity of the false.

Written by the preacher in the Haramain, Shaikh Muhammad Habibullah el Shangaiti.

I concur in the above which have been written by the learned Shaikh Habibullah.

(Seal) MUHAMMAD SAID ABU KHAIR MIR DAD.
Acting Hanifite Mufti at Mecca.

After praise to God and peace on the Prophet the reply of the most learned Shaikh Habibullah is correct and I concur with him.

(Seal) MUHAMMAD EL MARZOUKI son of Abdul Rahman Abu
Hussein.
Acting Chief of the Shari'a Court at Mecca.

I agree with Shaikh Habibullah.

(Seal) HUSSEIN son of Muhammad Abid.
The Malikite Mufti at Mecca.

The reply of Shaikh Habibullah is correct.

(Seal) OMAR son of Abu Bukr Janid.
Acting Shafite Mufti at Mecca.

C. Printed Pamphlet against Mahdism.

(Arabic original: not reproduced.)

Appendix E.

A SUGGESTION AS TO THE SOURCE OF LETTERS FROM "FAIRUZ THE EGYPTIAN" TO PERSONS IN THE CHAD REGIONS IN 1919-1921, AND SIMILAR ACTIVITIES.

The following suggestion is put forward with all diffidence, since it is quite unverified from the quarter which should be best able to criticise it, to wit, British Intelligence sources in Cairo. Nevertheless the coincidences seem to me sufficiently notable, even obtained as they are from limited sources, that I think it well worth putting up for investigation by those who are better qualified to estimate its value than I am.

2. It must be first explained that among the mass of Arabic letters found and examined in Bornu in 1923 were certain ones which purported to come from "Fairuz the Egyptian" and from "Maljam the Egyptian known as the Mamur of Beirut." These were of a certain general tone which distinguished them very clearly from the effusions of religious revivalism and the letters and papers invoking Abderrahman the son of the Sudan Mahdi and even from those which mixed up requests for "intelligence" with religious appeals in the name of the Senussi "tariqa" and its leader Sidi Ahmad Sherif. They were in fact documents free of religious appeal and they contained quite practical propositions for the supply of "intelligence" of anti-British complexion, for purposes of political propaganda, in return for definite rewards forwarded or promised.

3. In particular in these letters a knowledge and appreciation of the local history of the Chad region was displayed, *e.g.*, the ancient wars between the Bulala and the Magume, the standing of Bagirmi as a native state, etc., which prompted the suggestion that the letters were the production of a European or at least of a European-educated mind; in fact, that they might be inspired by an expert Teutonic ethnologist appeared an idea both tempting and plausible, as has been hinted in para. 150 of Part II of the report.

4. Since that suggestion was first made, the following considerations and details have been collected, and when taken in conjunction one with the other they appear to point to a certain personality, once known to have studied in Cairo, as a possible common source—or at least one of the sources of this type of propaganda in the Chad region.

5. The bases of this correlation have been, firstly, the character and internal evidence of the letters; and secondly, the shadowy figure of a "pasha in Alexandria" lurking in the background of the gossip of West Africans in Cairo.

6. The first point to be considered is the following extract from the letter to Sultan Hassan of Fitri:—

"But I, Fairuz the Egyptian, my grandfather went to Bornu and was the guest of Hajj Bashir in the days of Kukawa and Shehu Umar. He was trading and so learnt all about Bornu, so that nothing was hidden from him. At the time of his residence there he obtained an ancient history. In it were secrets, all the secrets of the war (1810) and the Kanembu obtaining

the land by their prayers. In part of the history I saw an account of the character of the inhabitants of Bornu and Fitri and I considered it with Hajj Yasin. We send it to you."

7. Now the traveller Barth, a German, visited Bornu in the time of Shehu Umar, and was the guest of Hajj Bashir, and collected manuscripts of every kind. His papers were inherited by a certain Herr Rudolf Prietze. Prietze is not, as far as I know, an actual relation to Barth, but he was the nephew of another famous German traveller in Africa, Nachtigal. Nachtigal went to Bornu on a mission to the Shehu from the King of Prussia, carrying presents in acknowledgment of the kindness shown to the previous German travellers. Now Prietze inherited all the papers of his uncle Nachtigal, and with them those of Barth, and as late as 1912 was in possession of them; he had also those of Rohlf's, the German traveller who was the first European to visit the Senussist oasis of Kufra.

8. Prietze himself was a student of African languages and lived for a time in Tunis—see the introduction to his "Hausalieder und Sprichwörter," 1904. He later went to Cairo, and I have heard was there studying the Bornu language, and in particular the Manga dialect of it, at the Al Azhar, or it is probably more correct to say with natives from Bornu who were students at the mosque. This was as late as 1910, I think. In the circumstances given in paras. 7 and 8, for a man of this type to write to a native and speak of Barth as his "grandfather" is quite natural.

9. Turning now to my own enquiries in Cairo. I did not hear of Prietze there; in fact, though I had heard of him previously, I had not made the enquiries that resulted in the information given in paras. 7 and 8 above. I met, however, a man of the Manga tribe at the Al Azhar who had a patron, described to me as a wealthy "pasha in Alexandria." This Manga was well informed as to certain communication between Cairo and Kaossen, the leader of the revolt against the French in the Agades region in 1916-1917 which was promoted by Senussist and Germano-Turk intrigue. Moreover he had himself travelled on the business of his "pasha" patron to the Chad region. He was in fact related to one of the recipients of the letters. On these grounds alone, the deduction was rather tempting that he had carried, or at least been the guide for messengers carrying some of the "Fairuz" or "Maljam" letters. Since my visit to Cairo, further enquiries suggest an identification of the "pasha" with Prietze, or with someone working with personnel and information supplied by him.

10. Further, behind the conversation of several of the West Africans in Cairo, and of persons in the circle in which they move, there seems to lurk the figure of a "pasha" in Alexandria, who is a patron to Takarir, is interested in news and gossip from the west, and prepared to pay money for it. In particular, a certain Fulani of Marua is represented as having only got on to the list of students of the Bornu "ruwak" in Al Azhar after the interference of a "pasha" in Alexandria. This man is a hot-headed anti-European sedition-monger and tries to win over Nigerians in Cairo to join his little circle. He has a good house and money. Further he came to Cairo from Tunis, as had Prietze.

11. There is yet another notable coincidence to be recorded. The Manga mentioned in para. 9 knew personally the notorious Hajj Shuaibu of Marua whose activities are indicated in para. 117 of Part II of the report, and the Manga was well informed as to his mission from Egypt to Kaossen in 1916. This Shuaibu, as is well known, was not only prominent in the Mahdist movement but his activities were of a nature much wider than those of the usual agent of Abderrahman's organisation. On his journey to Kaossen, however, he did visit many Mahdist centres of importance, and especially he visited Mallam Sa'id the son of Hayatu. This curious detail then emerges from the statement of the other Hajj Shuaibu, the one-eyed man of Mubi, made to me at El Fasher, see appendix B, to connect Shuaibu of Marua with "Fairuz": It is that Mallam Sa'id showed Hajj Shuaibu, the one-eyed, a ring which the other Hajj Shuaibu had given him, and it was called a "fairuz" ring. The informant gave me no further information on this ring. Though it does not, to my mind, follow that "fairuz" sent Shuaibu to Mallam Sa'id (as I have said in the report, paras. 113, *et seq.*, I think Shuaibu went among Mahdists preaching Mahdism primarily because he was a Mahdist and not because he was employed to do so; he had other business in hand as his duty to his employers) yet the incident does seem to connect up the propaganda by letter in the Chad region, Hajj Shuaibu, the Manga of the Al Azhur, Kaossen's revolt, Fairuz, the "pasha at Alexandria," and Herr Rudolf Prietze, in a singular way.

12. There is yet another point. Herr Prietze was a German student of African languages. It is, I believe, a well enough known fact that German students of African languages and ethnology were employed during the war in the German Intelligence service in a special African branch. I have even heard that Herr Frobenius, the well-known traveller in West Africa, was head of this African branch. The activities of Frobenius in Nigeria are, I understand, under much suspicion of political motive, and I understand some details have been recorded. With this, and with the suspected activities inspired by Prietze in the Chad region, the following piece of information given me in El Fasher by a Wadaian who had lived in Nigeria for some years accords. This man states that he was at one time in the employ of Frobenius in Nigeria, when working on the Benue shortly before the war; and that Frobenius was then endeavouring "to open a way" to the Bilma and Kwar country north of Chad, and was employing my informant, and a certain Lokoja trader who had a connection with Bornu, as his instruments. Further details I did not succeed in eliciting.

13. The argument based on the points in the preceding paragraphs is therefore that Herr Rudolf Prietze was "Fairuz," or at least a principal inspiration behind the activities from Cairo to the Niger-Chad region. It will be evident from these notes that the details were collected at different times and places. I am not in a position to carry the enquiries usefully any further. I consider, however, that it should not be difficult to obtain reliable information as to Prietze's residence in Cairo, and perhaps as to some of his activities. It may be thought worth while for some such enquiry to be made through the Intelligence authorities in Cairo and elsewhere.

REFERENCES *RE* HERR RUDOLF PRIETZE.

1. Author of "Hausa Sprichwörter und Hausa-Lieder"; Kirchham N. L. Buchdruckerei von Max Samersow vorm. Zahn & Baendel, 1901. According to the preface, Prietze appears to have spent some time in Tunis.

2. Author of "Die Spezifischen Verstärkungsadverben im Hausa und Kanuri," an article in "Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin," 1908.

3. Author of an article described as "The Linguistic Collections of Barth, Nachtigal, and Rohlf" in "Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen," vol. ii, p. 195. Published by Geographische Verlagshandlung Dietrich Reimer, Berlin.

4. Note in the late P. A. Benton's "Notes on some languages of the Western Sudan," p. 71. Mr. Benton also told me in conversation about Prietze in about 1916 or 1917. It must have been he that told me he was studying the Manga dialect of Kanuri, but there may be a note in some other of the books of Mr. Benton's, none of which I have with me here.

The Manga referred to in para. 9 of the above notes told me that his patron, the "pasha in Alexandria," was now dead. Other Takarir, however, spoke of their "pasha" as still living.

Appendix F.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR

- (i) IMPROVEMENT OF ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGE;
- (ii) IMPROVEMENT OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR OBTAINING EXTERNAL INTELLIGENCE.

In the covering letter forwarding the report *certain* recommendations are suggested for action in regard to matters touched on in the report. These are amplified in this appendix. They are made for consideration in the event of the Nigerian Government deciding that the questions of external intelligence and of improvement in the present arrangements concerning the pilgrimage merit some organisation and expenditure of a little money and attention. These recommendations were:

(a) Improvement of the arrangements concerning the pilgrimage to facilitate a quick journey to Mecca and return. A separate memorandum is being submitted.

(b) Co-ordination of intelligence work as regards channels of propaganda to Nigeria with the proper agencies in other parts of Africa, in particular to secure some systematic attention to the following:

- (i) The Takarir in the Hejaz, and such personalities as the Alfa Hashim, Mohammad Bunu, etc.—through H.B.M.'s Agent at Jeddah. A temporary suggestion as to ways and means has already been made.
- (ii) The small Takarir colony in Cairo, and the Bornu "ruwak" there—through the Sudan Government Agent in Cairo, and others if necessary. A temporary suggestion has already been made.
- (iii) The Takarir generally in the Sudan, personalities and tendencies observed, etc.—through the Intelligence service of the Sudan Government.
- (iv) French territory.

(c) Periodic visits of a Nigerian Officer to the Red Sea, the Sudan, and Cairo to secure the above objects (a) and (b). The officer could visit Suakin and Jeddah for some weeks at the time of the pilgrimage, and either *en route* thereto or when returning visit Cairo, Khartoum and the principal and easily-reached centres of Takarir in the Sudan.

2. The arguments as to whether or not action of the kind suggested is necessary or desirable are not discussed in this note. That must be a question of opinion, in the forming of which the facts and views set forth in the report may have importance. This note is confined to suggesting ways and means which, should the principle be decided, appear most practical in the light of things observed on my journey.

3. (a) THE PILGRIMAGE.—The question of the improvement of the arrangements concerning the pilgrimage is a matter which must be dealt with in considerable detail. It is therefore the subject of a separate memorandum which will be submitted in due course. The proposals will involve briefly payment of a deposit before leaving Nigeria, which will give a ticket by steamer across the Red Sea and back *via* Suakin, with payment of quarantine dues; a strong durable passport in duplicate or triplicate counterfoil, part of which will be forwarded to

Suakin by post; means of identification by photograph and finger print, and several other details all designed to assist the main object of the system. This is to assist the pilgrim as quickly as possible to Mecca and back therefrom across the Red Sea into the Sudan. This is the minimum desideratum. It will entail some supervision of the passports and the pilgrims at Suakin certainly, and probably also at Jeddah. On the analogy of the Indian and Malayan systems it may necessitate some assistance to be given to the office of H.B.M.'s Agent at Jeddah.

4. I have not considered it worth while to submit the detailed proposals here. They are the subject of examination in Nigeria now, and they are being submitted to Residents and Emirs for criticism and comment. Discussion with the Sudan Government and H.B.M.'s Agent at Jeddah is also very necessary before they can be finally decided. Steps are now being taken to have these negotiations initiated. In Khartoum I attended a conference at the office of the Civil Secretary at which various points in connection with pilgrimage were discussed including that of slavery in the Hejaz. At this meeting draft proposals for the improvement of the Nigerian passports submitted by me were also considered.

5. (b) EXTERNAL INTELLIGENCE. External intelligence in so far as the matters dealt with in this report are concerned falls quite naturally into four divisions, as there are four principal areas from which such intelligence might be desired. They are:—

- (i) The Hejaz.
- (ii) Cairo and the Al Azhar.
- (iii) The Sudan.
- (iv) French Territory.

6. With regard to the first two of these I have already made suggestions in letters written soon after the completion of my journey. The suggestions there made are amplified now.

7. (i) The Hejaz. It has been noted in the report that the pilgrim visitors to the Hejaz from West Africa have in past times been subjected to certain influences which have attempted to induce in them anti-European tendencies. Such influences have been certain Fulani irreconcilables, emigrants from Nigeria, and some members of an ignorant and narrow-minded priesthood who have been tools of such movements as the Pan-Islamism of a former day. There is no reason to believe that such influences have had anything but the most insignificant success; yet such as this success was it assisted in some degree in producing the abnormal atmosphere observed in certain places in Nigeria in 1923-1924. There is also little doubt that some of the disturbing religious literature then found came from the Hejaz.

8. At the time of my visit in 1925, the circles concerned had other and more exciting personal business to occupy their attention, such as the change in sovereignty of the holy places, the massacre at Taif, and the siege of Jeddah and the partial closing of the Arabian coast.

9. Things have, however, moved rapidly in the Hejaz. The Wahabi régime is now an established fact, but its orientation to the outside world is as yet uncertain, while overtures from many quarters continue to be made. A congress

of representatives of the world of Islam has been held, and however ineffectual it may have been the potentialities of similar machinery are considerable. More important, it is already clear that the establishment of Bolshevik consuls and agents in the countries bordering on the Red Sea is a move in a campaign for the spreading of international communistic propaganda and for the general fomentation of unrest even to primitive Africa.

10. Nigeria is concerned in all this to the extent of a population of West Africans - to all intents Nigerians - of 6,000 permanently in the Hejaz, and an annual pilgrimage of about 4,000, with over 80,000 in the neighbouring countries of the Sudan, Eritrea and Abyssinia.

11. The objects therefore of any intelligence service from the Hejaz to be useful to Nigeria would be to keep in touch with any developments in political or religious matters which might reach Nigeria via the returning pilgrims.

12. Quite obviously the only appropriate channel would be H.B.M.'s Agent at Jeddah, who would also be the authority under whom any improvement of the arrangements governing the pilgrimage of the Nigerians would be operated.

13. What should be no longer neglected is to request this officer to encourage some member of his staff to keep in touch with any personalities of importance among the resident Takarir in the Hejaz or with other personalities likely to be informed of matters touching them and the West African pilgrims, and report from time to time for a précis of such information to be sent to the Nigerian Government two or three times a year. The expense would be small, principally some hospitality and small presents and perhaps a little extra remuneration to the individual employee. This should be met from the Nigerian Government. I made a recommendation to this effect by letter to the Chief Secretary in 1925, but I am without information as to whether or not the suggestion was considered. The sum of money to be put at the disposal of H.B.M.'s Agent need not, I would suggest, exceed £50.

14. As it happened, in 1925, the Agency at Jeddah had in its employ an Indian clerk named Munshi Ihsanullah, of whom the Consul, Mr. Bullard, had the highest opinion, an opinion with which I entirely concur. I had many interesting conversations with this man and he succeeded in carrying out with complete success a small commission I gave him to do in Mecca (he went to Mecca with a safe-conduct from the Wahabis on British Government business during my visit to Jeddah), which was to secure the release from Mecca of the wife and son - the latter having been conscripted into the Hashimite forces - of a one-time Waziri of a minor Nigerian Emirate; he also went to some trouble to procure the "fatwas" and the anti-Mahdist pamphlet which are the subjects of Appendix D. He assured me that it would not be difficult for him to keep in touch with matters among the Takarir, but that he had not done so previously as he had had no instructions to do so. The Consul confirmed what Ihsanullah had said, and went on to say that he had no funds from which to reimburse Ihsanullah for the expenses entailed on such a special object. In fact, he went on to say that the Indian Government, which had previously paid Ihsanullah's salary, were making some objections to

continuing their contribution and that there was some doubt as to his retention, invaluable though he was, to the Consul. According to a letter recently received from Jeddah, Ihsanullah was still at Jeddah at the end of 1926 and I have no doubt will remain.

15. I scarcely think there is justification for proposing any assistance from Nigeria by way of extra or special staff attached to the Agency at Jeddah for intelligence work alone. The Agency generally has attached to it some Takruri who can speak Nigerian languages and act as interpreter for pilgrims or runaway slaves or such like who may come to the Agency. In fact, when in the Sudan after my visit to Jeddah I was asked to recommend such an interpreter and I recommended one of the sons of the late Sheikh Umar Gambo (*see* footnote to para. 32 of Part I. of the report). These employees of the Agency tend, however, to be Takarir too long settled in the East to be of the best value. The point is of no importance at present, however, certainly as long as Ihsanullah remains at Jeddah. Should, however, the Nigerian Government determine to elaborate the arrangements governing the pilgrimage to the extent of sending an officer, native or European, to Jeddah at the pilgrim season, the services of such officer would also be used to supplement any intelligence to be obtained from such means as have been suggested. It is conceivable that even a mallam chosen from the better classes in Nigeria could be of great use to the Consul in pilgrimage and in intelligence work.

16. It will, I think, be obvious on perusal of the report that one of the objects of any intelligence work in the Hejaz should be to keep in touch with the Alfa Hashim; if not possible directly, then at least with the circle in which he moves. This point, I should recommend, should be specially stressed. Mohammad Bunu, son of the Sultan of Sokoto, is another whose activities in sending letters and messages to Nigeria should be observed. Other points of detail may, I think, be well left to the time when, if at all, the scheme suggested should come into being.

17. (ii) CAIRO AND THE AL AZHAR.—In Appendix C, details of my enquiries in Cairo have been given at considerable length and indicate what matters among Takarir in Cairo may well be of interest to the Nigerian Government. It should be remembered that those enquiries covered nine days only and were carried through inevitably in an experimental way. Should the Nigerian Government consider that information of the type given in these notes would be of value and interest if regularly supplied, the ways and means are not difficult.

18. I would suggest that in the first place the Sudan Agent rather than the British Consulate or the Residency would be the appropriate channel. The Sudan Agency is in touch with the Sudan Intelligence Department at Khartoum, which in turn takes matters touching the Takarir or Fellata within its scope. It is in any case in touch with the Al Azhar for the purpose of supplying Khartoum with intelligence, and it should find no particular difficulty in extending its sphere to receive reports about the Takarir colony in Cairo and the personalities going and coming in the Bornu "ruwak" in Al Azhar and circles in relation to it. It is,

moreover, quite conceivable that such information would not be without interest to the Sudan Intelligence Department. I found at the time of my visit in 1925 that a Syrian confidential employee of the Sudan Agency was actually in the habit of seeing the Sheikh of the Bornu "ruwak" from time to time.

19. I would therefore suggest that there be some regular arrangement whereby the Sudan Agent receive reports from this man or from other Takarir in Cairo should anyone useful be found, and submit from time to time a précis of anything worth repeating to the Sudan Intelligence at Khartoum and to the Nigerian Government. There are certain obvious matters that should receive regular attention, e.g., the numbers of Nigerian students at Al Azhar from time to time, any Yoruba trader or similar personage passing through Cairo, any Nigerians taking out papers at the British Consulate which could no doubt be obtained from the Consul. A small sum of money, not exceeding, I should say, £12 per annum, should suffice for such occasional presents to informants as might be necessary. This proposal I made in much the same form soon after completing my journey in 1925, but I am unaware if any action was taken. I am still of opinion that it should be taken. It might be best to make the arrangement through the Sudan Intelligence Department entirely, but that is a point that might very well be discussed with the Sudan Government in connection with the proposals made in later paragraphs which follow.

20. (iii) THE SUDAN.—That a far greater exchange of intelligence between the Sudan and the Nigerian Governments than has at any time been customary would be of reciprocal benefit to both countries will, I think, be very generally admitted. The interest of Nigeria in many of the affairs of the Sudan is indicated *inter alia* in the general summary to the report, paras. 144 to 166 of Part II. That interest is no doubt greater than the interest of the Sudan in Nigeria. Yet there are certain subjects on which I believe information supplied periodically from Nigeria would be useful as well as interesting to the Sudan Government. These would be anything touching the pilgrim traffic from or across Nigeria, which in turn concerns the labour problem of the Sudan; again, anything concerning "security intelligence" in the French territories surrounding Nigeria, more particularly those to the north and east; and again, any general developments of principles of Nigerian Native Administration, which has already been studied from the Sudan with a view to adoption where suitable.

21. What should be the particular subject for exchange and what particular ways and means should be employed is a matter for special discussion with the Sudan Government. The Sudan Government at present pays no little interest to questions touching the Nigerian pilgrims and settlers within her own borders. It is, therefore, for the Nigerian Government to indicate its desire for a regular supply of such information as might be available, as well as to express its willingness to reciprocate in any way desired.

22. The object of the present memorandum is therefore to foreshadow in a quite general way the possibilities of useful exchange.

23. The Sudan Government might be asked to supply to Nigeria not only copies of such general reports as may be considered suitable for submission to another Government, but also to supply brief informal reports of anything that may have come to hand touching :

- (a) The pilgrimage, and in particular the pilgrim traffic of West Africans through the Sudan ;
- (b) The development of the settlements of the West Africans in the Sudan, labour movements, etc. ;
- (c) Anything observed of tendencies amongst the West Africans to enter into the political and religious movements attracting the attention of the Sudan Government, *e.g.*, Mahdism or the Sudan " nationalist " movement ;
- (d) Anything of general interest touching the French territory between the Sudan and Nigeria, particularly touching questions of public security.

24. Nigeria, on the other hand, should supply the Sudan with anything in the way of regular intelligence reports which may be circulated for general information in the country, should such a system come into being in Nigeria. In addition, it should supply to the Sudan periodic reports on the following matters :

- (a) Anything extracted from local intelligence reports which could be said to be of external interest ;
- (b) Notes on the pilgrim traffic from or through Nigeria, rise or fall of numbers, ratio of persons from French territory ;
- (c) Notes on matters in French territory, especially in the north and east ;
- (d) General notes on any important developments in the policy of indirect administration, or on matters likely to be of common interest in countries so similar as the Sudan and the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, *e.g.*, missions, liquor questions.

25. I do not think there is any need to follow up this matter in detail at present. There is, however, a question which should not be ignored. There is a certain clash of interest between the Sudan and the Nigerian Governments over the question of pilgrim labour and settlement in the Sudan. It is the interest of the Sudan that a number of these travellers settle on the unoccupied lands of such regions as the Dinder, the Rahad, and the upper Blue Nile above Makwar, and further that the passing pilgrims should spend some time making good the deficiencies of casual labour on the greater cotton fields of the Gezira, Kassala, and Tokar. It is to the interest of the Nigerian Government that the pilgrims should return quickly to their homes. Though the numbers are not particularly great in proportion to the population of Nigeria, which is so much heavier in general than that of the Sudan, nevertheless no African Government is so rich in population that it can readily spare an annual drain to another. There is, therefore, the underlying feeling on the one hand on the side of Nigeria that the Sudan Government has a definite policy of attracting Nigerian labour to settle in the Sudan, which might be even carried to the point of encouraging tendencies which may have harmful reactions in Nigeria ; and on the other hand on the side of the Sudan that Nigeria must be anxious about the continued emigration (there is a wide misconception in the Sudan of the comparative importance of this matter to Nigeria),

and that any interest that Nigeria shows in the Sudan is largely directed to this question and to ways and means of preventing it. I would even say that this feeling has been responsible in part for a certain lack of frankness in interchange of views on matters of intelligence in recent years.

26. It would be ridiculous if the existence of this recognised conflict of interest over the pilgrims should be allowed to interfere with the free and frank interchange of useful information between two countries so allied as Nigeria and the Sudan ought to be. Should Nigeria decide to introduce an improved system of passport regulation which must result in the quicker passage of her people across the Sudan she would, of course, be entitled to do so, and not only do so, but also to request the co-operation of the Sudan Government in execution. That is, however, a separate matter, and it can conceivably be made to serve in some degree the interests of both sides. General "intelligence" is a common interest of the peoples and Governments of both countries and should be regular, candid, and unhampered by suspicion of ulterior motive.

27. (iv) FRENCH TERRITORY.—The question of intelligence in French territory is not easy. Information of very varying accuracy can be obtained in the border provinces of Nigeria, but such, if invited, too soon degenerates into exaggerations of local dislike of the French, of rumoured transfers of territory, of alarmist stories of burying of guns and so on. Inaccurate information about Nigeria is similarly carried to the French. For example, I have found the French in possession of alarmist accounts of the minor difficulties in the British Cameroons where police or troops have been used.

28. Something better than this is required, and the tales of hired agents can only be of value if corroborated from other sources.

29. There might be said to be three possible channels which might be exploited :—

- (a) Improvement of sources of information within Nigeria as to French territory ;
- (b) The French themselves ;
- (c) Other African Governments, *e.g.*, the Sudan and the Gold Coast.

30. The question of internal sources of information is scarcely one to be touched on more than quite incidentally here. This, however, may here be noted, *viz.*, that there are in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria not a few persons, literate in Arabic, who carry on a fairly regular correspondence with places at considerable distances from Nigeria in the French Soudan, Bagirmi and Wadai, etc. These persons, if their co-operation can be secured, are in a position to supply very much more useful and accurate information than the illiterate paid agents or the occasional traveller questioned in Nigeria. Such persons are often unwilling to come before a British officer and make oral statements, but are more willing to supply written information. It demands, of course, in the collector a facility in the written Arabic. I suggest it is a source of intelligence quite insufficiently exploited.

31. This and the allied question of securing intelligence through senior native chiefs and native officials depends very much on the personality of the individual officer who asks them to supply.

32. (b) THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES.—It is scarcely to be expected that very much would be learned from the French themselves of internal conditions in French territory, beyond the kind of information which is supplied to the League of Nations about territories under French mandate, e.g., in Chapitre XIII, "Situation Politique," of the 1925 Cameroon Report.

33. But there are bigger questions, more important than the internal conditions of the territories, on which it is hard to believe that the French authorities would be unwilling to exchange information. Such are the activities of the Third International, aimed at creating unrest in European-ruled colonies, of which the French have already had experience in Senegal, and such matters as the religious propaganda movements from outside. Were any kind of exchange of intelligence on such subjects established, it is by no means unlikely that, properly handled, it would develop into something valuable to both parties. Even though it were to remain formal only, it would provide the necessary machinery for use in the event of any abnormal situation arising, e.g., Kaossen's rebellion, in itself a matter of considerable value.

34. It will be observed from Appendix A that the Lieutenant-Governor at Fort Lamy was not unwilling to talk on such subjects. That Lieutenant-Governor was a M. Reste, who is now Governor-General of Afrique Equatoriale Française, whether acting or substantive I do not know. Should, therefore, the Nigerian authorities care to make any *démarche* on this matter, I am sure it would be favourably received.

35. (c) OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS.—I have already suggested, in paragraphs 23 and 24, the exchange of information touching French territory between the Sudan and Nigeria. The value of such exchange as a reciprocal check on information by one party only, and on information otherwise obtained, is very obvious. The same procedure might be useful as between Nigeria and the Gold Coast and the other West African Governments. I presume that some co-ordination of intelligence exists in the West African Frontier Force. The addition of the knowledge to be obtained through civil officers should be invaluable.

36. (C) PERIODIC VISITS OF A NIGERIAN OFFICER TO JEDDAH, THE SUDAN AND CAIRO.—Should the Nigerian Government decide to introduce improved arrangements for the pilgrimage of Nigerians, with prepaid deposits and supervision at Jeddah and Suakin, it is very desirable that an officer visits these places during the pilgrimage months in the first year or two of the new system. It may even be necessary to provide some kind of assistance in the offices at one or either of these places, as is done at Jeddah under the Indian and Malayan systems. In this latter case it may not be essential that the official sent be a European officer. An African clerk, if one could be found with the very special qualifications desirable, e.g., knowledge of the Northern Provinces and its languages and very great trustworthiness, might be possible; or a mallam of good standing from one of the greater emirates.

37. In either event, whether a European or African is employed on this work, his services should be utilised for the purposes of intelligence.

38. I would suggest that periodic visits of a European officer need demand neither much time nor expense and might be of the very greatest service to all parties concerned, the pilgrims themselves, the Sudan and Nigerian Governments, and H.B.M.'s Agent at Jeddah.

39. The programme I should indicate should be something as follows:—

He should be at Jeddah or Suakin during the pilgrimage season for about six weeks, distributing his time between the two places, or even visiting Khartoum or the Nile as he found most useful. *En route* to these places or on return he should visit Tokar, Kassala, Mefaza, the Blue Nile Settlements, El Obeid, the Gezira, Wad Medani, and spend two or three days in each place, or longer if advantageous. He should visit the Takarir settlements and converse as much as possible with the Takarir. In Khartoum, he should consult with the authorities there, *e.g.*, the Intelligence Department, and put himself at their disposal for any objects which he could fit in with his general instructions. Finally he should spend a week in Cairo.

40. Such a visit need not occupy more than three months at an outside estimate. The cost would be the officer's transport, inexpensive as entirely by rail and steamer, his allowances, and a small sum for incidental expenses. If desired he could return by motor to Nigeria and so effect a considerable saving in time and sea passage expenses. (My own journey by car with three cars cost £112; without, of course, estimating anything for cost of hire of cars). The trip could easily and cheaply be done with a one-ton Ford lorry, to be bought new at Khartoum and taken over by Government in Nigeria.

41. Of the practicability and cheapness of such a visit I am convinced. The value to Nigeria in assisting the pilgrims, in collecting intelligence, and in giving the officer experience and knowledge to be put at the service of the Nigerian Government should be very considerable.