

GERMAN IMAGES OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

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In late autumn 1898, the German emperor Wilhelm II visited Constantinople and Damascus and in a spectacular speech declared himself as a friend of Islam and the protector of the sultan and the Muslim world. Emperor Wilhelm's declaration was especially directed against French and Russian attempts to put pressure on the Muslim world in Morocco and the Ottoman empire. As such, the Kaiser's bid was part of his new *Weltpolitik*, asserting that 'Germany has great tasks to accomplish outside the narrow boundaries of old Europe'. Precisely what these task were remained largely undefined, but at least his flirt with the Muslim world was meant to open new doors for German economic and financial interests and power politics.¹

Germany had, compared with Britain, Russia or France, little if any experience with the Muslim world before the late nineteenth century. Some German travellers had visited the Muslim world, and a few German companies were dealing with the sultan of Zanzibar on the East African coast, but

1 A discussion on German *Weltpolitik* and its interpretations is presented in John Lowe, *The Great Powers, Imperialism, and the German Problem, 1865-1925*, London and New York 1994, 141-65. An eyewitness account and Muslim interpretation of the Kaiser's visit to Jerusalem is presented in Rudolf Prietze, 'Der Besuch des deutschen Kaisers 1898 in Jerusalem. Nach dem von einem Augenzugen, dem Haussa-Pilger Achmed, aufgeschriebenen und erläuterten Bericht', *Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen* xxix, 1926, 99-134. See also Martin Hartmann, 'Deutschland und der Islam' (*Der Islam*, i, 1910, 72-92) for an 'academic' argumentation for a German engagement in the Middle East.

German knowledge about and images of Islam and the Muslim world were until the late nineteenth century more academic than practical. In general, the German views on Islam followed the general patterns of Orientalism discussed by Edward Said.²

However, the Kaiser's gesture together with the colonial and missionary realities in Africa led at the turn of the twentieth century to a fierce debate about the nature and position of Islam in the German African colonies. Starting at the German Colonial Congress in 1905, Islam and the colonial policy towards it were to remain at the top of the agenda. Soon, however, it was realised in academic circles that the debate was somewhat fruitless as none of the participants really had any clue about the realities on the ground. Thus, starting from 1908, several investigations on Islam in Africa were launched by prominent German specialists in Oriental and Islamic studies. The task was, according to one of their leading figures, to collect information about the spread and state of Islam in the German colonies in Africa and thus 'raise' German knowledge to the level held by the British and the French.³

In this context, two contradictory positions on Islam can be seen: the 'Threat of Islam' and the 'Potentiality of Islam'. The criticisms of the German colonial policy on Islam was most profound among the Christian missions, whereas others—such as Carl Heinrich Becker, the leading expert in German Islamic studies—tried to defend a pro-Muslim policy. However, the debate in Germany revealed that there was a

2 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient*, London 1981 (first published 1978). See also Hichem Djait, *Europe and Islam*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985, Chapter 4: 'Islam and German Thought'.

3 Carl Heinrich Becker, 'Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas', *Internationale Wochenschrift*, iv, 1910, and 'Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik', *Verhandlungen des 3. Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, Berlin 1910, both reprinted in Becker, *Islamstudien*, II, Leipzig 1932, 187-210 & 211-30 respectively.

need for more detailed investigations about the state of Islam and the conditions of Muslim societies in the German colonies. Not much, if anything, was known about the social, political and religious structures of the Muslim population, even less about how many Muslims there were in the German colonies. As a result, three (or four) large investigations on the state of Islam in the German colonies were launched; one by Professor Becker in 1908-09,⁴ one by Professor Martin Hartmann in 1911, and one by professor Diedrich Westermann in 1913. Of these, only Westermann published any results.⁵ In addition, some of the German residents and civil officers published ethnographical and historical descriptions.⁶

4 It seems as if Becker launched a new investigation in 1910, but that he did not follow it up, maybe because he got the chair in Oriental studies at the University of Bonn in 1913.

5 See Diedrich Westermann, 'Die Verbreitung des Islam in Togo und Kamerun', *Die Welt des Islams*, ii, 2/4, 1914, 188-276. The results of the investigations on Islam in Togo and Cameroon have only to a limited extent been known to academic researchers. One reason for this is that Westermann's article was never translated into English or French. Another reason is that much of the raw material is scattered among various German and African archives. The documents used for this article are located in the German Federal Archive (*Bundesarchiv*) in Berlin, but these documents are only microfilmed copies of the originals located in the National Archives in Yaoundé and Lomé. These documents consist of the replies of the local residents and district officers to Becker and Hartmann's inquiries on Islam. Additional documents may exist in the archive of the Kolonialinstitut in Hamburg, where Becker was situated, but so far I have not been able to check this. The whereabouts of the materials collected by Hartmann and Westermann are unclear since the archive of the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin was destroyed or lost during the Second World War.

6 Among others Kurt Strümpell, 'Bericht über eine Bereisung des Ostgrenzgebietes der Residentur Adamaua', *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xxiv, 1911, and 'Die Geschichte Adamauas nach mündlichen Überlieferungen', *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, xxvi, 1912; Rudolf Fisch Hagen, 'Die Dagbamba: Eine ethnographische Skizze', *Baessler-Archiv*, iii, 1913; Gunter von Hagen, 'Die Bana',

We will here focus on the investigations in Togo and Cameroon, leaving those on Islam in German East Africa to a forthcoming publication.⁷

The colonial setting: Africa and Germany

German colonialism in Africa is considered to have left few if any marks on the African mental and physical landscape, having been nothing more than a short and brutal episode. A few colonial buildings are found in the former German colonies, but not much more. This is not surprising, as Germany's colonial era came to an end already in the mid-1910s. German colonial rule began in the mid-1880s in the coastal regions, but only after the turn of the century in many places in the hinterlands. Thus, whereas some regions experienced German rule for about thirty years, others were only touched for a decade and a half.⁸

Baessler-Archiv, ii, 1912, and 'Einige Notizen über die Musgu', *Baessler-Archiv*, ii, 1912; Oberleutnant von Briesen, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lamidats Ngaundere', *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xxvii, 1914; F.K. Dühring, 'Ethnologisches aus Adamaua', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xlix, 1917, and Arnold Schultze, *Das Sultanat Bornu*, Essen 1910 (English translation by P.A. Benton, London 1913).

7 Becker published his investigation on Islam in German East Africa in 1911 (C.H. Becker, 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', *Der Islam*, ii, 1911, 1-48). His article was translated into English by B.G. Martin, 'Materials for Understanding of Islam in German East Africa', *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 68, 1968.

8 Cf. among others W.O. Henderson, *Studies in German Colonial History*, London 1976, 1; Horst Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*, 2nd edn, Paderborn 1991; Albert Wirz, 'Die deutschen Kolonien in Afrika', in Rudolf von Albertini, *Europäische Kolonialherrschaft 1880-1940*, 2nd edn, Wiesbaden 1985. The UNESCO General History of Africa, for example, has no separate chapter on German colonialism in Africa. An apologetic view on German colonialism is presented by Lewis H. Gann, 'Economic Development in Germany's African Empire', in L.H. Gann & Peter

Although short, German colonial rule had many facets. While most of the regions were under civil administration, a minority was ruled by military officers. Most regions were under direct German rule. In such districts German officials ruled through African intermediaries, chiefs and administrators, who were part of and legitimised by the colonial state.⁹ But in a few regions—such as Northern Cameroon—German rule was indirect and local forms of government and administration were left intact.¹⁰ Compared with the districts under

Duignan (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa*, IV, Cambridge 1973.

- 9 The hinterland of Togo was put under direct rule but because of the unstable political situation in the North, the hinterland was practically sealed off for all Europeans other than the administrators themselves. This ban included missionaries and traders. This decision was made on several grounds: parts of the North were still resisting, and it was felt that the free entry of Europeans might exasperate old hostilities; missionaries were not permitted in Muslim zones for fear that their actions might cause restlessness among the Muslim population; and it was feared that the North was not yet as prepared as the South for European influence, so that it became a sort of 'human reserve'. However, although the Muslims enjoyed some freedom of religion and culture, they had no special fiscal, legal or political rights. German administration in Togo made no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in their dealings with them. Islamic law had no official status and was not accepted at the colonial courts; Muslims had to obey non-Muslim rulers and were equally taxed. See further Peter Sebald, *Togo 1884-1914. Eine Geschichte der deutschen 'Musterkolonie' auf Grundlage amtlicher Quellen*, Berlin 1988.
- 10 During the whole German period, the North (Adamawa) as well as the far North (Lake Chad region) were ruled through a mixture of rather heavy military presence and indirect rule. All Residents were military officers who were put in charge of both the civilian administration and military units. Thus, under this arrangement, the Residents were both under the direction of the governor and under the command of the military commander of the *Schutztruppen* in Soppo, who was not under the command of the governor. The local Muslim rulers, called *lamido* in Adamawa and *sultān* in the far North, remained in power, although their power base was much more limited than during the nineteenth century: They now owed their legitimacy to the Germans and not to the emir in Yola,

direct rule, German indirect rule was based on ‘minimal interference’ and ‘supervision’ of the local rulers. Thirdly, some regions had a Muslim population or were perceived as being ‘traditional’ Muslim states and societies, while others were not. According to the German colonial mentality and a general Eurocentric racist perception of non-Europeans, Muslim Africans were regarded as belonging to a ‘higher’ civilisation than non-Muslim Africans, and Muslim government was considered to be to some extent already ‘developed’—although on a ‘feudal’ and ‘despotic’ basis. However, as late nineteenth-century Muslim societies and states were viewed as being mere shadows of a glorious past, these states were not thought to stand on equal terms with the Western world.¹¹

According to the official German view, Muslims in Africa did not pose any real threat to their rule—at least not at the beginning of the German colonial era. The logic of the German colonial officials, both in Germany and in Africa, was that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Islam in sub-Saharan Africa was neither revolutionary or fanatic. Muslim rule would be left untouched as long as Muslim rulers would obey. ‘Fanatics’ would be checked and eliminated, but this

the caliph in Sokoto or the Shehu in Kuka. Existing political and legal institutions, together with Muslim and native law and customs, were kept intact. Contrary to British rule in Northern Nigeria, German indirect rule did not involve any immediate tax or land reforms before 1913, when such reforms were proposed but, due to the war, never implemented. See further Holger Weiss, ‘The Illegal Trade in Slaves from German Cameroon to British Northern Nigeria’, *African Economic History* (forthcoming).

- 11 Both British and French colonial rule faced identical problems with Muslim Africa and presented similar ideas and suggestions to solve them. See further Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, London 1976, 358-61. On German concepts, see Monika Midel, *Fulbe und Deutsche in Adamaua (Nord-Kamerun) 1809-1916. Auswirkung afrikanischer und kolonialer Eroberung*, Frankfurt am Main 1990. An outline of European attitudes to Islam in West Africa is presented in Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, London & New York 1984, Chapter 13.

was a general rule that was applied to any unwilling and 'stubborn' ruler, chief or individual.¹²

The German perception of a harmless Islam in sub-Saharan Africa had been established by nineteenth-century politicians, scholars and travellers.¹³ All of them told the same story of Muslim rulers and Muslim states, who were felt to be in a moral and spiritual decay, but still on a 'higher' political and economic level than the surrounding non-Muslim societies.¹⁴

German views of Islam and Muslim rulers in Africa changed in the early twentieth century. The reason for this can be found both in the crisis of German colonial rule, which resulted in the rebellions of the Herero and Nama in German Southwest Africa and the Maji-Maji uprising in German East Africa, and in growing criticism by missionaries and some politicians of the practices of German rule in their African colonies.¹⁵ At first, the crisis of German colonial rule was felt to be the result of colonial misrule and exploitation. However, it seemed as if African discontent was limited to non-Muslim populations and societies. Official dispatches from Togo, Cameroon and German East Africa assured that there was no

12 Carl Heinrich Becker, 'Der Islam als Problem', *Der Islam*, i, 1910, 1-21. Becker's idea was that Islam was to be judged not by its own cultural achievements, nor by the intellectual power of its theology, or even its success as a social and political system, but simply in the light of its usefulness or otherwise to German policies. See also Hiskett, *Development of Islam*, 279 & 281.

13 The French and British had been ruling over Muslim societies in Africa for a much longer period than the Germans. See further Hiskett, *Development of Islam*, and Christopher Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960*, Cambridge 1988.

14 Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens*, Stuttgart 1985.

15 Reinhard Wolfgang, "'Sozialimperialismus' oder 'Entkolonisierung der Historie'?" Kolonialkrise und "Hottentottenwahlen" 1904-1907', *Historisches Jahrbuch 97/98*, 1978, 384-417, and Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914*, Helsinki 1994, Chapter 5.

threat of any Muslim uprising. But the mahdist-inspired uprisings in Northern Cameroon in 1907, similar unrest in Northern Togo in 1906, and the spread of so-called 'Mecca letters' in German East Africa (in 1908) and Togo (in 1905) together led to renewed discussion in Germany about the 'fatalistic' but also 'fanatic' mood of the Muslim population, and about German colonial policy towards Muslim societies in Africa and Islam in general.¹⁶

The threat of Islam

From the late nineteenth century, Christian missionary societies regularly criticised colonial government policies and attitudes towards Islam. Missionaries accused colonial administrators of being indifferent if not hostile toward Christian missionary activities. Colonial policies, such as the utilisation of Muslim authorities in systems of indirect rule, the colonial sanction of Islamic education and law, and the concomitant expansion of Islam throughout sub-Saharan Africa were viewed with great anxiety by the Christian missions. British colonial officials had closed Northern Nigeria and the northern parts of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to missionary activity, and it was checked in other parts with a strong Muslim presence. Such actions were not approved of by the Christian missions. At the 1910 World Missionary Congress in Edinburgh colonial policy against the Christian missions was heavily criticised, as it was feared that this policy would lead to the spread of Islam among the non-Muslim African population.¹⁷

For the missions, Islam was the 'mortal enemy' to be

16 Carl Becker, 'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien', *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1909 & in Becker, *Islamstudien II*, 167-8.

17 C.C. Stewart, 'Islam', in A.D. Roberts (ed.), *The Colonial Moment in Africa. Essays on the Movement of Minds and Materials 1900-1940*, Cambridge 1990, 207 (originally published in *Cambridge History of Africa*, VII).

fought by all means. The colonial state, however, regarded Islam as a useful tool to open up and diversify tightly knit small-scale communities and provide them with the means for integration into the wider world. Thus the colonial government in German East Africa made use of Islamised and Muslim allies and agents in its administration throughout its colony. It was popularly believed among Europeans and Africans alike that the state favoured Islam and effectively spread it in the country. Many Europeans also believed that Christianity was an all too demanding religion for the African masses whereas the supposed 'laxity' of Islam made it much easier for them to superficially conform.¹⁸

Policies similar to those of the British in Northern Nigeria was pursued by the German colonial administration in Cameroon and Togo, using the British action to justify their own. Northern Cameroon and Northern Togo were sealed off from Christian missions right from the beginning of German colonial rule.¹⁹ The ban on Christian missions was also defended by some pro-missionary activists, such as Diedrich Westermann. As he had been a missionary before his academic career, he participated in the 1910 Edinburgh congress. Here he supported the criticisms of British colonial policy, but emphasised the differences between Northern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon. According to him, German policy was understandable as the political and military situation in Northern Cameroon was completely different from that of the British colony: the local rulers and their armies had not been disarmed and the German military presence was rather weak.²⁰ Other missionaries did not agree with Westermann's view. Karl Kumm, who was an influential Swiss

18 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 583.

19 Jesco von Puttkamer, *Gouverneursjahre in Kamerun*, Berlin 1912, 280, 287 & 289.

20 Diedrich Westermann, 'Die Edinburger Weltmissionskonferenz in ihrer Bedeutung für die Mission in den deutschen Kolonien', in Karl Schneider (ed.), *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien*, IV, Essen 1911, 130-1.

missionary, accused the German administration in Northern Cameroon of preparing the ground for the extension of Islam by favouring Muslim rulers.²¹

Westermann was thus in a minority with his positive views on the official pro-Muslim policy in Northern Cameroon.²² Government policy was to come under heavy attack from missionary societies and colonial movements in Germany. At the German colonial congress (*Deutscher Kolonialkongress*) in 1905, Islamisation was presented as equivalent with enslavement and slave raiding. Muslim Hausa traders were accused of being slave traders whose trade should be banished.²³ Governor von Puttkamer's pro-Muslim policy was rigorously criticised by one of the explorers and 'discoverers' of Adamawa of the 1890s, Kurt von Morgen: 'It is a matter of fact that the Fulani have a negative impact on culture in the hinterland of Cameroon. They are slave hunters who depopulate our colony.'²⁴

Similar views were presented by some colonial officers. Gunther von Hagen, who served as a District Officer in Bongor, declared that the non-Muslim population lived in constant fear of slave raids from the Muslim population. Thus he expelled all Muslim traders from his district in 1908 because of claims of recurrent cases of hidden slave raids and trade.²⁵ Hagen belonged, however, to a minority among the

21 Karl Kumm, *From Hausaland to Egypt: Through the Sudan*, London 1910, 65. According to Kumm, pupils at the Government school were every Friday led to the mosque, although most of the children were non-Muslims.

22 The majority of the officers on the spot as well as official policy in Kamerun was in favour of a German-Muslim co-operation. See further Midel, *Fulbe und Deutsche*, and Weiss, 'The illegal trade in slaves'.

23 Julius Richter, 'Der Islam: eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, Berlin 1906, 517, 519 & 514.

24 Oberstleutnant von Morgen, 'Kommentar', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, 531.

25 Hagen, 'Die Bana', 80-1. Before their expulsion, there were about

colonial officers who were against the official pro-Muslim policy in Northern Cameroon. According to this critical minority, the Muslim population was an obstacle to the development of the North: they did not work,²⁶ their religion accepted polygamy and slavery and they were all in secret potential slave hunters and traders. Further, it was argued that the Muslim population in Northern Cameroon had by the beginning of the twentieth lost its former 'vitality' and become decadent. Therefore, the future of the country had to be based on the non-Muslim communities which had been forced to live in the mountains, tilled the harsh ground and had therefore remained industrious.²⁷ Hagen urged the colonial decision-makers to do their utmost to prevent the Islamisation of the non-Muslim communities, because only the non-Muslim population had the potential to become good workers and soldiers:

The strong Bana is much more able to work than the surrounding Muslim tribes. The Kanuri and the Kotoko in the Sultanate and even more the Fulani in Adamawa are not used to work and have to rely on their dwindling number of domestic slaves. ... The pagan population will in a foreseeable future become the most important economic actors. ... Due to their hatred of their former oppressors they will after a further development deliver usable soldiers. [Thus,] every attempt of Islamic influence should be counteracted and forbidden.²⁸

Two mahdist uprisings in Adamawa in 1907 further fuelled

250 Hausa traders living in Bongor (Oberleutnant König, 'Bongor und seine Heiden', *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1909, 393).

26 A general idea was that the Fulani population was 'unfit for labour' (*arbeitsunfähig*). See 'Bericht des Residenten Hauptmanns Thierry über Adamaua', *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1904, 288-90.

27 Wilhelm Langheld, *Zwanzig Jahren in deutschen Kolonien*, Berlin 1910, 367. Similar views were presented by Deputy Residents Zimmermann and Strümpell; see further Weiss, 'The illegal trade in slaves'.

28 Hagen, 'Die Bana', 97.

the negative German conception of Islam, Muslim rule and Muslims in Northern Cameroon further.²⁹ Most of the Muslim rulers were believed to be unreliable, and it only made matters worse that the German-Muslim condominium rested on a shaky foundation. Islamic beliefs could become a real danger, it was argued, as they could serve to mobilise the 'decadent' Fulani. To the surprise of the officials and contrary to their earlier beliefs, the 'decadent' Fulani were capable of becoming a fanatic mob who would fearlessly meet colonial troops and pose a real threat to German rule.³⁰

The attitude among the Europeans in Togo and German East Africa towards the Muslim population and Islam was also complex. Whereas the situation in Togo was never cause for much fear, that of German East Africa was viewed with deep anxiety. In fact, most of the criticisms of and attacks on colonial policies referred to the situation in German East Africa. The missionaries presented Islam as a threat both to their work and to the colonial state.³¹ According to Father Acker, a Catholic Missionary in German East Africa, Islam was a barrier to the social, economic and spiritual development of the African population:

Islam has not abolished pagan traditions and customs or prohibited infanticide. Instead, due to the increase of slave raids and changes in

29 An evaluation of the mahdist uprisings is presented by Thea Büttner, 'Die Mahdi-Erhebungen 1907 in Nordkamerun im Vergleich mit antikolonialen islamischen Bewegungen in anderen Regionen West- und Zentralafrikas', in Peter Heyne & Ulrich van der Heyden (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus in Afrika*, Pfaffenweiler 1995, and Martin Z. Njeuma, 'The Foundation of Radical Islam in Ngaoundere: 1835-1907', in Jean Boutrais (ed.), *Peuples et cultures de l'Adamaoua (Cameroun)*, Paris 1993.

30 Weiss, 'Illegal Trade in Slaves'. Similar arguments were already put forward by Carl Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, Tübingen 1910, 263.

31 F.O. Karstedt, 'Zur Beurteilung des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1913, 728-36.

the institution of slavery, Islam has led to population decrease and made social conditions worse. Islam's approval of polygamy has eroded family values, not to speak about the moral values of the society ... Islam has thus shown itself not to be of any cultural value.³²

Acker's condemnation of Islam was typical. Islam was identified as a specific religious actor and motivator, a negative factor that forced itself on innocent 'pagans'. Islam was perceived both as subject and as object and, according to Acker and others, it was a monolithic force. There was only Islam, never Muslims who would act from a variety of complex reasons.

Islam was regarded as a threat because neither the Christian missions nor the colonial state seemed to be able to check its spread. However, much of this alleged threat was rooted in Christian beliefs of their own superiority and on Eurocentric racism. Islam was said to have a missionary identity itself which would inevitably lead to a clash between the two religions. But as Christianity was the truth, the colonial state should not support unbelief. In fact, as the missionaries pointed out time after time, Islam with its warlike spirit and the Muslim population in general posed a threat to colonial rule:

Islam lacks the fundamental idea of Christianity, namely the sacrifice of man himself for the sake of God and his neighbour in hope of an eternal union with God, his Creator ... Islam does not provide subservient and reliable subjects due to the military spirit of Islam.³³

Acker's conclusion was that Islam leads to the break-up of states and societies whereas Christianity serves as an integrating factor. Islam was accused of being an obstacle for the economic development of the colonial state because it had no

32 Pater Acker, 'Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas', in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Kolonien*, 1911, 115.

33 Acker, 'Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas', 117-18.

interest in the political and social education of the Africans. Even worse, Muslims were regarded as unreliable workers due to the threat of their waging a 'holy war' against the infidels.

Acker's views of an almost unstoppable spread of Islam in Africa was part of a well established discourse in the colonial debate in Germany. This had its origin in missionary circles and was most vividly articulated by them. At the 1905 Colonial Congress, Julius Richter declared that Islam was a, if not the, threat to the German colonies, and that the main reason for this was the Pax Germanica itself: German rule had produced peace and order which enabled the spread of Muslim Hausa traders to the coastal regions of West Africa and the Muslim Swahili into the interior in East Africa. Along with the spread of the Hausa and Swahili, Islam would take over the souls of the Africans and, most dangerously, religious fanaticism and fatalism might take roots with them. The most perilous outcome would be that the Africans were integrated into a non-Western, anti-modern and hostile Arab civilisation.³⁴ The next speaker, Josef Froberger, added to Richter's pessimism that Islam had in fact no value at all for the development of the colonies.³⁵

Five years later, at the 1910 Colonial Congress, the warnings of the Christian missions were again on the agenda. Axenfeld and others noted with anxiety the obvious causality between Pax Colonia and the spread of Islam and demanded that the colonial state should not interfere with religious matters. No barriers for Christian missions in the colonies and no special rights for Muslims, was his message, because:

Islam is the barrier to spiritual progress as well as it strengthens fatalism, superstitions and magic, it allows polygamy and has never

34 Julius Richter, 'Der Islam eine Gefahr', 519-22.

35 Josef Froberger, 'Welches ist der Kulturwert des Islam für koloniale Entwicklung?', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, 527-31.

had any understanding of the value of physical work.³⁶

Similar arguments were put forward by Professor Carl Mirbt in his influential book on Christian missions and colonial policy.³⁷ According to Mirbt the 1885 Congo agreement as well as German colonial law (*Schutzgebietsgesetz*) emphasised the principle of freedom of religion and culture, but the result was that Islam rather than Christianity was conquering the souls of the Africans. Following the established discourse, Mirbt also condemned Islam as being incapable of achieving any higher standards of civilisation and warned against the arguments of some pro-Islamists, among them Becker, who had said that Islam should not be seen as a foe of Western civilisation.³⁸

The most vicious statements, however, were made by professor Martin Hartmann, who was the leading expert in Oriental studies at the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin. In his pamphlet *Islam, Mission, Politik*, which he published in 1912, he summarised the arguments for the cultural, moral, educational, political and social worthlessness of Islam.³⁹ As such, he did not present any new arguments but

36 Axenfeld, 'Die Ausbreitung des Islam in Afrika und ihre Bedeutung für die deutschen Kolonien', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, 629-38. Similar papers were presented by Hansen ('Welche Aufgaben stellt die Ausbreitung des Islam den Missionen und Ansiedlern in den deutschen Kolonien?') and Froberger ('Die Polygamie und deren kulturellen Schäden').

37 Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik*.

38 Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik*, 266.

39 Martin Hartmann, *Islam, Mission, Politik*, Leipzig 1912. The book is a reprint of three articles; 'Mission und Kolonialpolitik', 'Mission und die Kulturvölker Vorderasiens'—both originally published in *Koloniale Rundschau*—and 'Die Eroberung der Islamwelt: Eine französische Betrachtung der angelsächsischen und germanischen protestantischen Mission', originally published in *Internationale Monatsschrift*. Hartmann's position was somewhat complicated, as he tended to change his mind several times. In 1914, he had changed his view and argued that the Germany should ally itself with the Muslim world and defended the politics

used his position as an academic to give an aura of scientific truth to his claims. Islam was an *ecclesia militans*, a militant community, which could become a political problem if not checked, Hartmann argued. Thus nothing should be done to strengthen the positions of the Muslims, there should be no co-operation between Muslim rulers and the colonial government nor should Muslim traders, especially the Hausa, be encouraged or favoured; rather, they should be kept away from non-Muslim areas.⁴⁰

The potentialities of Islam and Muslims

Not all German experts had a negative or critical view of Islam and the Muslim populations in the German colonies in Africa. Among the first treatises on the 'value' of the Muslim population was Julius Lippert's account of the impact of Muslim Hausa traders in Togo and Cameroon.⁴¹ Lippert, who was an honorary professor in Islamic studies and Hausa

of the Ottoman empire (which he had opposed before 1914). However, Hartmann's influence in the German Orientalist circles was by 1912 fairly limited and he was considered a *persona non grata*. In a furious speech held in Paris in 1911, 'Die Muselmanischen Studien in Deutschland', he had criticised Islamic studies in Germany in a way that made his own superior at the Seminar declare in a letter that 'Hartmann was completely mad' (Hartmann's speech and Sachau's comments are to be found in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz [GStAPK], Berlin-Dahlem, I.HA.76 Va, Sekt 2, Tit. X, Nr. 124 Adk. N. Band VII, 163-6)

40 Hartmann, *Islam, Mission, Politik*, 44 & 68-9.

41 Julius Lippert, 'Über die Bedeutung der Hausanation für unsere Togo- und Kamerunkolonie', *Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, x, 1907, III. Abt., 193-226. Lippert was also in favour of the use and spread of Hausa as a lingua franca in the German colonies in West Africa. See further his article on the position of the Hausa language, 'Über die Stellung der Haussasprache unter den afrikanischen Sprachgruppen', *Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, ix, 1906, III. Abt., 334-44. Lippert (1866-1911) was originally employed as the librarian of the Seminar and received the title of professor in 1901.

language at the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen, was the key expert on Hausa and the Central Sudan in Germany.⁴² His 1907 treatise on the spread and impact of the Hausa traders was a summary of German published accounts with some personal letters that he had received from some officers. His presentation was written in a comparatively positive spirit, emphasising the importance of the Hausa traders for the development of the interior of the German colonies. In fact, his presentation contained no critical remarks about Islam or Muslims, or their supposed negative impact or decadence.⁴³

42 Lippert was several times asked to translate Arabic manuscripts that German officers had confiscated from local rulers or that were sent to them by Muslim rulers. Among them were a part of the official correspondence of the *lamido* of Ngaoundere as well as papers confiscated in Bornu. The 'Ngaoundere papers' as well as the 'Bornu papers' are all located in the Berlin archives, BArchB RKoLA R1001/3350. However the file only contains the German translations, the original Arabic versions were donated to the Seminar (GStAPK, I.HA.208A 219, pp. 82 & 111, Letter from Col. Dep. to Sachau, 2.5.1902 and 24.10.1902). Despite serious efforts I have not been able to trace the original Arabic versions of the letters. Other Arabic manuscripts that were sent to Lippert for translation, such as four Hausa text that were collected in Togo, were meant to be reproduced in his Hausa grammar (GStAPK I.HA.208A 219, p. 2, Sachau to Col. Dep., 16.1.1902). The 'Ngaoundere papers' include 25 items. According to the correspondence found in the GStAPK there should have been 27 documents, but at least the translation of letter No. 5 is missing from the Berlin files. A list of the 'Ngaoundere' and 'Bornu' papers is included in Appendix I.

43 Similar treatises were written by Adolf von Duisburg on the significance of the Kanuri people, 'Über den Eingeborenenhandel in den Tchadsee-Ländern', *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1920, 77-84 and 'Die Bevölkerung des Tschadsee-Gebietes und die Bedeutung der Kanuri für den mittleren und westlichen Sudan', *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1930, 112-17; and Adam Mischlich on the economic importance of the Hausa, 'Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Hausa', *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1941, 358-69. The authors presented the Muslim population, namely the Kanuri and the Hausa, as the vehicles of culture and civilization. Both authors had been working as District Officers, von Duisburg in German Bornu and Mischlich in Togo. Von Duisburg also published a monograph, *Im*

However, Lippert's impact on the general discourse on Islam and Muslims in (West) Africa was more or less nil. He did not take part in the public debate nor did he made his ideas known to a larger audience. Quite the opposite was the case for Carl Heinrich Becker when he started to write treatises on colonial policy. Becker, who held the chair in Oriental studies at the newly established Colonial Institute in Hamburg, participated in the 1910 Colonial Congress. He presented a paper which rather shocked his audience: Islam was not, he said, a threat to colonial government but could and should be treated as an ally.⁴⁴

Lande des Chegu von Bornu, Berlin 1942, which was rather a compilation and a kind of annotated memoir. Much more influential was A. Schultze, who was regarded as the key expert of German Bornu and had written a monograph on Bornu, *Das Sultanat von Bornu* [translated into English by P.A. Benton as *The Sultanate of Bornu*, Oxford 1913 (reprint London: Frank Cass 1968)]. Mischlich, who started as a missionary in Togo, served as District Officer at Misahöhe and, after his return to Germany in 1915, as an expert in Hausa at the Seminar in Berlin. His most important publications included *Wörterbuch der Hausa-Sprache*, Berlin 1906; 'Über Sitten und Gebräuche in Hausa, I-III', *Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, x-xii, 1907-1910; *Lehrbuch der Hausa-Sprache*, Berlin 1911 (in fact the volume that Lippert had been working on but was prevented from concluding due to his illness), and *Über die Kulturen im Mittel-Sudan*, Berlin 1942. Mischlich's texts were in fact translations of Hausa manuscripts produced by Imam Imoru (*al-hājj* °Umar b. Abī Bakr, b. Kano c. 1850, lived in Kete-Krachi c. 1870–1934), who was considered the most influential imam in German Togo (and later in Ghana). Mischlich considered Imam Imoru as one of his close friends and urged him to produce the texts. Also, Mischlich and Lippert translated and annotated the so-called 'Hausa chronicle', which was to become a key document for the reconstruction of the history of the Hausa states ('Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hausa-staaten. Mit Einleitung von Julius Lippert', *Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, vi, 1903, 137-242 [the text was immediately translated into English and published in J.A. Burdon's *Northern Nigeria*, London 1909]).

44 Carl Becker, 'Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, 638-51 & in

A close reading of Becker's 1910 paper reveals some interesting, but not surprising, internal contradictions in his argumentation. In the first part, he rejects the idea of the 'question of Islam' being in itself only a missionary question. Becker argued that the interests of the colonial state were not identical with those of the Christian missions; government policy should and must be based on a compromise with Islam. The political tasks of the colonial state were to secure its authority and to guarantee peace and order, Becker stressed. Thus, as the colonial state wanted peace and order, defined by Becker as the preconditions for economic prosperity, such a policy would ultimately result in a situation where Islam would prosper.⁴⁵ Becker then listed the supposed dangers of Islam: its alleged fanaticism, fatalism, superstitions and pseudo-science as well as mahdism, the caliphate as a political idea and Holy War. These dangers were according to Becker much exaggerated and did not reflect the realities in the colonies.⁴⁶ However, Islam was in Becker's presentation still seen as backward compared with Western culture and civilisation.

Becker's notion of Islam was the crucial issue. Although he emphasised the existence of local forms and variation of Islam, he used the expression 'Islam' in a generalised, monolithic way. His only distinction was one between theoretical, classical Islam and popular Islam, where the former was at least in theory viewed approvingly whereas the latter was a degenerated form and had nothing to do with 'Islam' at all. Such a view has rightly been labelled by Said as pure Orientalism.⁴⁷

Becker's conclusion was that the 'danger of Islam' would fade away if only the right colonial policy would be

Becker, *Islamstudien*, II, 211-25. Similar arguments were presented by Becker in his articles, 'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien', and 'Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas'.

45 Becker, 'Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik', 642-4.

46 Becker, 'Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik', 644-6.

47 Said, *Orientalism*, 18, 103-4 & 209.

pursued. Such a policy would strive for a Westernisation of Islam, that is to bring in a Western, non-confessional education. The movements of 'Islam' should be checked, but Islam should only be prevented from establishing itself in purely non-Muslim regions. In Muslim areas, Christian missions should be checked. Muslim institutions, itinerant preachers and pilgrims should be kept under strict surveillance; Muslim marriage and family law as well as the Muslim law regulating endowments should be recognised but the rest of Muslim law forbidden.⁴⁸

Becker's discussion was by and large a comment on the situation in German East Africa. As he himself stated, there was in fact not much knowledge in Germany about the situation in West Africa. The debate in Germany revealed that any further discussion of Islam and its supposed danger should rest on knowledge and not on mere assumptions about the local conditions. Leading German Orientalists and experts in Islamic studies, such as Becker, Hartmann and Westermann, came to the conclusion that more in-depth and up-to-date information was needed.⁴⁹ Therefore, with the permission and help of the Colonial Office, three extensive investigations on Islam in Africa were launched around 1910.

48 Becker, 'Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik', 646-51.

49 The lack of data concerning the German colonies was evident, for example, in Westermann's article about Islam in the Western and Central Sudan (Diedrich Westermann, 'Der Islam in West- und Zentral-Sudan', *Die Welt des Islams*, i, 2, 1913, 85-108). On Togo Westermann had nothing more to say than what was known through the published Annual Reports, on Cameroon he was only able to put forward some crude assumptions, such as that there would be some 600,000 to 800,000 Muslims out of a total of two to three million inhabitants. Becker's estimates were even higher, according to him there were about 30,000 to 50,000 Muslims in Togo (compared with the official estimations of 14,000) and some 1 to 1.5 million in Cameroon (Carl Becker, 'Islam', in Heinrich Schnee (ed.), *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, I, Leipzig 1920).

*Constructing a probable reality:
Questionnaires, descriptions and investigations*

The aim of the German inquiries was to get first-hand information about the cultural, social, economic and religious life of the Muslims in German Africa. The key question was to find out how far Islam had spread in German Africa and how deeply rooted it was among the Africans. Secondly, to get information about the various forms of Islam present, how influential Middle Eastern and Arab influences were and, thirdly, whether or not Islam and the Muslims were a threat to German rule.

The first investigation was launched by Becker in 1908. The background of Becker's inquiry was the so-called 'Mecca letter' affair, which had caused restlessness among the Muslims in Lindi in German East Africa. German officials had confiscated a letter in Arabic that had exhorted the Muslims to piety and raised eschatological expectations, but which was interpreted by the German officials as well as by Becker as having a clearly anti-colonial undertone.⁵⁰ Becker launched his inquiry to gather information about the possible existence of similar trends among Muslims in West Africa.⁵¹ His questionnaire was therefore rather short, focusing on three questions: namely about the Friday sermons and the prayers for the government, the existence and activities of

50 The Mecca letter was discussed by Becker, 'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr', and later in his 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam'. In his later article he produced a translation of the letter.

51 A similar letter in Hausa was confiscated by the British on the Gold Coast and was translated and published in Captain Carlton, *Hausa Reading Book*, London 1908. Westermann later translated the letter into German with comments (Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 249-50). The impact of Muslims, and in particular the Mahdist movement of Mahdī Mūsā in Northern Ghana, is presented in Jack Goody, 'Reform, renewal and resistance: a Mahdī in northern Ghana', in Christopher Allen and R.W. Johnson (eds.), *African Perspectives*, Cambridge 1970, 143-56, and in Ivor Wilks, *Wa and the Wala: Islam and Polity in North-Western Ghana*, Cambridge 1989.

Muslim brotherhoods, and the possible spread of Arabic pamphlets.⁵² Becker contacted the colonial governments in Togo and Cameroon who gave their support to his inquiry. Becker received written answers from most District Officers who had been asked to submit information.⁵³ However, Becker never published the results, perhaps due to the fact that the information he received was rather disappointing and did not reveal any spectacular data.⁵⁴

Whereas Becker's reasons for his investigations seem to have been political, those of Martin Hartmann were mainly academic—at least on the surface. Hartmann launched a fairly broad investigation of the state of Islam in Africa in 1911. His aim was, as he explained in a letter attached to his questionnaire, to collect detailed information and to produce an up-to-date overview of the spread and nature of Islam in Africa. He pointed out that there was a lot of misinformation, insufficient

52 See Appendix II.

53 The answers of the District Officers (DO; *Bezirksamtman*) in Togo are located in BArchB R 150 F FA 3/4072 (copy of the questionnaire and reply from DO Manga-Yendi 11.3.1909) and FA 1/210 (minutes and letter of the Governor as well as answers from DO Sokodé Basari 9.4.1909, DO Manga-Yendi 11.3.1909, and DO Kete-Kratschi 20.4.1909). The answers from the Residents in Garwa and Kusseri in Northern Kamerun are located in BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212.

54 However, this is a matter of speculation. Becker seemed to have had some interest in continuing his inquiry since he submitted a somewhat revised version of his questionnaire to the members of the 1910-1911 Africa expedition of Duke Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg. A tentative report on state of Islam in German Bornu was published by him as 'Vorbericht über die islamkundlichen Ergebnisse der Innerafrika-Expedition des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg: Anhang. Fragebogen über den Islam in Togo', *Der Islam*, iii, 1912, 258-72 & in Becker, *Islamstudien*, II. The revised questionnaire is attached in Appendix II. Becker referred to this questionnaire as the 'Islam in Togo' inquiry, but there are no traces of this questionnaire or any answers in the Federal Archives. One possibility, so far unchecked, is the archive of the Colonial Institute of Hamburg. Perhaps some missing files could be found there.

data and uncertainty about the topic.⁵⁵ Hartmann's inquiry consisted of twenty questions, dealing with the existence, maintenance and activities of mosques and Qur^ān schools, the origins and social and ethnic background of the imams and malams, the spread of Islam among different ethnic groups, and the impact of Islam in the economic and social conditions of African societies. None of Hartmann's questions overlapped directly with those of Becker, but it is unclear whether Hartmann had access to Becker's material, as there was academic animosity and competition both between Becker and Hartmann and between the Institute in Hamburg and the Seminar in Berlin. Like Becker, however, Hartmann received official backing from the Colonial Office and the colonial governments in Togo, Cameroon and German East Africa for his inquiry.⁵⁶

While Hartmann's inquiry still was going on, Diedrich Westermann launched another fairly ambitious investigation into the spread of Islam in West Africa. Westermann had been asked by the 'Section for Missionary Work among the Muslims' of the 1910 World Missionary Congress to plan such an investigation. In 1913 he began approaching German colonial and missionary officials in West Africa with a long questionnaire consisting of 92 questions and specifications,

55 Martin Hartmann, 'Zur Islamausbreitung in Afrika. Mit einem Frageblatt', *Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, xiv, 1911, 159-62.

56 Hartmann was by 1912/1913 reported to have received information from several district officers in Togo and Cameroon as well as from some of the Catholic mission stations in German East Africa ('Fragebogen über den Islam in Afrika', *Die Welt des Islams*, i, 1, 1913, 42-4). However, with regard to the West African material I have been only able to locate some of the written answers in the Federal Archives, namely: BArchB R 150 F FA 3/100 (Lome-Stadt and a report from an unspecified station), BArchB R 150 F FA 3/1119 (Atakpame), BArchB R 150 F FA 3/3146 (Misahöhe and an unspecified station) as well as BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212 (Garwa and Kusseri). The reports from Lome-Land, Ancheo, Sokode, Kete-Kratschi and Mangu-Jendi (all Togo) are missing.

including inquiries on general conditions, Muslim propaganda, moral and religious conditions, social conditions, education and the state of learning as well as of religious orders.⁵⁷ Westermann's investigation overlapped with Hartmann's, but both were still officially extended in 1913. In the end Hartmann never published his material, it was however used by Westermann.⁵⁸ The reason may have been that Hartmann and Westermann were colleagues at the Berlin seminar and Hartmann was engaged with other matters.⁵⁹

Westermann's report was thus the only one of the three to be published. However, it is unclear how much of it came from material collected through his own investigations in 1913 and how much from Hartmann's 1911 inquiry. While Hartmann had official backing, no official documentation has yet been found concerning Westermann's investigation. Even more appalling is the lack of documents in the colonial archives concerning Westermann's investigation. Whereas at least some parts of the earlier written answers were duplicated or copied by government clerks in Buea and Lomé, no such documents are available from Westermann's inquiry. Further, when the answers given to the earlier 1911 inquiry from Northern Cameroon (Garwa and Kusseri) are compared to the text that Westermann published in 1914, it appears that he had received no additional information. But although Westermann may not have been able to gather much new data from some areas, he did get substantial information from regions that the previous investigations had not been concerned with, such as southern and central Cameroon. He was also able to interview some of the African teachers of the Seminar and some colonial officials, thus adding some valuable insights especially concerning the use and spread of

57 'Fragebogen über die Ausbreitung des Islams in Westafrika', *Die Welt des Islams*, i, 1, 1913, 44-7.

58 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 188-9.

59 Hartmann was in fact professor in Oriental studies, and thus not dealing with Africa, whereas Westermann was in charge of African studies.

Islamic literature.

Evaluation 1: Islam in German Togo

According to official estimates, there were some 14,000 Muslims living in Togo in addition to an unspecified number of Muslim traders, who were defined as non-residents by the German government.⁶⁰ The majority of the Muslims lived in the northern parts of the colony, although no region and district had a Muslim majority. According to Westermann, Islam was a relatively recent phenomenon in German Togo. Even in the north, it was said to have spread among the local population only a few hundred years before German colonial rule. The reason for the slow Islamisation was that Islam was either linked to non-local traders, who did not play an active role in the Islamisation, or to slave raiders and traders, thus presenting Islam and the Muslims as a negative if not frightening factor. The majority of the Muslims in southern Togo were engaged in long-distance trade, some of them very

60 According to Mischlich, who had written a reply to an inquiry of the American consulate in Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1913, the number of the Muslims was estimated to be some 16,000. Quoting the latest official statistics, there were some 700 Muslims living in Lome-Stadt (the town itself, with a total population of 7,099), 500 in Lome-Land (the surrounding district; out of 119,000 inhabitants), 900 in Ancheo district (112,000), 1,100 in Misahöhe district (140,000), 600 in Atakpame district (80,000), 900 in Kete-Kratschi district (20,000), 5,500 in Sokodé-Basari district (300,000) and 6,000 in Mangu-Jendi district (225,000). Only in Misahöhe district had the inhabitants of the Hausa settlements been counted: Palime 483 Muslims, Ho 61, Kpandu 62 and Agu 50 Muslims (BArchB R 150 F FA 1/22, p. 104-8, 'Beantwortung der in den Schreiben des Amerikanischen Konsulats in Freetown, Sierra Leone, vom 23. März 1913 gestellten Fragen über die Ausdehnung und wirtschaftlichen Wert des Mohammedanismus in Togo', Adam Mischlich, Misahöhe 12.7.1913. The information about the Hausa settlements in Misahöhe district is also quoted in Westermann, 'Die Verbreitung des Islam', 197-8).

rich people who thus had to some extent achieved a certain local influence. Apart from the non-residential traders, the social status of the Muslims in southern Togo was equal or inferior to that of the local non-Muslim population. On the other hand, some products made by Muslim artisans, such as cloth, textiles and charms, were highly valued. Thus, what some of the German officials understood to be a kind of Islamisation was in fact a form of general acculturation.⁶¹

Such an acculturation also occurred in the northern parts of Togo. Hausa served in the north as well as the south as a lingua franca. What was perceived by outside observers as Islamisation was in fact the spread of textiles, building techniques and Hausa language. Only after the establishment of Pax Germanica did Islam emerge as an inter-regional, unifying and anti-colonial ideology, but this change was only in its infancy during the German colonial period in Togo.

The division between southern and northern Togo is clearly outlined in Westermann's article. Muslims were only a small minority in Lome-Stadt,⁶² Lome-Land,⁶³ Ancheo,⁶⁴

61 However, a totally different picture of the impact of the Hausa traders in Togo was painted by Gottlob Adolf Krause in his articles in various German newspapers during the 1880s and 1890s. In fact, Krause had been able to detect a more or less flourishing slave trade in Northern Togo, which was organised and controlled by Hausa traders and tolerated by German officials. Krause was a fierce critic of German colonial policy, but his critique was, in the end, silenced by the colonial officials and German politicians. See further Peter Sebald, *Malam Musa: G.A. Krause 1850-1938. Forscher, Wissenschaftler, Humanist*, Berlin 1972. The files concerning the Krause case are found in BArchB RKolA R1001/4086-4089.

62 According to Westermann, the Muslim population in Lomé town was split into two main groups, some 40 local Anagos and about 300 to 400 traders who lived in the Hausa settlement, *zongo*, outside the town. Most of the inhabitants in the *zongo* came from Hausaland, but from time to time there were also Kanuri traders from Bornu as well as Muslim traders from the Gold Coast, Togo, Dahomey and the whole region between Timbuktu and Lake Chad. There were two mosques, one inside the town and another in the

Misahöhe,⁶⁵ and Atakpame⁶⁶ districts. None of the local ethnic groups regarded Islam as superior to their own religion

zongo, and a Qurʾān school in the *zongo*. Mālikī law was predominant and most Muslims were said to belong to the Tijāniyya, although one malam was said to belong to the Sanūsiyya. Five malams were teachers, namely Malam ʿĪsā, a Fulani from Lagos (the supposed member of the Sanūsiyya), Malam Abū Bakr from Bornu, Malam Mohama from the Sokoto region, Malam ʿĪsā from Bimbila and Malam Abū Bakr from Ilorin. There was only one imam, namely Malam Ibrāhīm from Sokoto. Occasionally an itinerant preacher visited the *zongo* (BArchB R 150 F FA 3/100, p. 166-9, ‘Professor Hartmanns Untersuchung über die Islamausbreitung in Afrika, Antwort vom Bezirksamt in Lome-Stadt’, and Westermann, ‘Verbreitung des Islam’, 192-5).

- 63 The influence of Islam and the presence of Muslims was said to be almost nil; there were only a few ‘Hausa’ settlements in the whole district (no archival references found; Westermann, ‘Die Verbreitung des Islam’, 196).
- 64 Straw mosques had been established in Ancheo, Wokutime and Tabligbo, but their appearance was not appalling. Qurʾān schools had also been established in these three villages (no archival references found; Westermann, ‘Verbreitung des Islam’, 197).
- 65 Larger Hausa settlements were located in Palime, Agu, Ho and Kpandu, mud mosques as well as Qurʾān schools in Palime, Ho and Kpandu. The Hausa settlement in Ho was established by the German administration about 1900, the Qurʾān schools in Ho seemed to have had a fairly good reputation as Muslims in the Lomé district sent their children there too, although Westermann’s informants present somewhat conflicting remarks about this (BArchB R 150 F FA 3/1119, p. 245, 247-248, 250, ‘Professor Hartmanns Untersuchung über die Islamausbreitung in Afrika, Antwort der Station Misahöhe’ [1.5.1912], and Westermann, ‘Verbreitung des Islam’, 196 & 198).
- 66 A Muslim (‘Hausa’?) settlement had been established in Atakpame, but no Qurʾān school. Simple mosques (‘praying houses’) were found in Atakpame, Anga and Nuatja. At the end of the Friday prayer in Atakpame a special prayer was said for the Kaiser—this seems to be the only occasion where such a habit was noted in Togo (BArchB R 150 F FA 3/1119, p. 6-8, ‘Professor Hartmanns Untersuchung über die Islamausbreitung in Afrika, Antwort der Station Atakpame’ [Juni, 1912], and Westermann, ‘Verbreitung des Islam’, 201).

(or to Christianity), the status of the Muslims, foreign or local, was normally low and they had no special rights. Although the Muslims in general were despised by the local population for being filthy and afraid of water, their economic wealth, state of learning and knowledge of the wider world gave the Muslims a positive reputation and high prestige.⁶⁷ However, neither the Muslim traders, artisans nor malams were known as actively spreading Islam among non-Muslims.

The situation was somewhat different in the Kete-Kratschi district. Although the district also belonged to the predominantly non-Muslim regions, the town of Kete was an old and important Hausa settlement with some 600 inhabitants. Of lesser importance was at that time the *zongo* in Bimbila with some one hundred inhabitants. Kete had the reputation of being a centre of Muslim learning in the Volta region, although this situation had been the result of the civil war in Salaga and the emigration of the Muslims from there to Kete at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Kete had in the German period at least four mosques,⁶⁹ and the imam of Kete, Imam Imoru,⁷⁰ was regarded as the Chief imam of Togo. Another highly esteemed malam was *ḥājj* Ati from

67 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 191, 196–8 & 202.

68 See further J.A. Braimah & J.R. Goody, *Salaga: the Struggle for Power*, London 1967.

69 There had been ten mosques in Kete at the beginning of the twentieth century, but due to a substantial emigration of its inhabitants the majority of them were no longer in use *c.* 1912. According to Mischlich, some 200 to 300 people had left Kete-Kratschi district only in 1911 and 1912 and settled in Salaga, Kumasi and Kpong (BArchB R 150 F FA 1/22, p. 106, Mischlich, 12.7.1913). The reason for the emigration was the change of the major trade route from the interior of the Gold Coast to Northern Nigeria, which previously had run through Kete.

70 Imam Imoru is regarded to be one of the most learned Muslim scholars in West Africa. See further Douglas E. Ferguson, 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland, Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of His People', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1973, Chapter 1.

Bornu. Despite the relatively strong presence of Muslims in Kete and Bimbila, their influence on the non-Muslim population was negligible apart from the spread of 'Muslim' clothing and Hausa as a lingua franca. Nor did the German administration feel any threat from the Muslims, apart from on one occasion in 1906 when two itinerant preachers traversed the countryside and caused restlessness among the Muslim population. The two preachers were quickly jailed by the local District Officer and expelled, because they were held in great esteem by the local Muslim population and even by the imam of Kete.⁷¹

Whereas the Muslim population in the South were largely 'foreign' traders and artisans, Islam had spread among the local population in the northern parts of German Togo. However, neither in the Sokodé Basari nor in the Mangu-Jendi district did the Muslims make up a significant portion of the total population. The district of Mangu-Jendi was the strongest Muslim region in Togo, but the information about the state of Islam among the local population is conflicting.⁷² Jendi town was said to be more or less 'Muslim', but neither the Dagomba (Dagbamba) nor the king participated in the daily and weekly prayers,⁷³ although the king of Jendi as well

71 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 202-8. It seems as if the ties between the Hausa colony in Kete and Hausaland were rather close during the German period. Thus the Friday sermon ended with a prayer for the Sarkin Muslimin, i.e., the sultan in Sokoto (BArchB R 150 F FA 1/120, p. 118-119, 'Antwort auf Professor Beckers Anfrage', Station Kete-Kratschi, Mischlich, 20.4.1909).

72 There is an interesting and partially conflicting note in Westermann's account. According to Westermann, there were some 20,000 Muslims living in the district, which, if correct, would mean that the official estimates of some 14,000 or 16,000 Muslims for the whole colony must be wrong (Westermann, 'Die Verbreitung des Islam', 208). However, according to an undated report of an unknown author, the number of Muslims among the Tjokassi and Dagomba, who made up the bulk of the local Muslim population, was at most 2,000 (BArchB R 150 F FA 3/4072, p. 5).

73 According to another account, both the Muslim and the non-

as all the other important persons were Muslim; the Tjokassi (Chekosi) were predominantly non-Muslims, although Islam had been introduced there in the middle of the eighteenth century; to the Dagbamba even earlier. However, in terms of mosques, Qur^ʿān schools and malams, the North was fairly well equipped.⁷⁴

Islamisation began in the early nineteenth century in the district of Sokodé Basari, yet only a minority of the total population were Muslims a century later. Westermann was however only able to produce a rough outline of the conditions in the district, perhaps due to lack of information. Becker's 1908 inquiry revealed that there was no uniformity in the performance of the concluding prayer of the Friday sermon. In Sokodé, Malam Muṣṭafā, who was a Hausa, read it in Hausa on behalf the Sarkin Muslimin of Sokoto. On the other hand, the local *limam* was praying for the chief of Tschaudjo, who himself was a Muslim. The Muslim population was judged to be totally loyal to the colonial government, in cases of disturbances the Muslim population would always take the side of the government. Itinerant preachers were said

Muslim population participated in the official prayers, which were held four times a year (BArchB R 150 F FA 1/210, 'Antwort auf Professor Beckers Anfrage', Mangu-Jendi 11.3.1909)

- 74 There were 56 malams and seven imams (two in Jendi and one of each in Sambu, Sunsong, Guschiegu, Borgu and Sansane Mangu) in the Mangu-Jendi district. Jendi had three big mud mosques, fifteen smaller mosques and six Qur^ʿān schools. Imam Jakubu of Jendi, who was born in Katsina in Northern Nigeria, was besides Imam Imoru of Kete the most influential malam in Togo (Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 209-12). The state of Islam and Muslims in Yendi was the topic of a large research project co-ordinated by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana and the Program for African Studies, Northwestern University, in the 1960s. From this was published *i.a.* studies by Paul Lubeck on the assimilation of Hausa families in Yendi (Report No. 4), A.B. Moro on Islamic scholarship in Yendi (Report No. 7), Phyllis Stewens on the organisation of Islam and the forty-two mosques in Yendi (Report No. 10) and by Ivor Wilks on Muslim offices in Yendi (Report No. 11).

to have had no influence at all over the local Muslim population.⁷⁵

Evaluation 2: Islam in German Cameroon

Whereas Islam was found to be an almost negligible factor in Togo, the state of Islam in Cameroon proved quite different. In fact, Northern Cameroon was the strongest Muslim region of all the German African possessions. This fact was known already before the investigations, but the inquiries of Becker, Hartmann and Westermann presented a fairly good general overview and gave some clarifications about the spread and impact of the Hausa traders. As in Togo, Hausa had become an important lingua franca in Cameroon. However, neither in Togo nor in Cameroon was the spread of Hausa traders connected with Islamisation *per se* but with the spread of 'Muslim' fashion and culture, mostly in terms of clothing. Besides the Hausa, the Kanuri, Kotoko, Shuwa Arabs and Fulani were Muslims. Islamisation was found to be a much more complicated process than expected. It was discovered that the military expansion of the Fulani in Adamawa in the nineteenth century was not connected directly with the spread of Islam,⁷⁶ yet in the process of continuous pressure and exposure to military and political might, some of the surrounding non-Muslim societies had recognised Islam and in some cases even taken on a Fulani identity. Such Fulanisation, or the switching of cultural and religious identity, was found to be the case among some Goburra (Kaburra) and Lakka, who had been the slaves of the Fulani but were returning to their home country after the establishment of German rule. In their home country, these Goburra had posed themselves as 'pseudo-Fulani' and Muslims and in this way

75 BArchB R 150 F FA 1/210, p. 85-87, 'Antwort auf Professor Beckers Anfrage', Station Sokodé Basari, Hoffbauer und Kersting, 9.4.1909.

76 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 230.

achieved a higher status in their society, whereas those Lakka who were found in Ngaoundere had taken the religion and language of their masters.⁷⁷

The spread of Hausa traders was perceived as a special problem. Although the Hausa were known not to actively proselytise, their settlements with mosques and Qur^ʿān schools were regarded as possible centres for Muslim missionary activities. After the establishment of Pax Germanica in Cameroon, the former political-military, physical and mental barriers for the spread of Hausa traders were removed and Hausa settlements grew up rapidly along all trade routes from the north to the south. By 1913, Hausa settlements were found in all major trading centres in the colony.⁷⁸ Most of the Hausa settlements were small with only a few resident inhabitants; other traders also lived in these settlements for a while before moving on. One of the largest settlements in the south was established in Jaunde, which some 1,000 to 1,600 inhabitants.⁷⁹

Adamawa and especially the regions to its south and east had before the German occupation been the hunting ground for Fulani slave raiders. Thus the local non-Muslims linked Islam to slave raids and trade, as the Muslim Fulani had been the raiders and Muslim Hausa the traders.

The influence of Hausa traders or of Islam was not felt very strong in the Grasslands, the region south of Adamawa, in the German period. The first Hausa settlements in

77 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 218-19.

78 Hausa settlements were found in the following villages and towns in the Southern and Central districts: Rio del Rey, Victoria, Ossidinge, Jabassi, Buea, Duala, Edea, Kribi, Kampo, Lolodorf, Ambam, Ebolowa, Sangmelima, Jaunde, Joko, Ngambe, Lomie, Abong Mbang, Jukaduma, Moludu, Ngoila, Dume, Baturi, Messo, Bua, Mbun, Delele, Mogbe, Njassi, Bertua, Betare, Nola, Bamia, Gasa, Kunde, Kumbe, Berberati, Buala, Bosum, Babua, Babadja, Carnot, Dschang, Bare, Bamenda, Bamum, Bansso, Wum, Kentu, Gidan-Sama and Gidan Baua (Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 219).

79 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 222.

Bamenda had been established in 1906, and another in Bali in 1912, but the local inhabitants still viewed the Muslims with suspicion, if not antipathy.⁸⁰ In Bamum, however, the impact of Islam and the Muslim traders was relatively strong and at the court of King Njoya 'Islamic-Fulani' etiquette and ceremonial had been established.⁸¹ However, Westermann did not mention King Njoya's earlier alliance with the Fulani *lamido* of Banyo and his conversion to Islam sometimes after 1897, the arrival of the Basel mission in 1906 and the replacement of the king's private mosque with a church and his pro-Christian and pro-German policy thereafter.⁸²

North of the Grasslands Islam seemed to prevail and there regions were thought to be lost for the Christian missions, although the Muslims made up only ten per cent of the population in the Residentur Ngaoundere, three-fifths in the Residentur Adamaua and just over half of the population in the Residentur Deutsche Tschadseeländer.⁸³ Despite this, the German administration had to take a pro-Muslim outlook as

80 This piece of information has been questioned by later scholars as an oversimplification or misinterpretation of the oral traditions. See further Richard Fardon, 'The person, ethnicity and the problem of 'identity' in West Africa', in Ian Fowler and David Zeitlyn (eds.), *African Crossroads: Intersections between History and Anthropology in Cameroon*, Providence, RI & Oxford 1996, 32.

81 Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 223-6.

82 King Njoya had been aided by the Fulani *lamido* of Banyo in the civil war in Bamum in the 1890s. Impressed by the military and spiritual power of the Muslims, he had asked the *lamido* to send him a few marabouts to instruct him the practices of Islam. The King and his entourage learned to pray and familiarised themselves with Islam. However, these new practices remained largely the concern of the royal court, whereas the lineage heads did not show much enthusiasm for the new religion (Claude Tardits, 'Pursue to Attain: a Royal Religion', in Fowler & Zeitlyn, *African Crossroads*, 145-6).

83 According to official estimates, there were some 7,000 to 8,000 Muslims in Ngaoundere (out of 70,000 inhabitants), 300,000 Muslims in Adamaua (of 500,000 inhabitants) and some 180,000 Muslims in the Extreme North (of 300,000 inhabitants).

the Muslim population controlled political and economic life. Muslim law was officially recognised,⁸⁴ only independent non-Muslims (as well as the members of the colonial administration) were exempt from Muslim jurisdiction. The state of learning as well as knowledge in Arabic was found to be high among some of the malams. Reading the Qur^ʿān was even a subject in the government school in Garwa, contrary to official German policy of a secular education. The most important centre of Muslim learning in Adamawa was Marwa, where the most prominent Muslim scholars were Modibbo Nasru, Malum Amadu and Liman Haman Sa^ʿīd. Mosques, praying grounds and Qur^ʿān schools were found in all towns and bigger villages, and two Sufi brotherhoods, the Qādiriyya and the Tijāniyya, had followers all over the country.⁸⁵

Whereas the Islamisation of Adamawa was a slow and relatively recent phenomenon, Bornu and the areas south of Lake Chad could be labelled as ‘ancient’ Muslim territory. If Islam was in general the religion of the Fulani ruling class and aristocracy as well as of the traders and artisans in Adamawa, Islam had many centuries ago become the popular religion

84 Death sentences, however, had to be approved by the Residents.

85 BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212, pp. 58-9, ‘Antwort auf Professor Hartmanns Islamuntersuchung’, Dühring 17.3.1912, and Westermann, ‘Verbreitung des Islam’, 227-232. The existence of Sufi brotherhoods was contested by the German Resident Strümpell in his answer to Becker’s inquiry: ‘So far there has been no knowledge about the existence of Muslim brotherhoods. In fact, it seems as if they even would not exist among the Fulani. ... The Fulani has, as I can see, not much understanding and no meaning for the establishment of religious orders’ (BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212: 6-9, ‘Antwort auf Professor Beckers Anfrage’, Strümpell 11.5.1909). Strümpell’s statement must be taken with care, as his discussion in fact dealt with the threat of mahdism and the spread of mahdist ideas among the local population—although he himself was not aware of this. However, neither did Dühring in his answer to Hartmann’s inquiry mention anything about the spread of Sufi brotherhoods. In fact, Westermann himself was only referring to the existence of Sufi brotherhoods in Ngaoundere and Banjo.

(*Volksreligion*) of Bornu. German Bornu was a Muslim country apart from a few non-Muslim pockets here and there. 'Muslim culture', that is dress and architecture but also moral and popular spiritual belief, was deeply rooted although sometimes in a formal and lax way (which, in German writing, meant popular and not scholastic way).⁸⁶ Dikoa (Dikwa) and Mora in the Mandara mountains were known as places of higher Muslim education.⁸⁷ Muslim law followed the Mālikī interpretation.⁸⁸ There were few malams of foreign descent,⁸⁹ the most important *ṭarīqa* was the Tijāniyya to which the Sultan of Dikoa and the most important malams belonged, but according to local informants both the Qādiriyya and the Sanūsiyya had members there.⁹⁰

86 Becker, 'Vorbericht über die islamkundlichen Ergebnisse', 132-42, and Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 234-6. See also Schultze, *Sultanate of Bornu*, 171-3.

87 According to the German Resident in Kuseri there were more than 200 Qurʾān schools in Dikoa alone. Other important Qurʾān schools were located in Gadjibo, Ngala, Wulgo and Kuseri (BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212, 'Antwort auf Professor Hartmanns Islamuntersuchung', Winkler 16.5.1912). The conditions in Mora were unclear, according to Becker ('Vorbericht über die islamkundlichen Ergebnisse', 133) it had a Qurʾān school with a good reputation, according to Hartmann's inquiry there was no Qurʾān school at all in the town. This information is, however, problematic as at least six imams were living in Mora around 1912.

88 However, according to the *lector* in Fulani at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg, Mūsā b. Ādam, the Shuwa Arabs were following the Shāfiʿī interpretation (Becker, 'Vorbericht über die islamkundlichen Ergebnisse', 133).

89 In Dikoa district alone there were some 1,000 to 1,500 local malams who understood and spoke Arabic, apart from the Shuwa Arabs (BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212, 'Antwort auf Professor Hartmanns Islamuntersuchung', Winkler 16.5.1912). Schultze, critically impressed, declared that 'one meets more people in Bornu than in other countries of the Central Sudan who can reproduce the words of their native language in the letters of the Arabic alphabet' (Schultze, *Sultanate of Bornu*, 172).

90 BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212, 'Antwort auf Professor Hartmanns Islamuntersuchung', Winkler 16.5.1912; Becker, 'Vorbericht über

Conclusion

Despite their efforts, the German Orientalists were not able to provide a full picture of Islam in Africa. A comparison between the questions they asked and the answers they received from German officials as well as missionaries in Africa reveals that not much was discovered about the social conditions of Muslim societies in the German colonies. The German Orientalists were particularly interested in the religious literature in use among the local Muslim *literati*, and were able to collect material on this. However, compared to Becker's investigations of Islamic literature in German East Africa, the West African collection is rather thin, in fact it is only a rough outline.

Much emphasis was also placed on the spread and impact of the Hausa traders in Togo and Cameroon. The inquiries confirmed what had previously been assumed, namely that the Hausa traders had an economic more than a religious impact. Much less was discovered about the local, non-Hausa conditions and traditions.

die islamkundlichen Ergebnisse', 136-7, and Westermann, 'Verbreitung des Islam', 236. According to Winkler's informant, Liman Satima Omar—the head of the Tijāniyya in Dikoa—the brotherhood had at that time 80 members in Dikoa. According to Becker's information, the Sanūsiyya had no followers in German Bornu. Hauptmann Stieber, who was Resident in German Bornu until 1909, wrote in his answer to Becker's 1908 inquiry that there were no Sufi brotherhoods at all in German Bornu and that the information about a strong influence of the Sanūsiyya in Bornu were nothing but fancy tales (BArchB R 175 F FA 1/212, p. 4-5, 'Antwort auf Professor Beckers Anfrage', Stieber, Kuseri 16.4.1909. In fact, Stieber was referring to information brought forward by the German consul in Cairo, Max von Oppenheim)! As I have stated elsewhere, Stieber's testimonies were usually unreliable (Weiss, 'The illegal trade in slaves'). However, as Resident Strümpell gave a similar answer (see note above)—and Strümpell's knowledge was usually rather good—the reason for the puzzling 1909 answers may have been that the German Residents either had no knowledge about this matter whatsoever or did not care about it.

If one compares the questionnaires with the answers of colonial officials, it is striking that these comprehensive and extensive inquiries left many fields untouched. It seems as if the colonial officials either did not know very much or did not care to know about local conditions. Many, if not all of the colonial officials were outsiders and did not even try to get in touch with the local people. In some cases, local informants were used, yet without any great success in terms of getting inside information about the local Muslim community or the social realities of the local population. Thus, for example, while the academics did ask detailed questions about the size, shape and age of the local mosques, the existence of *zakāt* or whether boys and girls were circumcised, the answers that the officials gave were meagre. This clearly shows how isolated the German officials were on the ground, excluded from the daily life of the local peoples they were supposed to rule over. In fact, the answers reveal that the main interest and first and only duty of the local officials were to secure peace and order and to prevent restlessness. Thus, itinerant preachers, mahdist movements as well as the local imams and Muslim rulers were checked and hence there was some information about these, but not much was known about the existence and impact of for example the Muslim brotherhoods. It seems as if the local officials did not even know how to deal with the brotherhoods or what their position was in Muslim West Africa.

Taken together, the German investigations on Islam in (West) Africa were an ambitious attempt to gather information about the realities of the Muslim societies. As such the investigations were also an attempt to concentrate German Oriental and Islamic studies and research on the contemporary situation of the Muslim world, moving away from the pure Orientalism that was only interested in classical Islam and despised its popular varieties.

However, due either to the lack of knowledge or interest or both among the German local officials, the investigations were only able to scratch the surface. As German colonialism

in Africa came to an end in World War One, the investigations were not followed up. Although Westermann did produce a first analysis in his 1914 article, he had to admit that there still were many unanswered questions. But due to the changed colonial setting after 1919, the interests of the German Orientalists again moved away from Africa and popular Islam back to pure Orientalism.

Appendix I

Checklist of the 'Ngaoundere' and 'Bornu' papers translated by Lippert (1902)

BArchB RKoLA R 1001/3350

[Page number / Letter number]

- 29/1 Brief von Omaru von Banjo an Hauptmann Cramer von Clausbruck, 4.8.1901
- 30/2 Schreiben des Emirs von Jola und des Kaisers von Sokoto an Sultan Abo, s.a.
- 59/3 Emir Zubair an Emir von Burugu Mohammad Abbo (s.a.)
- 59/4 Emir Omar von Kunscha an den Obersten der Christen
- 60/5 fehlt
- 60/6 Vom Kommandanten (?) Hourst (?), dem Sultan von Naura und Manberi an den Beherrscher der Gläubigen [...] Sultan Zubair
- 61/7 Emir von Manbiri Naura, dem Commandanten Broust (?) an unseren Freund, den Beherrscher der Gläubigen, Sultan der Muslim's [...]
- 62/8 Vom Emir von Shanga und manjar an den Emir von Ngaoundere und Bunda Abo b. Isa [2.2.1898]
- 63/9 Herrn Savorgnan de Brazza, Gouverneur des Sultans von Frankreich an den hohen Herrn Muhammad Abo b. Isa, den Fürsten der Fürsten von Ngaoundere und

Bunda

- 64/10 An Herrn Abo b. Isa (auf dem Befehl des Herrn Savorgnan de Brazza, Gouverneur des franz. Staates im Congo) [19.6.1892]
- 65/11 An Herrn Abo b. Isa (auf dem Befehl des Herrn Savorgnan de Brazza, Gouverneur des Sultans von Frankreich im Congo) [29.12.1892]
- 66/12 An den Herrn Zubair b. Adam, Sultan von Adamaua (auf dem Befehl des hohen Herrn Savorgnan de Brazza...) [19.6.1892]
- 69/13 Vom Sultan Kudi Muhammad Miser, Sohn des Fürsten Muribrib an den Fürst von Ngaundere, Abo Isa [s.a.]
- 70/14 Vom Gouverneur von Wabân an den Emir von Ngaundere [s.a.]
- 71/15 Vom Emir Hjâs Zubair an den Fürsten von Burugu Muhammad [s.a.]
- 103/16 Herrn Lawan Sakaru dem Statthalter von Bugu (Banjo?) an seinem Emir und Herren, den Emir von Yemen Zubairu
- 103/17 Von Adam b. Gûrdunbu an den Sultan von Yola
- 104/18 Von Mohammad an den Emir von Yola
- 104/19 Von dem Knecht des Herrn Hâschim an den Fürsten von Yola Zubair
- 105/20 Von Zubair an den christlichen Commandanten
- 105/21 Von der Gesamtheit der Einwohner Yola's, generell und speziell dem Galadima Faruk, dem Seriki-n-shanu, dem Vesir Fâta, dem Kaigamma Abd ul-Qâdir und dem Qâdi Muhammed Gûda an den Emir Bechir
- 106/22 Von dem Emir von Yola Ahmad an den Chef der Christen der in Garua residiert
- 107/23 Vom Emir von Yola Ahmad an den Chef der Christen der in Garua residiert
- 108/24 Vom Emir von Yola Ahmad an den Chef der Christen, den Commandanten
- 109/25 Vom Emir von Yola, Sohn des verstorbenen Gelehrten Adama an den Commandanten, den Chef der

Christen in Garua

- 248/1 Von Omar Sohn des Sultan's Bekr an den Herrn
Commandanten
- 248/2 Von dem Schaih Omar b. Schaih Bekr an den Herrn
Commandanten [1901]
- 249/3 Von Omar b. Sultan Bekr an den Herrn Commandan-
ten
- 250/4 Von Scheich Omar b. Schaih Bekr al-Kanemi an den
Herrn Kunînîr Alma (?)
- 250/5 An den Herrn von Dikoa Sanda (vom englischen
Commissar) [18.4.1902]
- 251/6 Vom Sultan Muhammad Sohn des Sultan Ma'rûf an
den Chef der Christen, der Engländer
- 251/7 Vom Sultan Muhammad Sohn des verstobenen
Sultan Ma'rûf an den Chef der Christen, der Com-
mandere Hokumdâr
- 252/8 Vom Emir von Yemen Zubairu an den Sultan von
Mandara
- 253/9 Vom Emir von Marua (?) an Dominik

Appendix II
Becker's questionnaire, 1908

BArchB R 150 F FA 3/4072, page 16-17

Fragebogen (Hamburg 1.12.1908)

1. Findet in den größeren Städten (Togos), in denen die islamische Bevölkerung zahlreich ist, ein Freitagsgottesdienst mit Predigt (Khutbe) statt oder nur das übliche Mittagsritualgebet? Wie verhält es sich damit in Togo (und Kamerun)? Wenn eine Khutbe stattfindet, erbäte ich den Wortlaut des nach der Khutbe stattfindenden Fürbittgebetes für den Herrscher und die Regierung, da dieser Punkt von großer

Wichtigkeit ist und in allen islamischen Ländern eine große Rolle spielt. Es ist besonders darauf zu achten, daß in diesem kitzlichen Punkt die Geistlichkeit keine falsche Antwort gibt.

2. Welche islamischen Bruderschaften und Orden sind in den Verwaltungen oben genannter Kolonien als in der Kolonie tätig bekannt? Welche von ihnen haben eigene Niederlassungen? Welche Beobachtungen sind über die Propaganda dieser Bruderschaften amtlicher Weise gemacht worden?

3. Sollten in islamischen Gebieten Flugschriften oder Broschüren (so z.B. letzthin bei den Unruhen in Lindi) in Arabisch oder einer anderen eingeborenen Sprache zur Kenntnis der Behörden gelangt sein, so möchte ich darum bitten, daß dieselben der Zentralstelle (des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts) resp. mir zugesandt würden, um hier zu einem Archiv vereinigt zu werden. Ließe es sich nicht auch machen, daß amtliche Berichte über islamisch religiöse Unruhen uns zugänglich gemacht würden?