

Gold Coast Colony's Northern Territories Protectorate Muslims on Haj: Passports and Repatriation Deposits, 1897-1950

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ABSTRACT

Ghana had a census for the Muslim population in 2017 and 2021, a national census including Muslims. Two international airports were being constructed to render three international airports for Muslims to embark on planes at Accra, Cape Coast and Tamale for the annual haj pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia. This paper is situated in the north, where the Gold Coast colonial government wrote diplomatic letters for the dispersed Islamic people in the Northern Territories Protectorate who travelled on haj. In 1910, British colonial officers and the Gold Coast colonial government made policies that met the Saudi monarch's requirement that Muslim pilgrims had to travel with British passports. During the colonial era, the Gold Coast colonial government allotted passports to Muslim pilgrims in the Northern Territories Protectorate from the Gold Coast and Nigeria and controlled the finances they deposited for repatriation during haj.

Keywords: Haj, Muslim pilgrims, Northern Territories Protectorate, Gold Coast Colony, Passports, Repatriation Deposits

Introduction

The British colonial administration wrote diplomatic letters for the dispersed Islamic people in the Northern Territories Protectorate, who, as Muslim pilgrims, travelled to Mecca in Saudi on haj. The Muslim pilgrims from West Africa were on pilgrimage for at least two years and, on average, eight years.¹ In 1916, the acting chief commissioner of the Northern Territories Protectorate applauded the homecoming of mallams from Wa:

[I]t is a source of gratification to me that I was able to help them it was by no personal powers of my own that the letter was of use to them, but to the far-reaching

¹ PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

effect of a letter from an official of the British Empire, that commands respect all over the World of which the Gold Coast is as one grain of Corn in a Calabash.²

Cutfield, the acting chief commissioner, sent a messenger to Daboya that the four mallams, Mahama, Osumanu, Abu and Yakubu, who after twelve years returned as hajis, proceed to Tamale. When he reached Tamale, the four mallams had returned to Wa.³

This paper about Islam and empire uses documents from the public archives in Ghana to discuss how Muslims in the Northern Territories Protectorate travelled on haj. The British colonial bureaucracy crafted policies for passports and repatriation deposits for haj from 1897 to 1950. During the 1890s, West African Samori Turay, the French and the British had an objective to colonize land along the eastern Black Volta.⁴ The Islamic people living between the savanna and the forest were at agricultural towns such as Wa, Savelugu, Yendi, Tamale and Gonja.⁵ Muslims and non-Muslims at the Salaga market in Eastern Gonja traded kola for textile, spices etc. from Muslim caravan traders from the agricultural town Kano in the Sokoto Caliphate. Salaga had a civil war in 1892, then Kano in 1893-1895.⁶ People fled the wars of colonization and the civil wars to *zongos* and worked as traders, military men and labour migrants.⁷ The Islamic Hausas and Gonjas lived in the agricultural multiethnic *zongos*. Enid Schildkrout wrote about the power of the leader in the *zongo* in Kumasi during the colonial era. The *zongo* was a new society in an old society: "The leader is seen as a mediator between the traditional and the modern worlds; whether he reconciles the two by performing different roles in different situations or by integrating the two sets of values into a new synthesis, his constant problem is to eliminate conflict as he maintains his own position."⁸

In 1897, the Gold Coast colonial government made policies to administer the mainland and the population north of Asante as the Northern Territories Protectorate. By 1899, the Germans and the French accepted the diplomatic decisions of the British about the Northern Territories Protectorate.⁹ The European imperial colonizers' rule provided services for Islam as a religious institution and fashioned information and religious and colonial knowledge in the Northern Territories Protectorate.

The Haj: Diplomatic Letters, Muslims' Passports and Repatriation Deposits

The *haj* was the fifth pillar of Islam. Muslims were not required to travel on pilgrimage to Mecca. Fit Muslims financed and visited Mecca to walk seven times around the Kabaa the holy shrine and call on the Zamzam well. They worshipped at the Plain of Arafat. The Muslim

² No.313/50/1910, 29th March, 1916. PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

No.153/1/1914, 21st March, 1916, PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³ No.313/50/1910, 29th March, 1916, PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁴ Wilks, Ivor. *Wa and the Wala: Islam and polity in northwestern Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

⁵ PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁶ Lovejoy, Paul E. "Polanyi's "Port of Trade": Salaga and Kano in the Nineteenth Century." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 1, no. 2 (1982): 245-277.

⁷ Plange, Nii K. "The Colonial State in Northern Ghana: The Political Economy of Pacification." *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 31 (1984): 29-43.

⁸ Schildkrout, Enid. "Strangers and Local Government in Kumasi," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1970, 251-269.

⁹ Amis, W. "Law and Policy: Relating to the Natives of the Gold Coast and Nigeria." *Journal of the Royal African Society* 12, no. 45 (1912): 17-51.

pilgrims died from tiredness, thirst, lack of food and diseases.¹⁰ Many Muslims and Islamic people were certain Muslim pilgrims who died while on *haj* went to paradise.¹¹

The Gold Coast colonial government's imperial politics regulated passports and finance for colonized Muslims to travel to Mecca on *haj*.¹² The Muslim pilgrims from the Gold Coast Colony travelled as families and individuals¹³ and organized transportation to Mecca.¹⁴ West African Muslim pilgrims travelled on road to Mecca via towns in the Northern Territories Protectorate such as Tamale and Salaga.¹⁵ When they reached Kano, they journeyed on road and railway to Mecca.¹⁶ Muslims developed a network for lorries to transport Muslim pilgrims from the Gold Coast Colony to Saudi Arabia (Aderinto, 2015). West African Muslim pilgrims travelled to the coast, Accra, to sail to Mecca. Travel by land and sea was affordable to the average British colonized West African.¹⁷ After the Second World War, aircrafts transported Muslim pilgrims to Mecca.¹² Muslim pilgrims from the Northern Territories Protectorate deposited repatriation funds for their travel to and from Saudi and for their next-of-kin if they died on *haj*.¹⁸

In December 1909, the British Secretary of State had despatched a letter to the Gold Coast colonial government in the Northern Territories Protectorate that African Muslim pilgrims on *haj* could not visit the "holy cities without passports."¹⁹ The colonial government received requests about the number of Muslims who travelled on *haj* to Mecca. Muslim pilgrims travelled with either diplomatic letters, applied for passports or wrote to the colonial administration about passports or travel problems.²⁰ In 1910, British colonial officers and the Gold Coast colonial government made policies that met the Saudi monarch's requirement that Muslim pilgrims on *haj* to Mecca had to travel with British passports. The Gold Coast colonial government allotted passports to Muslim Pilgrims in the Northern Territories Protectorate from the Gold Coast and Nigeria and controlled the finances they deposited for repatriation.

Russell King writes how the Saudi external revenue was from taxing a Muslim pilgrim about £25 and the funds Muslim pilgrim caravans disbursed.²² William Ochsenwald emphasized that religion corroborated the government and the political economy. Religion was integral to the Saudi government making lawful the Saudi dynasty when founding the nation Saudi Arabia in the early 1930s. The king went to Mecca during the month for the pilgrimage. The Saudi law was, "Only the government could issue licenses to guides and regulate the guilds of workers." From the 1926 discovery of oil to the beginning of the Second World War, the

¹⁰ King, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca," 62.

¹¹ Bari, *A Comprehensive History*; King, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca," 62.

¹² Motadel, David. "Islam and the European Empires." *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 831-856.

¹³ No.544/66/1931. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

¹⁴ Bari, O. *A Comprehensive History of Muslims and Religion in Ghana*. Accra: Dezine Focus, 2009.

¹⁵ No.335/50/1910. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

¹⁶ PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951. ¹² Bari, *A Comprehensive History*.

¹⁷ Aderinto, S. "Journey to Work: Transnational Prostitution in Colonial British West Africa." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 1 (2015): 99-124.

¹⁸ PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

¹⁹ Case 1065/1910, 7th February, 1910, PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²⁰ PRAAD ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²² King, Russell. "The Pilgrimage to Mecca: Some Geographical and Historical Aspects." *Erdkunde* 26. 1 (1972): 62.

²³ Ochsenwald, William, "Islam and Loyalty in the Saudi Hijaz, 1926-1939." *Die Welt des Islams*, 47, No. 1 (2007), 8-11.

Sultan of Nejd constructed the nation Saudi Arabia.²³ In 1926, the Secretary of State in London wrote to the Gold Coast colonial government at the request of the sultan of Nejd, who ruled the monarchy of Saud in Arabia:

Sultan of Nejd wishes to have earliest possible information re number of pilgrims likely to make pilgrimages this year. Please telegraph direct to acting British Consul at Jedda such information as you are able to give. Repeat this telegram to Governor of Nigeria. Amery.²¹

In April, at Tamale, Cutfield the Acting Commissioner of the of the Southern Province replied to the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories Protectorate that:

[N]o natives of the Southern Province have gone or intend to go to MECCA this year.

1. Three WONGARAS and one FULANI have passed to ACCRA proceeding thence to MECCA.
2. One person of unknown tribe has passed through SALAGA Northwards proceeding to MECCA overland²².

The chief commissioner sent Cutfield's message to the Colonial Secretary at Accra and requested that if the objective of pilgrims from the Northern Province of the Northern Territories Protectorate was to travel, he send their numbers.²⁶ On 19th April, thirteen Dagomba men and six Dagomba women travelled from the Northern Territories to Accra to Mecca on *haj*.²³ The Gold Coast colonial secretary replied about the policies for Muslim pilgrims from Nigeria and the Gold Coast, who were British subjects, to apply for travel permits to Saudi Arabia. The Muslim pilgrims had to supply "2 small, unmounted photographs of themselves and also a sum of 15/- being costs of the Passports"²⁴ in postal orders.²⁵ They supplied the application forms and seven shillings and six pence if they had paid for the passport. A Muslim pilgrim paid a £20 repatriation deposit at Tamale as insurance for repatriation.³⁰ The district commissioner sent the applications to the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories Protectorate at Tamale and the colonial secretary in Accra. The chief commissioner used the receipt voucher number and deposit to advance the passport application forms "to the proper Passport Authorities."²⁶

In October 1943, Malam Issa Wangara departed Salaga to Kumasi. The district commissioner at Salaga gave back the passport application form to the chief commissioner of

²¹ Telegram from S. of S. London to Governor, Accra. 25th March, 1926. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951; No. 1608/M.P.4689/26. 27th March, 1926. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²² No.265/5/1921. 12th April, 1926. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951. No.34/335/50/1910. 12th April, 1926. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²³ From Territory Tamale to Accra, 19th April, 1926. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²⁴ No.2080/50/1910. 6th October, 1943. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²⁵ No.736/50/1910. 6th August, 1946. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951. ³⁰ No.2080/50/1910. 6th October, 1943. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

²⁶ No.736/50/1910. 6th August, 1946. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

the Northern Territories at Tamale.²⁷ Similarly, Malam Iddi Salaga did not have his passport when he and the Muslim pilgrims from Tamale travelled to Mecca. Yet, when Chief Commissioner G. H. Gibbs demanded that the colonial secretary return the seven shillings and six pence,²⁸ the colonial secretary's officer at Accra notified the chief commissioner at Tamale that Malam Iddi Salaga applied for the passport, and paid the £20 deposit and the remaining seven shillings and six pence. He received his passport from the colonial secretary's office.²⁹

Malam Issa Wangara asked the colonial officers about taking passport photographs to apply for a passport to the *haj* at Mecca. He received a passport application form, which he gave with the two mounted photographs and a postal order of fifteen shillings to the colonial secretary. He informed the colonial officers that pilgrims could access the passage to Mecca by way of Kano. The colonial officers thought Mallam Issa's knowledge about the status quo of pilgrimaging to Mecca from British West Africa via Kano and the Sahara Desert meant he had stockpiled sufficient money.³⁰ However, applicants for passports wrote to the assistant district commissioner that they did not have enough money to pay the £20 repatriation deposit to Mecca.³¹

The colonial administration at the districts, commissions, provinces and the colonial secretary's office worked with the local leaders to allot passports. In January 1933, Misuna Channah (also Kanne) "the elder," his son Susanah Fuseyni and Malam Salifo and his son Issakah at Prang Zongo applied for passports to travel to Accra and Mecca for *haj* within a week.³² The assistant district commissioner was on trek and Vaughan at the district commissioner's office recorded that:

I do not know anything about these people having only been in this Station for some ten days. However, I have explained to them the necessity of having photographs to be attached to passports. I am also told that they desire to travel by S.S. "Apam" which sails on 22nd instant from Accra.³³

The local leader at the *zongo* at Prang was the *Sarkin Zongo* Prang Malam Mahama. His clerk James A. Sam wrote two letters to the district commissioner at Salaga, one for Misuna Channah to apply for a passport to Mecca³⁴ and the other from Malam Mahama "to confirm the said

²⁷ No.560/57/1934.S.F.2. 14th October, 1943. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

²⁸ C.S. 287/2328/50/1910. 2nd November, 1943. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

²⁹ No.P.004/S.F.1/15. 11th November, 1943. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

³⁰ No. 476/57/1934.S.F.2. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³¹ PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³² James A. Sam Serekin Zongo Clerk Prang for Misuna Channah to the District Commissioner. 9th January, 1933.

PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³³ G.W. Vaughan to the District Commissioner, 9th January, 1933. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³⁴ Serekin Zongo Clerk, Prang for Misuna Channah (the elder).9th January, 1933. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

application.”³⁵ The officers at the district commission at Salaga posted the letters to the chief commissioner at Tamale, who forwarded the applications to the colonial secretary at Accra.³⁶

The government bureaucracy took a long time to meet Muslim pilgrims’ demand to be repatriated, and prove they had passports and deposited repatriation funds. The passports of dead pilgrims were discarded or impounded for their next-of-kin to withdraw the repatriation deposits. When a Muslim pilgrim, who had not paid the repatriation deposit, died the relatives paid the repatriation deposit for the dependents. The relatives could deposit the amount for repatriation or could “guarantee” to pay the repatriation deposit. The Gold Coast colonial government then arranged with the foreign government to repatriate the dependents. When the relatives did not “deposit or guarantee” the repatriation funds,³⁷ the government told the relatives their dependents could not receive repatriation deposits.³⁸ The government informed the foreign government that the relatives and the government could not pay for the Muslim pilgrim’s repatriation.³⁹

In 1938, the *Sarkin Zongo* of Prang pursued the acting district commissioner of Gonja to find and repatriate the six dependents of the deceased Alhadji Kadri from Port Sudan to Prang. Alhadji Kadri married into the leading families in the Northern Territories and Ashanti. The six dependents, who travelled with him to Mecca, were his three wives and three sons. His wives were Amadu (also Adamu) Dagomba the daughter of the deceased Savelugu *Na*, Abu the daughter of Mallam Adamu from Salaga and Sadiya Arab the daughter of the deceased Sherif Ali from

Kumasi. Alhadji Kadri’s sons were Mohamadu, Sumayila and Salifu. They were on pilgrimage at the Islamic towns along the way to Saudi Arabia, Khartoum in Sudan, Suakin or Labana at the Red Sea.⁴⁰ In August, D. C. Cumming at the civil secretary’s department at Khartoum wrote to the colonial secretary of the Gold Coast that five of Alhadji Kadri’s dependents, who wanted to be repatriated, went to Port Sudan. Salifu the sixth pilgrim was in the Italian colony Eritrea in East Africa. The six dependents of Alhadji Kadri had to pay £14 Egyptian pounds each, that is a total of £84 Egyptian pounds.⁴¹ Chief Commissioner Jones wrote to the district commissioner at Gonja that Sudan’s currency, the Egyptian pound was about 21/- sterling. The Gold Coast colonial government asked the *Sarkin Zongo* to pay £73.10 Egyptian pounds for Sudan to repatriate the five pilgrims. When Salifu returned from Eritrea to the British colony Sudan, £14 Egyptian pounds would be deposited.⁴²

In January 1939, A. D. Dodds Carles from the civil secretary’s department at Khartoum

³⁵ Serekin Zongo Clerk Prang for Malam Mahama to the District Commissioner Salaga, 9th January, 1933. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³⁶ G.W. Vaughan to the District Commissioner, 9th January, 1933. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

³⁷ No.686/30/S.87/16. 27th February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

³⁸ C.S.65./985/50/1910. 2nd March, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

³⁹ No.686/30/S.87/16. 27th February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁴⁰ No. 373/26/1934. 10th May, 1938. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁴¹ No: P & P./4.B.2.(34). 9th August, 1938. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁴² No.3208/50/1910. 27th August, 1938. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

wrote to the colonial secretary that Alhadji Kadri's dependents wanted to be repatriated but did not have funds. He asked whether the Gold Coast colonial government could pay for their repatriation.⁴³ In February, Chief Commissioner Jones asked the district commissioner the decision of the *Sarkin Zongo* of Prang.⁴⁴ On 10th February, District Commissioner Guthrie Hall wrote to Chief Commissioner Jones that the government's proceedings were not needed since Alhadji Kadri's relatives and the *Sarkin Zongo* corresponded via air mail.⁴⁵ Three days later, Chief Commissioner Jones corresponded with the colonial secretary asking whether the government could "defray the cost of repatriation" since the relatives could not pay the repatriation deposits for the five people at Port Sudan:

Now that arrangements have been made for the repatriation of Amadu Dagomba and four others, the Sarikin Zongo, who asked for our assistance, does not seem to be so interested in the matter. It may be that the cost of repatriation is more than he can afford.⁴⁶

On 27th February, the officer at the colonial secretary's office replied to Jones that when the *Sarkin Zongo* Prang did not pay the repatriation deposit, the Gold Coast colonial government had to inform the Sudan government that the relatives and the government could not pay for the Muslim pilgrims' repatriation.

From 23rd February, Salaga's District Commissioner Guthrie Hall corresponded with Chief Commissioner Jones that on 20th November, 1934, Alhadji Kadri had deposited repatriation funds "before passports were issued. It would appear these were not issued through this office."⁴⁷ On 2nd March, Chief Commissioner Jones wrote to the acting colonial secretary in Accra that there was a likelihood Alhadji Kadri made a deposit then was allotted passports in 1934 or 1935. His relations thought a deposit was made at Accra. He asked the colonial secretary to make certain Alhadji Kadri deposited funds at Accra. On 28th March, Rake working as the chief commissioner at Tamale replied that the district commissioner's office at Salaga wrote a letter to the chief commissioner's office on 12th November, 1934 about Alhadji Kadri's "party of Pilgrims," not about their application for passports. Probably, they had a letter from the district commission and applied for the passports at Accra.⁴⁸ A letter from the colonial secretary's office was with Chief Commissioner Jones that the secretariat could not have allotted passports to Alhadji Kadri, and the district treasury at Accra did not have his repatriation funds.⁴⁹ Probably, the Gold Coast colonial government funded the repatriation of Alhadji Kadri's dependents. Chief Commissioner Jones suggested that the Gold Coast colonial government finance their repatriation. He doubted that the relatives could advance the

⁴³ Sudan government civil secretary's department, to the colonial secretary, the Gold Coast, Accra. 12th January, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁴⁴ No. 532/50/1910. 2nd February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁴⁵ No. 83/26/34. 10th February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁴⁶ C.S.48/691/50/1910. 13th February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁴⁷ No. 153/26/1934. 25th February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁴⁸ No. 1311/50/1910. 28th March, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁴⁹ No. 686/30/S.87/20. 15th March, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

repatriation deposit.⁵⁰ On 12th May, Acting Chief Commissioner Rake notified the Colonial Secretary that the *Sarkin Zongo* of Prang declared that Alhadji Kadri's dependents were in the Gold Coast.⁵¹

Gender and age affected Muslim pilgrims' decisions when applying for passports. In 1946, the district commissioner at Tamale demanded from the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories Protectorate whether wives travelled with husbands' passports. Mallam Mahamadu Dagade and wife Damata Dagomba, Mallam Mahama Misuna and wife Fatima Dagomba and Mallams Tidjo and Yacubu Sanda had applied for passports to travel from Savelugu to Mecca on *haj*. The husbands applied with their wives for passports. The wives then filled solitary forms to receive individual passports, if the colonial government asked that wives have passports that were different from their husbands'. The district commissioner validated that the Muslim pilgrims were travelling that week and estimated that Fatima was aged and should not travel.⁵² The chief commissioner could not discern any regulation about husband and wives' passports and made the district commissioner send the applicants to the commissioner of the C.I.D. of the Gold Coast Police at Accra to receive their passports to travel.⁵³ In 1947, four pilgrims returned to the Gold Coast, travelling by land. The district commissioner returned to the chief commissioner the passports of Mallams Mahama Misuna and Abubacare Tidjo who died in Nigeria when returning to the Gold Coast. The pilgrim documented taking £15 repatriation deposit at Jos. The three Muslim pilgrims and the next-of-kin of the two deceased Muslim pilgrims made their lawful demands for the £5 balance of the £20 repatriation deposit.⁵⁴

That year, 1947, Z. J. Osman, who used to work as an overseer at the Department of Agriculture and his wife Ashietu Dagomba travelled to Mecca on *haj*. Two years later, Osman returned and told the assistant district commissioner that Mallam Allasani Dagomba died in Saudi Arabia. The assistant district commissioner at Tamale sent the deceased's passport to the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories Protectorate to discard. He asked that the next-of-kin take the repatriation deposit or the remainder at the Tamale Treasury, and attached Yakubu Dagomba's affidavit.⁶⁰ Yacubu Dagomba swore an affidavit that he was the next-of-kin of his father Mallam Alassani Dagomba who died in Arabia when returning from Mecca in October 1948. The colonial government had to pay him the £20 repatriation fund deposited at the Tamale Treasury on 2nd July, 1947.⁵⁵ Yacubu Dagomba was "prepared to meet all just debts owing by the deceased on production of true bills or bill."⁶² The acting chief commissioner

⁵⁰ C.S.48/691/1910. 13th February, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁵¹ C.S.137/1803/50/1910. 12th May, 1939. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁵² No.447/109. 12th Augusts, 1946. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁵³ No.465/109. 17th August, 1946. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁵⁴ No.196/109. 22nd March, 1947. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951. ⁶⁰ No.156/81/1947/SF.2. 9th March, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/191012/9/1951.

⁵⁵ In the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast, Northern Territories Magistrate's Court, Tamale Affidavit of Yacubu Dagomba. 9th March, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951. ⁶² In the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast, Northern Territories Magistrate's Court, Tamale Affidavit of Yacubu Dagomba. 9th March, 1949.

asked that the Native Authority make certain that Yakubu Dagomba was the next-of-kin.⁵⁶ The Yana the paramount chief of Dagomba, the Native Authority, declared that Yakubu Dagomba was Mallam Allasani Dagomba's next-of-kin.⁵⁷ The assistant district commissioner at Tamale forwarded the declaration to the acting chief commissioner,⁵⁸ who forwarded it to the Accountant-General.⁵⁹ On 21st June, 1949, the acting chief commissioner sent the assistant district commissioner the voucher to repay Mallam Allasani Dagomba's £20 repatriation funds deposited at the Tamale Treasury.⁶⁰

In 1950, the Gold Coast treasury made a policy about how pilgrims who returned from Mecca to the Northern Territories Protectorate applied for refund of their £20 repatriation deposits. The accountant-general required pilgrims to apply to the Passport Officer, at the Gold Coast Police in Accra.⁶¹

Conclusion

When the British colonized the Gold Coast, the colonial government made policies for passports for Muslims to travel on *haj* to Mecca. The *haj* was a prestigious religious and economic requirement. The policies were to make the mobility of British Muslim subjects legal. The British colonial governments, the Legation in Jeddah and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Mecca managed the policies the legislature made to solve problems of the *haj* in the colonies and at the British Legation at Jeddah. The British colonial government and the African leaders in the community ensured repatriation funds to rescue pilgrims from the Gold Coast Colony at Islamic towns such as Kano, Jeddah, Cairo, Alexandria and Port Sudan. The Gold Coast colonial government made Muslim pilgrims have a £20 repatriation fund at the government treasury to restrict those who did not have money for *haj* from travelling to Mecca and for the *haj* pilgrims to return safely.

Conflict of interests

The author declares no conflict of interest.

⁵⁶ No.105/50/1910. 15th March, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁵⁷ By the Power invested upon me by the Yanaa the Paramount Chief of Dagomba. 21st April, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁵⁸ No.257/81/1947.SF.2. 22nd April, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁵⁹ No.102/50/1910. 27th April, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁶⁰ No.242/50/1910. 21st June, 1949. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

⁶¹ No.46/9903. PRAAD, Accra. ADM 56/1/101 Mohammedan Pilgrims, 8/3/1910-12/9/1951.

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