



**Thesis  
By  
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UNIVERSITY,  
SOKOTO  
(POSTGRADUATE  
SCHOOL)**

# **Intellectual Tradition in Sokoto Emirate 1903-1960**

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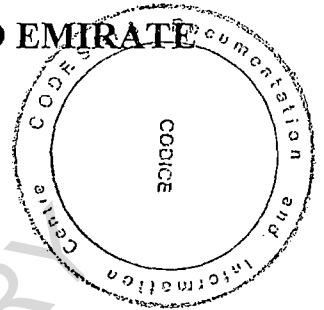
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**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO.**  
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)

**INTELLECTUAL TRADITION IN SOKOTO EMIRATE**  
1903 - 1960.



**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE  
SCHOOL USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY,  
SOKOTO IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.**

**BY**

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**JULY, 1998.**

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all those who sacrificed their lives at the Battles of Giginya and Burmi defending *Dar al-Islam* against the British Colonialists. May Allah reward them with *al-janat al-Firdaus*. Also to my late aunt Hajiya Mariya Gwangwazo who first sent me to school. I received the shocking news of her death on 24th March, 1998 while printing the thesis. May Allah have mercy on her Amin.

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## DECLARATION

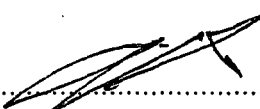
I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me, that it is a record of my own research work, and that it has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations and sources of information are to the best of my knowledge duly and specifically acknowledged in the references.

JULY, 1998.

  
M.T. USMAN

## CERTIFICATION

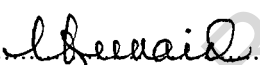
We, the undersigned, certify that this thesis by **MUHAMMAD TUKUR USMAN** has met all the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

  
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Finally, I thank Malam Abubakar Dingyadi who diligently typed the first drafts, and Mr. Damian Ochede who worked round the clock to type the drafts on computer. Also Malam



Salisu of E.M.C. (UDUS) and Mal. Abubakar Muhammad of M.I.S. (UDUS) who endeavoured to save me from disappointment at the last hour. I thank them and pray that Allah rewards them as well. In the end I say *Walhamdu Lillah*.

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## ABSTRACTS

This study is on the history of intellectual tradition in Sokoto Emirate of Northern Nigeria during the 20th century. The specific issues about intellectual tradition discussed in this study is on the activities of the Muslim intellectuals known as the *ulama* (Arabic; *sing* = *alim*). The study concentrated on the role of the intellectuals in their traditional function in the field of learning and scholarship.

The work is divided into seven chapters. We tried to trace the early history of intellectual tradition in the region of Hausaland as far back as the 15th century in Chapter One. It was in the 15th century when Islam was introduced in our area of study, that an intellectual culture along the Islamic tradition started to evolve. The main issue that was highlighted in Chapter Two was the colonial invasion of Northern Nigeria and the subsequent occupation of our area of study early in the 20th century. This development led to the imposition of a new socio-political order by the British. The reaction of the *ulama* to the imposition of colonial rule was expressed in different ways, and this formed part of our discussion in Chapter Three.

The role of the *ulama* of Sokoto under the colonial administration as advisers, judges (*alkalai*) and in some other administrative capacities has been analysed in Chapters Four and Five. We tried to highlight the symbiosis that existed between Islamic system of education and the newly introduced Western School System in Chapter Six. In particular, the impact of the Western Schooling (*boko*) on the Islamic School System had been discussed

at length. Most significant being the emergence of the Islamiyya Schools (called *Nizamiyya* in Sokoto) which are the schools operated along the formal Western Schools also formed part of Chapter Six.

The focus of Chapter Seven is on the contribution of some selected intellectuals. We discussed the role of such *ulama* in bringing about social changes in Sokoto Emirate in particular and Northern Nigeria in general.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATION

- A.B.C., \_\_\_\_\_ Abdullahi Bayero College, Kano
- A.B.U., \_\_\_\_\_ Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- A.M.S.S. (AMSS), \_\_\_\_\_ Arabic Manuscripts
- A.H.A., \_\_\_\_\_ Arewa House Archives, Kaduna.
- B.S.O.A.S. \_\_\_\_\_ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African  
Studies, London.
- B.U.K., \_\_\_\_\_ Bayero University, Kano.
- C.A.D., \_\_\_\_\_ Centre of Arabic Documentation University  
of Ibadan.
- C.I.S., \_\_\_\_\_ Centre for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo  
University, Sokoto.
- C.M.S., \_\_\_\_\_ Church Missionary Society.
- J.A.H.*, \_\_\_\_\_ *Journal of African History.*
- J.H.S.N.*, \_\_\_\_\_ *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria.*
- N.A., \_\_\_\_\_ Native Authority (Administration).
- N.A.K., \_\_\_\_\_ National Archives, Kaduna
- N.E.P.U., \_\_\_\_\_ Northern Elements Progressive Union.
- N.H.R.S., \_\_\_\_\_ Northern History Research Scheme, A.B.U.  
Zaria.
- N.P.C., \_\_\_\_\_ Northern Peoples Congress.
- P.G.R.R., \_\_\_\_\_ Post-Graduate Research Room (B.U.K.)
- P.B.U.H., \_\_\_\_\_ Peace Be Upon Him (the Prophet of Islam)

- R.N.C., \_\_\_\_\_ Royal Niger Company.
- S.A.W., \_\_\_\_\_ *Sallal Lahu Alaihi Wa Sallam.*
- S.N.P., \_\_\_\_\_ Secretary Northern Provinces
- S.S.H.B., \_\_\_\_\_ Sokoto State History Bureau.
- U.A.C., \_\_\_\_\_ United African Company.
- W.A.F.F., \_\_\_\_\_ West African Frontier Force.
- W.J.L., \_\_\_\_\_ Waziri Junaidu Library, Sokoto.

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# INTRODUCTION

## Focus

The focus of this study is on the intellectual tradition in the Sokoto Emirate during colonial period, (1903-1960). In particular, the concern of the study is more on the activities of the *ulama* (the Muslim intellectuals). Principally, the major preoccupation of the *ulama* in the area of our research for a very long time in history had been in the field of learning and scholarship. The intellectual tradition that had evolved in the Sokoto area is characterised by the acquisition and dissemination of the different branches of knowledge, most especially such knowledge that is derivable from the Islamic sources. The indigeneous Islamic intellectual tradition was affected by the modern changes that accompanied the imposition colonial rule in the early part of the 20th century in the Sokoto area.

At a general level, intellectual activity is regarded as "mental labour" by which knowledge or ideas are produced and spread in a given society.<sup>1</sup> A tradition or culture is established overtime in a community to ensure the survival of the ideas and thoughts which form the body of knowledge. In essence, it is the intellectual tradition that guarantees for the continuity of the system of thoughts in every community. Hence, tradition is defined rightly in the words of Tijjani Bande as:

a selective and repitive handing down of customs (habits, thoughts, techniques of production in social relation and so forth) from generation to generation. It provides for both continuity and change.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. See B. Swai, "The State of African History: Social Responsibility of the Coming Generation of African Historians", presented at 34th Congress of Historical Society of Nigeria, University of Benin, 1989, p.6.

<sup>2</sup>. T.M. Bande, "The Communitarian Tradition in African Political Thought: A Critique" *Ph.D. Thesis*, (University of Toronto, Canada 1987) p.17.

In several cases one realises that traditions are community based. In this regard some scholars are of the view that "under certain conditions, traditions become a source of value and identity for the group".<sup>3</sup> Hence, this brings us to the question of social relevance of any kind of tradition. For instance, intellectual activity is a social responsibility assigned to a certain social group or category. They play their roles for the promotion of social goals to better the life of members of the community.

The intellectual as a social being is not free from the varied influences from the social milieu. The intellectual we are told is one who is "fascinated by ideas, and has acquired the skill to handle some of those ideas effectively".<sup>4</sup> In essence, the intellectual is someone committed to the pursuit of truth in order to fulfil certain obligations to his/her society. Infact, it has been argued that, intellectual activity is a moral duty and that any intellectual who divorces his/her activity from social responsibility only engages in "mental gymnastics".<sup>5</sup>

The extent to which intellectuals perform their duty as experts "in enquiry of facts" and reasons is generally determined by the objective social reality. In other words, intellectuals throughout history have been part and parcel of a particular social class in the society. The point however is that the existing social circumstance in most cases determines the social significance of what the intellectuals produce.

At every epoch in human history, intellectuals as custodians of wisdom and reasoning could help in either the regeneration of the social system or its stagnation or even

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<sup>3</sup>. *Ibid.* p.17.

<sup>4</sup>. See Ali A. Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (Heinemann: Ibadan) 1978 p.347.

<sup>5</sup>. *Ibid.*

worse for the destruction of the society. This point could be explained in the role played by the African intellectuals at the time of the colonial occupation and in the period of colonial rule. Evidently, certain category of intellectuals guided the society on how to go about resisting the colonialists and their overtures. For instance, in the area of our study we shall show the roles played by the *ulama* in mobilizing the people for defiance and for compromise.

The study of intellectual history which is the main concern of this study has not been given the much desired attention by scholars. As far as Northern Nigeria is concerned previous studies have concentrated mainly on the intellectual tradition before the 20th century with much emphasis on the 19th century. This no doubt is apparent considering the fact that, the Sokoto Jihad Movement had contributed immensely to the emergence (or better the promotion) of intellectual activities across the region of the northern part of the Nigerian area and even beyond early in the 19th century. Indeed, the point has already been made to demonstrate that more studies need to be pursued in the area of intellectual history. One scholar succinctly puts it way back in 1989 that "the intellectual history of Nigeria is still in the embryonic stage"<sup>6</sup> One may be tempted to affirm that the situation has not changed since then. The crises that has been facing the education sector in Nigeria since the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1985 seem to be on the increase. In addition, the incessant clamour for Nigeria to get industrialise has further compounded the problems of education as it affects the study of history and other disciplines in the humanities. The government has been made to believe (erroneously of course) that we do not need some of the humanities discipline if we want to "develop" like the industrial

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<sup>6</sup>. G.N. Uzoigwe, *History and Democracy in Nigeria* Presidential Lecture, 34th Congress of Historical Society of Nigera, Benin 1989), p.20.

nations. Hence, this gave birth to the so-called policy of 60:40 ratio under which, the study of the natural sciences and related fields will be encouraged in various ways by the government and to de-emphasized the teaching of and enrollment in the humanities.

The general significance of historical studies is to be fully appreciated if one considers the task of historians in reconstructing the past from fragmented information. The past remains obscure in the absence of historical research. Hence, for the past to be clearer to the present it has to be re-examined in line with new evidences and information. There seem to exist some gaps in the intellectual history of the Sokoto area. This study seeks to serve a complimentary purpose because by focusing on the history of learning and scholarship during the 20th century, the missing information would have been provided.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The general objective of this research is to investigate and document the immense contributions of Islamic Scholars (*ulama*) in Sokoto Emirate during colonial period,(1903-1960). Specifically the objectives of the study are:

1. To trace the development of intellectual activity in the area during the period under investigation.
2. To identify the various methods of disseminating knowledge and ideas.
3. To find out the nature and extent of intellectual activity in the area during the period under investigation.
4. To examine the contribution of Islamic scholarship to the development of the society.
5. To assess the impact of colonialism and Western formal education on the indigenous intellectual tradition.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The essence of theoretical framework, in any research especially researches dealing with social phenomena is to provide the researcher with a suitable tool. The theoretical tool allows the researcher to evaluate and analyse the data collected.

The use of theories in social research came about as a revolution in Western epistemology. This development was started right from the period of the Renaissance. The disciplines in the humanities were compelled by the scientific and technological breakthroughs that occurred in Europe to re-examine the way and manner of conceptualising social reality. Hence, the 19th century intellectual activity in Europe was tailored and shaped by positivist materialism and the so-called empiricism. Empirico-positivist epistemology in 19th century Europe fundamentally emphasised that, only what could be verified through experiments, observations and measurements would be accepted as credible and true knowledge. Positivist and empiricist thoughts which started on the natural sciences subsequently found its way into the social and behavioural disciplines. In short, empiricism and positivism as modes of enquiry marked an attempt to secularise intellectual activity. This development was a form of protest against papal hegemony (Church authority) and the excesses of the old order represented by the feudal Lords.<sup>7</sup>

The study of history did not escape from being influenced by the intellectual revolution. There was therefore the emergence of the so-called "meta history" also known as "scientific historiography". The fundamental assumption is that the past exists as a separate entity in contrast with the present and that it can be studied as discrete

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<sup>7</sup>. See B. Swai, "What is Objective History? Positivism vs Historical Materialism" *History Seminar Series* University of Sokoto 1985, p.3. Also A Temu and B.Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique*. (Zed Press: London) 1981.

phenomenon. The point is that, events of the past derived from diverse sources should be reported as they happened.<sup>8</sup>

The intellectual environment in Europe was further enriched with the development of the Marxist historical materialism as a body of social theory. The secular orientation of historical-materialism was also derived from the social, economic and political circumstances that gave birth to positivism and empiricism. The major difference between historical materialism with others is that, social life and history are studied from a dialectical perspective. The past and the present in the Marxian paradigm are conceptualised as two inseparable variables. The two interact for history to move forward. The moving force of history and social life has all along been the material life.

The strict adherence to the principles of investigation based mainly on observable phenomena is a serious shortcoming of the secular epistemology of Europe. It is recognized in this study that, human knowledge can be acquired from other ways and not necessarily materialist-empirical base. In the course of this research we employed some of the techniques of investigation being used in the "scientific" theories such as observation. However some of our analysis and evaluations are not solely informed by the conventional procedures used in the social and natural sciences.

As much as possible, in this study some other tools of investigation and analysis are adopted from an alternative framework to suit our purpose. For instance, the purely "historical" approach in which there is the narrative, descriptive and then analysis of the facts available seem to yield good results and qualitative research. Indeed, the historical

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<sup>8</sup>. B. Swai, *Ibid* p.5.

approach had overtime been recognised a valid method of social research.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, the Islamic framework of analysis is extensively employed in this study. This is so much appropriate if one considers the fact that the phenomenon we are studying has much to do with issues of relevance to Islam and affecting Muslims. The Islamic method of social research had been used in the past by a number of Muslim intellectuals such as Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ghazzali, Ibn Taymiyah, Iqbal, al-Maududi and host of others. The framework is a comprehensive paradigm and quite relevant to contemporary period.

The Islamic epistemology recognises that knowledge (*Ilm*) can be acquired through revelation. Such knowledge is regarded as the ultimate as contained in the Qur'an (*haqq al-Yaqin*) and also in the traditions (a hadith) of the Holy Prophet of Islam (PBUH). Islam also identifies other sources through which knowledge can be obtained which include rationalism or inference based upon judgement and appraisal of evidence (*Ilm al-Yaqin*), and through empiricism and perception, that is by observation, experiment, historical reports, description of life experiences e.t.c. (*ayn al-Yaqin*).<sup>10</sup>

Also very central to the intellectual tradition in Islam is the point that the pursuit of knowledge is not value-free as is advocated in the secular Western epistemology. In this regard, the view is clearly expressed by one of the outstanding Sokoto intellectuals, Wazir Junaidu who observes that knowledge has "a social and cultural stamp". And that

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<sup>9</sup>. See W.B. Shaffir et al (eds), *Fieldwork Experience: Qualitative Approaches to Social Research* (St. Martin's Press: New York) 1980, pp 3-5.

<sup>10</sup>. See *The Holy Qur'an* (Translation and Commentary) by A. Yusuf Ali (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation) 1975 p.1603. Also R. Moten, "Islamization of Knowledge: Methodology of Research in Political Science" in *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* (A.J.I.S.S.), Vol, 7, No.2, 1990 pp 161-175.

knowledge has a purpose and a commitment to a particular world view.<sup>11</sup> Almost every detail in the process of learning and scholarship has been explained by Islam. For this reason, an intellectual endeavour can be lawful or permissible (*halal*) or unlawful (*haram*) depending upon the goal and purpose for which the endeavour is intended. *Ilm* (knowledge) which is *halal* is that which promotes social justice (*adl*) and public good (*istislah*). On the other hand, the pursuit of *ilm* and its dissemination is regarded as *haram* if it ultimately leads to tyranny and injustice (*Zulm*) in the community. In the final analysis knowledge that is *halal* conforms with the above stated values of Islam. A Muslim who engages in the pursuit of such knowledge is doing worship (*ibadat*) to Allah and would earn reward in the hereafter.

This again leads us to another important feature of intellectual tradition in Islam in which learning and scholarship are to be pursued not primarily for material comfort in this world alone. But, knowledge is supposed to make one nearer to Allah, the Creator. Intellectual activity in Islam should aim at material satisfaction in the temporal life and spiritual upliftment to prepare for the life in the hereafter.

The intellectual culture that developed in our area of study and which reached its height around the 19th century was essentially guided by the Islamic values. This we shall discuss in chapter one of this study. There were however some elements of decline in commitment to the ideals of Islam in the intellectual tradition towards the end of the 19th century. That development was part of the crisis that engulfed the society in our area of study until the time the British invaded the area. The secular socio-political system imposed by the British subsumed the old existing Islamic intellectual tradition the; impact for which we shall discuss in this study.

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<sup>11</sup>. Wazir Junaidu, "Acceptance Speech", 1971 Convocation A.B.U. Zaria, p.1.



## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The methodology of the research involved a piecemeal collection of the data over a period of time. The data collected comprised primary and secondary data. The primary data was obtained through the techniques of formal and informal interviews, field observation and discussion with leading academics and traditional scholars (*ulama*). Similarly, extensive research was conducted at the National Archives in Kaduna, the Arewa House also in Kaduna, the Centre for Islamic Studies (C.I.S.) at the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto and the Centre of Arabic Documentation (C.A.D.) of the University of Ibadan. In addition, a lot of primary data was also collected at the Sokoto State History Bureau (S.S.H.B.). Essentially, the archival research facilitated direct access to some important primary sources which have been listed at the reference section of this study.

The process of data collection and field work had been considered as an "emergent process". For this reason, the exercise which started by the end of 1993 continued up to the early part of 1996. Any new information derived was integrated into a previous body of data. The study was thereby enriched as it unfolded with new information to reshape our ideas and resharpen the direction of the research. The collection of secondary data was also done almost simultaneously at the period the primary data was being gathered. There was however, a period in the first half of 1994 when much time was devoted to the exercise. The procedure for the secondary research involved library consultation during which a lot of secondary literature available was utilised. Some of the libraries are at Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, the Kashim Ibrahim Library at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Bayero University Library in Kano and the Libraries at Arewa House, Kaduna and at the Kano State History and Culture Bureau, (K.S.H.C.B.)

The large body of data gathered from the interviews, field research and library consultation was then analysed. The descriptive and analytical approaches were used in writing this work. The historical approach most appropriately employs the descriptive and analytical modes of presentation for a qualitative study.<sup>12</sup>

### **ABOUT THE SOURCE-MATERIALS**

Sources occupy a very important place in every historical study. As far as this study is concerned, several of the existing written sources on the topic of our research deal with the 19th century. To the best of the knowledge of the researcher, there exist virtually no documented account of the intellectual history of the Sokoto Emirate. Hence, we consulted the available sources, essentially to obtain related information on certain aspects of our research. This include the history of the area, the extent of intellectual activity in the area before the colonial period, the colonial factor in the social and political history of the area etc.

This study made use of primary and secondary sources to obtain data. Some of the primary sources included Arabic works, travellers accounts, archival materials, and oral data. We also utilised the available documents and books that can be considered as secondary sources. We sample some of the source materials below for a brief analysis. As mentioned earlier, most of the events discussed in the sources though had direct bearing on our area of study, however, the timeframe does not correspond with our period of study the - 20th century.

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<sup>12</sup>. J.M. Johnson, *Doing Field Research* (The Free Press: New York) 1975 pp 177-206. Also D.G. Bromley, "Evolving Foci in Participant Observation: Research as an Emergent Process" in W.B. Shaffir et al (eds) *op cit.*...pp 191-203.

## TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS.

These are documented accounts of some Arab travellers and European explorers and travellers who visited our area of study. The significance of these accounts is appreciated in the detail information about events in several places in Hausaland and beyond through which the travellers journeyed. Some of these materials include Leo Africanu's *The History and Description of Africa*<sup>13</sup> He wrote about the Hausa region even though it is asserted in some works that he did not visit Hausaland. He reportedly only passed very close on his way to Borno Leo's account about Hausaland is based on second-hand information from Hausa merchants trading between Timbuktu and Gao.<sup>14</sup>

Another traveller who visited our area of study and wrote his observation was Heinrich Barth in his *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa* (London repr. 1965). A lot of the reports by Barth concerning Hausaland are found in a compilation by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. The period covered by Barth was between 1849-1855. Barth was reportedly a very observant person hence he reported in detail aspects of the history, economy and society of Hausaland. He visited Sokoto where he met "the doyen of scholarship" Abdu al-Qadir b-al-Mustafa (Dantafa) and later Barth was at Gwandu where he met Bukhari. He was given a book *Tarikh es-Soudan* by the latter.<sup>15</sup> One negative feature of the accounts of Barth's was the racial bias which influenced most of his views about the

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<sup>13</sup>. Leo Africanus *The History and Description of Africa* (trans) by John Pory (ed) by Robert Brown (London 1896)

<sup>14</sup>. See G. Nadama "The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara, 1300-1762" *Ph.D. Thesis* (A.B.U. Zaria) 1977 p. 6, also, E.W. Bovil, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (Oxford Univ. Press: Oxford) 1968 p.150 and J.O. Hunwick, Songhay Borno and Hausaland in the 16th century in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder, *History of West Africa Vol. i* (Longman: Ibadan) 1976 p.276.

<sup>15</sup>. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene *Barth's Travels in Nigeria* (Oxford Uni. Press 1962) pp. 262-266.

society of Hausaland. This was demonstrated about his view of the Jihad, the Sokoto Caliphate and the Fulani whom he claimed were the most intelligent tribe in Africa.<sup>16</sup>

Hugh Clapperton was another European who visited Hausaland in the 19th century. He was in places like Kano and Sokoto, infact it was in Sokoto that he died on the 13th April 1827. His accounts about the territory of Hausaland and the people was profound. Most important being his racial prejudices in his perception about issues and events. For instance he saw the Jihad as a conflict between two "tribes" i.e. the Fulani and the Hausa. His accounts however reported the long-distance trade between Hausaland and Gwanja.<sup>17</sup>

The European travellers were quite many in number and alot of them had documented their observations and experiences. We have been cautioned however by R.A. Adeleye that "information which can be derive from them (the travellers), particularly, their judgments on the historical situations which they observed, as distinguished from the basic facts which they observed, cannot always be taken as gospel truth".<sup>18</sup>

In a number of situations, the conclusions of the travellers were wrong and often distorted. Some of the emirates of the Caliphate did not feature in the accounts of the travellers while some especially those emirates along the Niger - Benue waterways featured prominently.

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<sup>16.</sup> *Ibid* p.248.

<sup>17.</sup> H. Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (Frank Cass: London) 1966 p x, and pp 136-138.

<sup>18.</sup> R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906* (Longman: London) 1977 p.346.

## ARABIC WORKS

A large body of Arabic Works on the area of our study exist, mainly written by the Jihad Scholars. Few of the works had been found relevant to our study. Interestingly, the Sokoto Caliphate was blessed with scholars among the Jihadists interested in historical scholarship. Hence, some important events about the early history of our area of study, the Jihad movement as well as other social and political events in the 19th century Hausaland are recounted in such works. Some works of immense historical significance include Muhammad Bello's *Infaq al-Maisur*<sup>19</sup> and °Abd al-Qadir b. Al-Mustafa's °*Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya* written around 1825, better known as *Raudat al °Afkar*<sup>20</sup> The two are good source-materials on the history of pre-jihad intellectual, social and political activities in Hausaland before the 19th century Jihad and thereafter. The *Raudat* compliments the information provided in the *Infaq* on developments around the Rima Basin. This included the inter-state political relationships between/amongst the Hausa states of Kabi, Gobir, Zamfara and to some extent Ahir and Katsina in the 18th century.

Some other 19th century Arabic sources with bearing on the early social and political history of our area include *Qata'if al-Jinan fi Dhikr Ahwal Ard al-Sudan*. The strength and weaknesses of the work has been adequately analysed by A.M. Kani and needs no recounting in detail here. The aim of the *Qata'if* as shown by the author, °Abd al-Qadir was to write a detail history of *Bilad al-Sudan* to cover wider ground than the *Infaq*. The

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<sup>19</sup>. Muhammad Bello *Infaq al-Maisur fi Taikh Bilad al-Takrur* (edited) by C.E.J. Whitting (1951) also by A. Gumi (Cairo, 1964).

<sup>20</sup>. °Abd al-Qadir b. Al-Mustafa, °*Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya (Raudat al-°Afkar)* Trans. & Edited by A.M. Kani "The Life and Works of °Abd al-Qadir b. Al-Mustafa: A Critical Edition of His Works and Historiographical Approach", *Ph.D. Thesis* (A.B.U. Zaria) 1987 pp.214-291. See A.M. Kani, *Ibid* pp.293-334.

motive as observed by Kani was to write a historical geography of *Bilad al-Sudan* so as to locate the Sokoto Caliphate within the "wider context of global politics of *Dar al-Islam*"<sup>21</sup> Places envisaged to feature in this "ambitious project" included, the *Maghrib* (North Africa), East Africa and the Indian sub-continent. The work was quite a good intellectual endeavour despite its few shortcomings such a poor chronology in recounting of historical events, over-reliance on secondary sources for information and uncritical presentation of information or historical facts.<sup>22</sup>

There are also such other Arabic works that can be considered as historical works but are quite important to historical studies because of the historical facts they contain. To this category belongs Abdullahi b. Fodio's *Tazyin al-Waraqat* and *Ida al-Nusukh man Akhadhtu 'Anhu min at-Shuyukh*. The latter work is significant in revealing aspects of history of learning and scholarship. The work contains a list of the teachers who taught the Sokoto Jihad leaders and also the curriculum content of Islamic education in the 18th and 19th centuries. Similarly, *al-Rasin* also a work by Abdullahi Fodio in verse provides detail explanation on the operations of the Islamic cum Qur'anic School system in Hausaland. We made extensive use of the *al-Hisn al-Rasin* in this study while discussing the curriculum and operations of the Qur'anic school.<sup>23</sup>

There also exist some collections of historical works by some of the *Waziris* of Sokoto. 'Abd al-Qadir b. Bukhari's *Tabshir al-Ikhwan* is on the history of all *Amir al-*

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<sup>21</sup>. *Ibid* p.xxii.

<sup>22</sup>. *Ibid*.

<sup>23</sup>. Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Tazyin al-Waraqat* (Trans. & Ed.) by M. Hiskett, (Ibadan 1963); Mimeo *Ida al-Nsukh* (Trans. & Ed.) by M. Hiskett, *B.O.S.A.S.*, xix, 3 (1957) pp.551-558; *Hisn al-Rasin* Ms available at Waziri Junaidu Personal Library, Sokoto (WJL).

*Mumin* of Sokoto up to 1903 while the *Anis al-Mufid* by °Abd al-Qadir b. Gidado is on the history of the triumvirate pillars of the Jihad Movement and their intellectual contributions. Waziri °Abd al-Qadir also wrote *Majmu Manaqib Amir al-Mumin Ali* which is a biographical work on Caliph Ali b. Muhammad Bello.<sup>24</sup>

The most detail historical work amongst the *Arabic* sources is the *Dabt al-Multaqatat* written by Waziri Junaidu. It is a work on the history of the Fulani and the political history of Sokoto from the Caliphate period to the Sultanate. The work has been translated as *Tarihin Fulani* (Gaskiya, Zaria, 1957). Waziri Junaidu also wrote *Tani al-ahibba bi dhikr °umara Ghundu ma'wa l-asfiya*<sup>25</sup> a work on the history of emirs of Gwandu.

The work like *Tarihin Fulani* was written from oral histories and legends. There are some others that belong to this category which to a certain extent provide some information on the history of our area of study. Some of them were written by British colonial administrators. They were published by Gaskiya Corporation Zaria in the 1930s and 1950s. The outstanding ones include *Labarum Hausawa da Makwabtansu* (2 vols Zaria, 1931/32) by R.M. East and *Littafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa* by Francis Edgar. The details of the colonial occupation and conquest of the emirates of Northern Nigeria, are there in *Zuwan Turawa Nijeriya Ta Arewa* (Zaria, 1957). It is a good work of history because of the detail information it contains. However, the book by Abdulmalik Mani almost reproduces the colonial version of the event uncritically. R.A. Adeleye made the point as he wrote that, "the book, which is in no way critical, given accounts which can be identified as coming

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<sup>24</sup>. °Abd al-Qadir b. Bukhari, *Tabshir al-Ikhwān*, Ms available at W.J.L., Sokoto; °Abd al-Qadir b. Gidado, *Anis al-Mufid* (Trans. & Ed.) by S.U. Balogun as "The Works of Abdul-Qadir b. Gidado in the Context of Nigerian History" *Ph.D. Thesis* (Birmingham, 1983). °Abdu al-Qadir b. Gidado, *Majmun Manaqib Amir al-Mumin Ali*, Ms available at W.J., Sokoto.

<sup>25</sup>. Mss available at W.J.L., Sokoto.

straight from the *Annual Reports*<sup>26</sup>. The most interesting thing in all the books by R.M. East and Abdulmaliki Mani is that one finds translations of some Arabic letters written by the leaders of the Caliphate.

As regards the events that transpired amongst the leaders of the Caliphate, Backwell's *The Occupation of Hausaland 1900-1904* (Lagos, 1927) provides the translations of the correspondences that took place across the territory of the Caliphate between and amongst members of the aristocracy.

### COLONIAL SOURCES

The earliest colonial writing relevant to the area of our study are the two *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteers* written at different times by E.J. Arnett (1920) and P.G. Harris (1939). There exist such Gazetteers for some (but not all) the provinces of Northern Nigeria. The task of writing such materials was undertaken by British Officers both administrative and Military so as to document a comprehensive history of the provinces from oral traditions. The emirates in every province are treated separately to provide in detail their social and political history. The Gazetteers had served as good source materials for subsequent history books written by British colonial officers in Northern Nigeria. Hence a lot of the accounts and interpretations of events in Northern Nigeria were largely based on the Gazetteers.

There were also some colonial officials who took it upon themselves to attempt writing the 19th century history of the Sokoto Caliphate based on oral data. In this study, we made use of some of them like Resident (Major) Burdon's *Northern Nigeria: Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes* (London, 1909); Hogben's *Muhammedan Emirates*

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<sup>26</sup>. R.A. Adeleye *op cit...* p.347.



of *Nigeria* later revised and enlarged by Hogben and Kirk-Green and retitled *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1966). The list of the books by the colonial administrative officers in Northern Nigeria are quite many. Some of them discussed colonial rule in Northern Nigeria to this group belong F. Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*; Alan Burn's *History of Nigeria* and *The Making of Northern Nigeria* by Charles Orr. Many of such colonial writings reflect the official views of the colonial state in Northern Nigeria as regards socio-political issues.

Much more details concerning the British colonial penetration and the economic exploits of the Royal Niger Company in Northern Nigeria are contain in later works by M. Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Adventure* (London 1956) and *Lugard: The Years of Authority*; also available in this category are J.E. Flint's *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* and Muffet's *Concerning Brave Captains*. The latter work recounts the pattern of British occupation and the nature of the resistance by emirates against the British. Muffet made use of several important document which as observed by Adeleye were not properly documented in the book.<sup>27</sup> The common defect of some of the colonial works is that the materials are not completely free from racial bias. The racial prejudice is because of the distrust and suspicion which pervade the colonial atmosphere. The oral tradition recorded in some of the works need to be treated with caution as the authors' informants were mostly those close to the authorities. In addition the identity of informants in some of the works were not disclosed hence it is difficult or even impossible to assess the authenticity of information.

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<sup>27</sup>. R.A. Adeleye *op cit...* p.350.

## LATER AND CONTEMPORARY WORKS

We made extensive use of these materials most of which include recent publications on the history of the Sokoto Caliphate and Northern Nigeria. There are also some that are unpublished materials a lot of which are the theses and dissertations on a variety of social, economic and political issues in the history of the Caliphate and Northern Nigeria. To date the most authoritative scholarly works on the Caliphate are Murry Last's, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London: Longman 1967) for the 19th century and R.A. Adeleye's *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906* (London: Longman, 1972). The two works were based on a scholarly research by the authors for *Ph.D. degrees*. Last's work is a product of extensive oral and Arabic sources whereas Adeleye's is based on varied documented sources Arabic, archival and published. The other important work on the Sokoto Caliphate is M.M. Tukur's thesis on the imposition of colonial rule. The most important point is that the three are pioneer detail works on the Caliphate and Northern Nigeria and are of immense historical value. This is demonstrated by the fact that subsequent researches on the Caliphate and Northern Nigeria made use of the works of Last, Tukur and Adeleye as authoritative reference materials. Further studies had been done in the mid-1970s and late 1980s to bring out what might have been left untouched as regards the social and political history of the Caliphate and Northern Nigeria. In 1975 there was a seminar on the Caliphate published as *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* edited by Y.B. Usman (Lagos 1979) which came up with some scholarly presentations on the various aspects of the Caliphate. The next seminar was held 1990 and the collection of the the presentation published as *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, edited by A.M. Kani and K.A. Gandi (Sokoto, 1990). Finally, in 1993 another seminar was organized to

revisit the issues of relations between the Caliphate and the European powers and that led to the publication of yet another collection of papers titled *The Sokoto Caliphate and the European Powers, 1890 - 1907* edited by P.E. Lovejoy and A.S. Kanya - Forstner *PAIDEUMA* (40, 1994). All the three works or publications serve to compliment the earlier studies of M. Last, R.A. Adeleye and Mahmud Tukur.

In this study also, we consulted alot of other theses and dissertations that treat or study some events that concern the politics, economy and society of our area of study from the 19th century. In this regard, the works of Mahdi Adamu on Yawuri, that of M.B. Alkali and those written by Augie on Gobir and Garba Nadama on Zamfara are informative and provide a comprehensive picture of the social and political history of the entire Rima Basin even before the period of the Sokoto Jihad. Aspects of demography and urbanisation are well treated in Saleh Abubakar's work on "Sokoto Birnin Shehu". All the works cited above are fully documented at the bibliography section of this study. It is apparent from the readings done that previous studies had concentrated on social and political history of our area of study at the expense of many more important human endeavours.

Subsequent studies especially from 1980s started to focus on the intellectual history of the area. The work of A.M. Kani is among the pace setter researches that study intellectual activity and contributions of the second generation of scholars in the Caliphate. Even in this attempt, alot of the works dealing with intellectual studies in our area seemed to have concentrated on the 19th century. The wide gap that exist despite the numerous studies done brings into relevance more studies like this one to venture into the relatively new terrain of intellectual history in the 20th century. We relied heavily on literature dealing with the 19th century because these exist virtually no comprehensive work on the

phenomenon in the 20th century. It is from the few available works that we shall attempt to reconstruct the intellectual history of the Sokoto Emirate in the 20th century.

### **ARCHIVAL MATERIALS**

These materials can be grouped broadly into three, namely; Arabic manuscripts, colonial files and official reports. The Arabic manuscripts were obtained from the Sokoto State History Bureau dealing with various issues. Some of them are cited at the bibliography of this work.

The colonial files are mainly the Sokprof (Sokoto Province) series and SNP (Secretary Northern Provinces) series. Several of the former series were obtained from the National Archives, Kaduna (N.A.K.) while the latter are available at Arewa House Archives, Kaduna (A.H.A.) The colonial files provide first-hand information on a lot of administrative and political matters in the 20th century affecting our area of study and Northern Nigeria.

Some of the issues discussed in this work like the role of the *ulama* under the colonial administration, the relation of the *ulama* with colonial rulers, the official policy of the colonial administration towards the *ulama* and Islamic education could all be obtained from the archival materials mainly the files. Also important are the *Annual Reports of the Education Department* from Sokoto Province and Northern Nigeria. Despite the significance of the archival materials as good sources, one is often handicapped while trying to reconstruct certain aspect of the history. The researcher often realises that some papers or pages in the files missing or have been destroyed by termites, and most unfortunate some of such documents are either removed completely or maliciously destroyed. All the files we consulted are listed at the bibliography section of this study.

The official government publications used in this research are the various reports, white paper, proposals etc which show the policy and progress of education in the Northern Provinces. In addition, some files from other provinces such as the Kanprof were also consulted. The Kanprof we used here, were the files on the Kano Law School which we obtained from the archives of the Kano State History and Culture Bureau.

### ORAL DATA

The significance of oral traditions in historical reconstructions is hereby recognized as an important source of data. The oral sources provide first-hand information and opportunities for cross-checking of facts. In this study, extensive oral interviews were conducted with a cross-section of the *ulama*, some leading academics in the field of education, serving and retired teachers and educationists.

Furthermore, in several places in this study, oral data was used, but, obtained as second hand from published materials and documents. The obvious shortcomings of oral tradition such as distortion and excessive subjectivity is hereby recognised. That notwithstanding, the historical value of oral sources lays in providing a starting point for a genuine social research.<sup>28</sup>

There were numerous problems encountered in the course of doing this research. A lot of the problems in the first instance were mainly due to lack of funds. The study was started in October 1993 but for almost a year the researcher restricted himself to library work. This was because there were no enough resources to facilitate extensive fieldwork.

The relatively long period taken to conduct the library research facilitated the

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<sup>28</sup>. For more on oral tradition, see Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (London, 1965); Jan Vansina "Oral Tradition and Its Methodology" *UNESCO GENERAL HISTORY* Vol.I, pp.142-165; E.J. Alagoa "Oral Data as Archives in Africa" *KIABARA: Journal of Humanities* (Port Harcourt, Nigeria), Vol.iv, No.2 (Harmattan, 1981) pp.193-202.)

generation of a great deal of data. The handling and management of the data initially proved difficult but for the guidance of the supervisory team appointed in August 1994. The main proposal for the study was prepared from this preliminary data.

Indeed, without sounding repetitive one must confess that the insufficient funds constituted the most serious obstacle in the conduct of this research. However, the little amount generated through the goodwill of relatives and some well-wishers allowed for the start of the fieldwork which was intensified between 1995 and 1996. The research had to be staggered sometime because of the incessant strikes by University lecturers between 1994 and 1996. The problem was further compounded by the salary stoppages often for over three months which accompanied the strikes by lecturers. It was under this difficult conditions coupled with the general bad economic situation in Nigeria that the research was accomplished by the last quarter of 1997 when all the chapters of the thesis were drafted.

# CHAPTER ONE

## AN OVERVIEW OF INTELLECTUAL TRADITION IN HAUSALAND BEFORE THE 20th CENTURY.

There exist some scholarly accounts of the state of learning and scholarship in Hausaland prior to the 19th century. Some of the accounts can be found in the works of the Sokoto Jihad leaders like the *Infakul Maisur*<sup>1</sup> of Sultan Muhammad Bello, and *Ida al-Nusukh*<sup>2</sup> and *Tazyin al-Waraqat*<sup>3</sup> of Abdullahi b. Fodio. The work of the Timbuktu scholar Ahmad Baba known as *Nayl al-Ibtihaj*<sup>4</sup> also contains vital information on the subject matter.

Modern scholars have attempted to write the long history of scholarship in Hausaland since the 15th century and that had gone along way to bring into focus the contributions of Muslim intellectuals that lived in the region or had a long sojourn during which they

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<sup>1</sup> . Muhammad Bello, *Infak al- Maisur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur*, Ms C.I.S. 3/1/10 (ed) C.E.J. Whitting, (London, 1957) and A. Gumi (Cairo, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> . Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Ida al-Nusukh* Trans. by M. Hiskett as "Material Relating to the State of Learning Among the Fulani Before their Jihad" *B.S.O.A.S*, XIX, 3, 1957 pp.500-578.

<sup>3</sup> . Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Tazyin al-Waraqat* (Trans & Ed) M. Hiskett (O.U.P.: Ibadan) 1963.

<sup>4</sup> . Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti, *Nayl al-Ibtihaj* Published on the margin of *al-Dibaj al-Mudhhab* of Ibn Farhun, Cairo, 1351 A.H. pp.330 - 32.

participated in the process of learning and teaching. Some of the modern scholars include A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett<sup>5</sup>, A.M. Kani<sup>6</sup>, M. Khalil<sup>7</sup> and host of others.

The period 15th century especially the last part of the century was a watershed in the development of Islam and Islamic scholarship in Hausaland. Islam had already taken root and become part of the social system. In this connection, the arrival of the notable North African Scholar Abdulkarim al-Maghili was quite significant. Among the places he visited in the Central Sudan were Ahir, Takedda, Katsina and Kano. He is said to have undertaken courses of instruction in the Qur'an and in Muslim law (fiqh).<sup>8</sup> Al-Maghili was also the introducer of the *Qadiriya* order as suggested by P. Marty.<sup>9</sup> There are numerous texts that have been preserved in Northern Nigeria and are attributed to al-Maghili.<sup>10</sup> The influence of al-Maghili was not on the rulers of Hausaland like Muhammad Rumfa of Kano or Ibrahim of Katsina only, but also on the scholars of

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<sup>5</sup> . A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804: A provisional account" *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXII, 2 pp.324 - 349, M. Hiskett "Material Relating to the State of Learning Among the Fulani... *op cit. i.*

<sup>6</sup> . A.M. Kani "The Rise and Influence of Scholars in Hausaland Before 1804" in *Al-Muntaka*, Courrier de l'Islam, Paris No.9, 1986, pp.47-69. A.M. Kani, *The Intellectual Origin of Islamic Jihad in Nigeria* (Al-Hoda: London), 1988.

<sup>7</sup> . K. Mahmud "The Arabic Literary Tradition in Nigeria" in *Nigeria Magazine*, No. 145, 1983, (Zaria: Gaskiya).

<sup>8</sup> . A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature..... *op cit.* p.108.

<sup>9</sup> . Qouted in *Ibid* p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> For a list of Al-Maghili's works, See *Ibid* pp.107 - 109.



Hausaland. The scholar-jihad leaders had got some intellectual inspirations from the legacy of the scholarship left by al-Maghili. For instance, both Usman b. Fodio and Sultan Muhammad Bello made some references to al-Maghili in some of their writings<sup>11</sup>.

Immediately following al-Maghili were some learned scholars mostly from Western Sudan who visited Hausaland on their way to Mecca for pilgrimage. Some of such scholars later were persuaded to take up appointments in Hausaland by the rulers to boost learning of Islamic sciences. The *Nayl* of Ahmad Baba and al-Said's *Tarikh al-Sudan* provide some information about some of those intellectuals. It was from these sources we learn of the coming or sojourn of scholars like Ahmad b. Umar b. Muhammad Aqit (Atiq according to A.M. Kani)<sup>12</sup> on his way back from pilgrimage. He was the grandfather of Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti.

Sultan Muhammad Bello in *Infaq al-Maisur* quoted Ahmad Baba's *Kifayat al-Muhtaj*<sup>13</sup> that Aida Ahmad was another important scholar who read under al-Maghili at Takedda. Ahmad Aida finally settled in Katsina. He was appointed Qadi and held the position until his death in C.1529. Aida's full name is Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi Muhammad al-Tadhkhit. Other scholars of the 16th century Hausaland who were of Aida's generation was Makhluf b. Ali b. Salih al-Balbali. He resided in Kano, Katsina and other cities of Northern Nigeria. In his later life, he abandoned commerce and took to scholarship travelling to the Maghrib where he studied under Ibn Ghazi before coming to Hausaland. The *Nayl* which gives the biography of al-Balbali has not listed any of his

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<sup>11</sup> For instance, See Usman Dan Fodio, *Siraj al-Ikhwān* S.H.B., AMSS 1/89/302.

<sup>12</sup> All my sources spell the last name Aqit except one where the spelling is Atiq, see A.M. Hani "Influence of Scholars... *op cit* p.56.

<sup>13</sup> For reference on the work, see M.Bello *Infaq al-Maisur* p.51.

works which does not however suggest that none exist. He had established a reputation for his ability to memorize the whole of *Sahih* of al-Bukhari<sup>14</sup>. Also mentioned by Bello in the *Infaq* was Shaykh al-Aqib b. Abdullahi al-Ansamuni al-Massufi who was a contemporary of MakGhluf. Bello described him as a native of Takedda who wrote commentaries on various Islamic works, the most outstanding was *Wa Kussisat niyyat al-halif*<sup>15</sup>.

The Chief Imam of Borno called Al-Imam Ahmad b. Furtua al-Barnawi also belong to the 16th century scholars whose history also feature in Ahmad Baba's writing and in Bello's *Infaq al-Maysur*. Bivar and Hiskett report that two of his works<sup>16</sup> had been edited by Palmer which made the writings relatively known to many historians. Ibn Fartua was a witness to the wars fought by Idris Aloomo which he recorded around A.D. 1575.

A contemporary of Ahmad Baba called Shams al-Din al-Najib b. Muhammad al-Takedda al-Ansamuni was another great scholar. He wrote commentaries on the *Ishriniyyat* of Al-Fazari and another on *Mukhtasar* of Khalil<sup>17</sup>. The 16th century also as indicated in the *Kano Chronicle* during the reign of Muhammad Kisoki (1509-65), the son of Abdullahi Burja, was the arrival of "a certain Shaikh Tunis and other scholars who brought with them Islamic books previously unknown in Kano"<sup>18</sup> The arrival of the scholars from Tunis followed the occupation of the city by the Ottoman rulers in 1534.

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<sup>14</sup> A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature... *op cit* p.111. *Sahih al-Bukhari* is one of the authentic collections of the saying and actions of the Holy Prophet of Islam.

<sup>15</sup> See M.Bello, *Infaq...* *op cit* p.41 also A.D.H. Bivar & M.Hiskett *op cit* p.113.

<sup>16</sup> *The First Twelve Years of Mai Idris Aloomo and The Kanem War of Mai Idris Aloomo*. See A.D.H. Bivar & M.Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature... *op cit* p.113.

<sup>17</sup> M. Bello *Infaq al-Maisur...* *op cit* also A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature... *op cit* p.113.

<sup>18</sup> J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and Hausaland in the 16th century" in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder (eds) *History of West Africa* Vol. 1 (Longman: London) 1971, p.279.

The exodus of the scholars further boosted the Islamic reputation of Kano and as observed by J.O. Hunwick many students started to come to Kano from Borno and Zaria<sup>19</sup>. The 17th century was quite significant in the intellectual history of Hausaland. The essence of the period as stated by Professor A.M.Kani was because "Hausaland witnessed the rise of an indigenous intelligentsia produced by its own schools. In the same period we observe the growth of local authorship and intensive literary activity. For example important centres of learning in Katsina, Yandoto and Kurmin Ranko produced a class of intellectuals who exercised great influence in their respective localities."<sup>20</sup>

Important scholars in the 17th century Hausaland included Muhammad al-Kashinawi, known as al-Sabbagh also popularly called with the sobriquet Dan-Marina among the Hausawa. Sultan Bello wrote that al-Sabbagh wrote a commentary on the *Ishriniyat* of al-Fazazi though according to Bello, the work is not well known and so it has not been reported to have survived<sup>21</sup>. Bivar on the above fact, presumes that similar composition of the work by Dan Masani, a student of al-Sabbagh, might have been influenced by the loss of his teacher's version. Al-Sabbagh also authored *Mazjarat al-Fityan*<sup>22</sup> which according to Kani is a work "on the virtues of acquisition of knowledge (and that) various branches of learning which could be considered as a curriculum for schools of learning

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>20</sup> A.M. Kani "Influence of Scholars... *op cit* p.56 also Y.B. Usman, *The Transforma of Katsina 1400-1883*, (A.B.U. Press: Zaria) 1981, p.70.

<sup>21</sup> M.Bello, *Infaq al-Maisur...* *op cit* p.52, also A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature... *op cit* p.114.

<sup>22</sup> Kensdale Catalogue P.18 University of Ibadan Library. Ms available also at N.H.R.S. p.126.

were cited (in the work).”<sup>23</sup> Another work attributed to him is *Mahdi* al-Sultan Ali <sup>24</sup> which is a short poem in praise of Mai Ali of Borno for his victory against the Kwararafa State of the Jukuns. Dan-Marina or al-Sabbagh died in C.1655 according to the oral information collected by Kensdale<sup>25</sup>.

The scholar Abdullah Muhammad b. Masanih called by the Hausawa as *Dan Masani*,<sup>26</sup> also played an important role in intellectual activities in Hausaland. Some of his writings have been listed by Bello in the *Infaq*. His most outstanding work is the *Nafahat al-Anbariyyah*. It is from *Nafahat* that the full name of the author according to Bivar is ascertained as Abu Abdallah b. Nuh al-Barnawi al- Katsinawi, (d. 1667)<sup>27</sup>. The *Nafahat* is a commentary on *Ishriniyat* of al-Fazazi probably completed in Rabi’i 1049/(July-August 1640) as suggested by Bivar<sup>28</sup>. Another important work of Dan Masanih especially to Nigerian history, but which according Khalil Mahmud<sup>29</sup>, is unfortunately known only by its title is called *Shifa’ ruba fi tahrir fuqaha Yuruba*. The document as suggested by Bivar and Hiskett was composed in a reply to inquiries “on the means of determining the precise moment of sunset received from Muslim jurists in

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<sup>23</sup> A.M Kani, “Influence of Scholars... *op cit* p.57.

<sup>24</sup> Ms at N.H.R.S. p.98 - 3, Trans. by H.R. Palmer, “History of Katsina” in *J.A.S.*, XXVI, 1926-7. pp.226-7 also in H.R. Palmer *Borno, Sahara & Sudan*, (London, 1936) p.246, C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, (London, 1931), p.27, Thomas Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives*, (London, 1960), p.132.

<sup>25</sup> See A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, “The Arabic Literature.... *op cit* p.117.

<sup>26</sup> M.Bello, *Infaq al-Maisur....op cit* p52

<sup>27</sup> A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, “The Arabic Literature.... *op cit* p.114.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* also for the remaining works of Dan Massanih.

<sup>29</sup> K. Mahmud, “The Arabic Literary.... *op cit* p.40.

Yorubaland”<sup>30</sup>. The document titled *Azhar al-ruba fi akhbar Yuruba* cited by Sultan Bello in his *Infaq al-Maysur* is seen as an entirely different work by Khalil Mahmud<sup>31</sup> though Professor Kani considers the work one and the same but only the titles differ<sup>32</sup>. This seems difficult to clarify because only the document with the second titles had been listed and explained by Sultan Bello. From what Bello wrote, the work *Azhar al-ruba* mentions some wonderful things found in Yorubaland such as green birds that are beautiful and talk (perhaps referring to Parrots). A.M. Kani wrote that “the title is a biographical dictionary of the *ulama* of Yorubaland and contains information on the history of Yorubaland”<sup>33</sup>. There are also a number of scholars whose names are known but not much is known about their lives and their works. Bello reported one scholar called Al-Bakri who learnt Arabic and rhetoric at Yandoto<sup>34</sup>. A title known as *Durar al-hasan fi akhbar ba’d Muluk al-Sudan*, written by one Baba Kur of Kano was found in later books of the 17th century but the works are yet to be recovered and the details about the author to be determined<sup>35</sup>. In the 18th century there were chains of scholars in Northern Nigerian area who were regarded as the precursors to the intellectuals of the Sokoto jihad movement. One of the notable scholars before the Sokoto jihad was al-Imam b. Muhammad b. al-Hajj AbdulRahman al-Barnawi. It has been established that, he wrote the *Shrub al-Zulal*

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<sup>30</sup> A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, “The Arabic Literature... *op cit* p.116.

<sup>31</sup> K.Mahmud “The Arabic Literary....*OP cit* p 40.

<sup>32</sup> A.M. Kani, “Influence of Scholars... *op cit* p.57.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>34</sup> See Sambo Junaidu, “The Sakkwato Legacy of Arabic Scholarship in Verse Between 1800 - 1890”. *Ph.D. Thesis*, University of London, 1985. p.15, also A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, “The Arabic Literature.... *op cit* p.117.

<sup>35</sup> K. Mahmud, “The Arabic Literary...*op cit* p.41.

which as described by Bivar and Hiskett is “one of the best-known earlier Nigerian verse works in Arabic”<sup>36</sup>. The text of the work was reproduced and translated in the work of Bivar and Hiskett<sup>37</sup>. The work seems to have been wrongly attributed to one Abubakar al-Barikum by Muhammad Bello<sup>38</sup>.

Imam Abdulrahman according to A.M. Kani represents one of the Bornuan scholars who “although did not participate physically in the political and educational activities in Hausaland are known to have influenced the course of events”<sup>39</sup> in the area. The fact that the work *Shurb al-Zulal* was circulating widely in Hausaland before and after the 19th century as observed by Kani, confirmed that there existed a sort of “cultural connexions” between the Northern part of Nigerian area in the 18th century with other parts of the Muslim world for the first time. Bivar and Hiskett rightly suggested that, from the last half of the 16th century, orientation of Arabic scholarship in Nigeria was predominantly towards Timbuktu or the Maghrib<sup>40</sup>. However, as from the 18th century, intellectual influence in Northern Nigeria tilted towards Egypt as evidenced from the range of references cited in *Shurb al-Zulal*. Some of them like al-Fakihani (d.1331) commentator on the *Risala* of Ibn Zayd, Ibn Lubb (d.1380), al-Ajhuri (d.1456) Ibn al-Mawwaq (d.1492), al-Kharrashi (d.1689) and the rest of them were jurists from either Egypt or Andalusia.

The scholarly inspiration of al-Barnawi upon Sokoto jihad scholars was quite profound. The leader of the Sokoto jihad movement Usman b. Fodio in two of his works -

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<sup>36</sup> A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, “The Arabic Literature....*op cit* p.118.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid* pp.119 - 129. Also M. Bello, *Infaq al-Maisur...op cit* p.37.

<sup>38</sup> A.M. Kani, “Influence of Scholars....*op cit* p.58.

<sup>39</sup> A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, “The Arabic Literature....*op cit* pp.130 - 134 for the detail analysis of the *Shurb al-Zulal*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*.

*Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah* and *Siraj al-Ikhwan* quoted *Shurb al-Zulal*. Actually the *Shurb al-Zulal* is a *fiqh* poem that explained issues of *halal* (permissible) and *haram* (prohibited) as well as bad social habits such as cigarette/tobacco smoking and sales. It was because of this that Usmanu b. Fodio in the *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah* quoted from the *Shurb al-Zulal* to support the view on the illegality of offering gifts to district governors which according to *Shurb al-Zulal* is “unlawful profit from error”<sup>41</sup>. Similarly ;the Shehu listed some sources of revenue for the state sanctioned by Islam that have been also explained in *Shurb al-Zulal*. In *Siraj al-Ikhwan*<sup>42</sup> on the other hand, the Shehu stated some occupations such as agriculture, crafts, hunting, fishing and commerce as lawful means of earning a living as contained in the *Shurb al-Zulal*.

Other extant work of al-Barnawi is *Kawkab al-Durr Fi Nazm ma ja fi al-Akhdari* a verification of the *fiqh* book of the 16th century Algerian jurist Abdur-Rahman al-Akhdari. Abdur-Rahman al-Barnawi died in Safar 1169/1755<sup>43</sup>.

Another 18th century scholar of Hausaland was Muhammad al-Katsinawi al-Fulani (d.1741). He was born in Katsina but many of his works have been preserved in Cairo where he died while returning from pilgrimage in Mecca. Most of the information about al-Katsinawi and his works are derived from the accounts of the Egyptian historian AbdulRahman al-Jabarti. Even Sultan Bello’s information about the scholar (al-Katsinawi) came from the extensive account of al-Jabarti<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> F.H. El-Masri (ed & trans), “Bayan Wujub al-Hijra” *Ph.D. Thesis*, (Ibadan, 1968) pp.61.

<sup>42</sup> Usman Dan Fodio, *Siraj al-Ikhwan*, S.H.B. AMSS 1/89/302, Trans. as *Fitilar ‘Yan’Uwa Kan Muhimman Bukatu a Wannan Zamani*, (Al-Tawheed: Lagos), n.d., p.32.

<sup>43</sup> See W.E.N. Kensdale, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts*. University of Ibadan, 18. Also H.F.C. Smith “An Early 18th century School Textbook from Bornu”, *Bulletin of News, Historical Society of Nigeria*, IV, 4, 1960, p.3, for more details on the work.

<sup>44</sup> A.D.H.Bivar & M.Hiskett, *op cit* pp 133-137 for the details on the life, works and travels of Al-Jabarti.

According to al-Jabarti, Muhammad al-Fulani was a renowned astrologer and stayed among the *halqah* (circle) of astrologers in Cairo founded by al-Jabarti's father Hasan al-Jabarti. The historian al-Jabarti, described al-Katsinawi in the *Aja'ib al-athar fi'l tarajim wal-akhbar* as a scholar of high esteem<sup>45</sup> from whom al-Jabarti's father learned subjects which included numerology and astrology. In the biography given by al-Jabarti, he portrayed the scholar as sagacious and charitable, well versed in the sciences, and had a very extensive grasp of a wide range of the branches of learning. Muhammad al-Katsinawi during his journey to Mecca traversed a number of Kingdoms meeting kings and learned individuals. He received his education from central Sudan<sup>46</sup>. Some of his works included *Manh al-Qadius*, (a verse on logic), *Bulugh al-arab min Kalam al-arab* on Arabic grammar and *Bahjat al-afaq* which is a work on astronomy, astrology and Mathematics. Apart of the third work listed above has been translated by Dr. Hassan Ibrahim Gwarzo. According to Gwarzo, manuscripts copies had been found in Morocco, the University of London as well as in Nigeria and in Egypt<sup>47</sup>.

The remaining scholars described below were those who lived in the period immediately before the jihad some of them included Al-Tahir b. Ibrahim al-Fallati then Ramadan b. Ahmad who emigrated from Fezzan and settled in Zamfara<sup>48</sup>. He studied under a famous *alim* called Harun al-Zakzaki al-Fallati.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* pp.135 - 136 for the text and translations of the description.

<sup>46</sup> See L. Brenner, "The Fulbe Scholars in Borno" Unpublished paper (Paris) Dec. 1983, p.4.

<sup>47</sup> Translated as "The Theory of Chronograms as expounded by the 18th century Katsina astronomer Mathematician Muhammad B. Muhammad". *CAD Research Bulletin*, Vol.III No.2, July 1967, pp.116 - 123.

<sup>48</sup> See M. Bello, *Infaq al-Maisur...op cit* p.37 and A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature....op cit" p.138 for the works of the Scholar.



In the case of Al-Tahir he was a scholar of *Fiqh* and *Tawhid*. His scholarly ideas were cherished in Hausaland in the 18th and 19th centuries as shown by Professor A.M. Kani<sup>49</sup>. Al-Tahir stayed in Borno under the patronage of the *Mai* until after sometime when the scholars relation with the royal court became sour and he had to leave. Two of the works written by Al-Tahir in verse were provoked by the strain in his relation with the *Mai*. The works which are extant include *al-Bab al-Masdud* and *Bismi Rabbi Ibtida'i* criticised the manner al-Tahir was treated and prevailing social habits in Borno at that time. Other works are *Nazm al-Aqida al-Kubra* a work on *Tawhid* (Unity of God) and al-Durar al-Lawami on aspects of grammar. According to Sultan Bello, Tahir b. Ibrahim was among the *ulama* who foretold the coming of Usman dan Fodio as a reformer (Mujaddid) in the central *bilad* Sudan.

Another scholar mentioned in the *Infaq al-Maysur* by Bello was Umar b. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Turudi<sup>50</sup> from Kabi (Kebbi). He belonged to the generation immediately preceding the Shehu Usman's own teachers. There was also Ali Jabbo, a teacher to Ahmad b. Gare - the latter being Abdullahi b. Fodio's teacher as shown in *Ida al-Nusukh*. Ali Jabbo also taught Jibril b. Umar, the latter in turn taught Usman b. Fodio and Abdullahi b. Fodio.

Jibril b. Umar occupies a significant position in the intellectual history of Hausaland not only because he taught the revolutionary *alim* of the 19th century Hausaland Usman b. Fodio. The intellectual inspiration of Jibril b. Umar on the Sokoto scholar was overwhelming. The Shehu in particular derived his ideas of reform from his teacher Jibril

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<sup>49</sup> A.M. Kani, "The Influence of Scholars... *op cit* p.59.

<sup>50</sup> See A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett *op cit* p.139 for the list of scholars writings.

b. Umar. Infact, prior to the emergence of the Sokoto Jihad Movement, another movement was initiated by Jibril b. Umar to effect some socio-religious reforms in Hausaland. J.A. Burdon the first Resident of Sokoto, reported that the preaching activities of Shaikh Jibril aroused great hostility amongst the pre-jihad Hausa aristocracy<sup>51</sup>. Abdullahi b. Fodio and Sultan Bello reported that Shaikh Jibril performed pilgrimage to Mecca twice<sup>52</sup>. It was during one of his journeys to Mecca that Shehu followed him as far as Agades from Gobir.

The Shehu quoted the scholar Shaikh Jibril in some of his works notably *Nasa'ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyah* and in *Shifa'al- gahalil fi ma ash kalamin kalam Shaykh Shuyukhina Jibril*. The latter work indicated the divergent opinions between the Shehu and his intellectual mentor especially on Jibril's stand that "committing *kaba'ir al-Ma'asi* (abominable sins) was a form of unbelief which should receive similar punishment (with lesser sins)."<sup>53</sup>

As regards Jibril's work not much is known about his writings. However, Bello reports some parts of his composition in verse which has been extensively recorded by Bivar and Hiskett.<sup>54</sup>

Islamic scholarship had by the 18th century reached a very high peak in most parts of Hausaland. Wazir Junaidu reports in *Dabt al-Multaqatat*<sup>55</sup> that when the Sultan of Gobir invited the Shehu on *Id al-adha* (a Muslim Festival on the 10th of the last month in Islamic

<sup>51</sup> J.A. Burdon (ed), *Northern Nigeria: Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes*, London p.93.

<sup>52</sup> M. Bello, *Infaq...op cit* p.27.

<sup>53</sup> W.E. Kensdale, "Field notes on the Arabic of the Western Sudan", J.R.A.S., 1955, p.167.

<sup>54</sup> A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature...op cit" pp.141-142.

<sup>55</sup> Junaidu b. Muhamma al-Bukhari b. Ahmad, *Dabt al-Multaqatat*, (A.B.U. Mss Kens. 31) trans. *Tarihin Fulani op cit*. P.11.

year) there were over one thousand *ulama* sitting with the Sultan. The long established tradition of learning and scholarship in Hausaland benefitted the succeeding generations of *ulama* who launched the reform movement of the 19th century.

The reform movement of the 19th century under Usman dan Fodio started; as an intellectual one before it transmuted itself into a military - political revolution. The primary objective of the Shehu was to educate the broad spectrum of the society on the true teachings of Islam. In his effort to spread the fundamental teachings of Islam, the Shehu spent about thirty years (1774/5-1803)<sup>56</sup> as shown by A.M. Kani preaching, teaching and writing to all people regardless of their social status or level of education. The methodology adopted by the Shehu in his teaching was “the grass root approach” in which two classes were organised “one for the advanced students, (the *talaba*) and the second for the generality of people each according to his or her ability”.<sup>57</sup> Through this process, the *Jama'a* (community) was established which later played a significant role in the socio-political and intellectual life of the people of Hausaland in particular and the entire region of central Sudan.

The *talaba* (scholars/intellectuals) provided the intellectual guidance and leadership to the mass followers of the movements. It was the intellectuals who aided the Shehu in different ways most significantly in diffusing or disseminating the ideas and knowledge they acquired from the Shehu among the adherents of the movement. The *talaba* also used

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56 A.M. Kani, *The Intellectual Origin... op cit* pp.9-10. For more on the biography of the Shehu see Isma'il Balogun *The Life and Works of Uthman Dan Fodio*, Lagos, 1975, and Abdullahi b. Fodio *Ida al-Nusukh* trans. by M. Hiskett, “Material Relating to the State of Learning... op cit.

57 A.M. Kani, *Ibid* p.10

to counter the criticisms and arguments of the *ulama al-Su* (venal scholars) against the Shehu. Also the same *talaba* group served as vanguard by transforming themselves into the soldiers of Islam when armed confrontation broke out early in the 19th century.

At the early stage of the movement, often refer to as “the formative stage” Shehu’s writings were on the vital aspects of Islam, a number of times drawing references from tracts and treatise written by earlier Islamic scholars such as al-Ghazali and Ibn al-Hajj. It was after having realised that the masses of the people had been awakened to the teachings of Islam that the Shehu started to expose the socio-economic ills and political corruption that bedevilled the Hausa society at that time. He was calling upon the political leadership to rise up to the challenges posed by corruption and social degeneration.

The literary contribution of the Shehu and his lieutenants in the movement demonstrated a great resurgence of Arabic literary activity and widespread development of Islamic scholarship across the length and breadth of the central Sudan. This is the region where the famous Sokoto Caliphate was founded. It is not possible to delve into discussing the scholarly output of the jihad leaders in this study as that has already been done in a number of works by various contemporary or modern intellectuals. Infact, studies on the literary works of the Sokoto jihadists are still being undertaken because many of such writings are just coming to the limelight.

The triumvirate - Usman dan Fodio, Abdullahi b. Fodio and Muhammad Bello who provided the leadership to the jihad movement encouraged and strengthened the tradition of learning and scholarship in many parts of Hausaland and beyond. The distinguished contribution of the three leaders in their Arabic writings as shown by Muhmud Khalil “cover almost the entire range of the traditional Islamic sciences, including theology,

exegesis, law, literature, grammar, mysticism and others” and that the works total several hundreds.<sup>58</sup> They also produced a considerable amount of literature in Hausa and Fulfulde.<sup>59</sup>

It has been reported that, the most outstanding and lengthy works of Usman dan Fodio out of the over a hundred listed literature are in *Ihya al-Sunna wa Ikhmad al-Bid'a*<sup>60</sup> and his *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra alal-ibad*.<sup>61</sup> The former, which Professor Kani refers to as the “opus Magnum” written by the Shehu consists of 33 chapters and is a work on theology, *fiqh*<sup>62</sup> and mysticism apparently written to guide the disciples of the Shehu.<sup>63</sup> The prevailing un-Islamic practices called **al-Bid'a**<sup>64</sup> or innovations were highlighted by the Shehu in the work *Ihya* in order to sift such innovations from the true worship prescribed by Islam.

The other major work *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra*<sup>65</sup> is on establishing a community by the Muslims and process and procedures for appointment to positions of responsibility. There exist many other writings of Shehu dealing with Sciences of *Tawhid* (unity of

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58 K. Mahmud, “The Arabic Literary...*op cit* p.44

59. See A. Tahir, “The Social Writing of Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi: A Critical and Analytical Study”, *Ph.D. Dissertation* (McGill 1989), also Jean Boyd, *The Caliphs Sistger... op cit*.

60. Mss at P.G.R.R. in B.U.K. and also I.A.B., Balogun, *The Life and Works of Uthman dan Fodio* (Islamic Publications Bureau: Lagos) 1981.

61. Ms at N.H.R.S., K.7/43. Also translation and edition by F.H. El-Masri, (Ibadan) 1970.

62. Arabic word meaning Islamic jurisprudence.

63. A.M. Kani, “Influence of Scholars... *op cit*, p.63.

64. Arabic word meaning unIslamic Innovations.

65. *Written in C. 1806*

God), *Fiqh* (law), *tasawwuf* (mysticism) and women education. The *Nur al-Albab*<sup>66</sup> is a work on theology and a section of it deals with education of the women folk. The Shehu developed some interest in women education as it seemed to be neglected by some of the *ulama* of Hausaland. As shown by Ahmad Tahir the Shehu lamented that the women folk were ignorance as explained below:

These *ulama* spent their whole day teaching students, yet their wives, daughters and servants remained in the darkness of complete ignorance. More amazing still, they preached to these poor women that their salvation lay in their blind obedience to their husbands.<sup>67</sup>

From the compilations of the intellectual works of the Sokoto jihad leaders, made by modern scholars such as Kendale, Hunwick, Hiskett, Bivar, A. Smith and of recent Isma'il Balogun, it is clear that Shehu's writings had been mainly on religious issues while Abdullahi b. Fodio and Muhammad Bello wrote on politics, administration, medicine, history of their movement, and on Arabic grammar and prosody.

The writings of jihad leaders on politics are today popularised and recognised as important sources of Islamic principles of administration and governance. Some of them are *Diya al-Siyasat*,<sup>68</sup> *Diya al-Hukkam*<sup>69</sup>

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66. Ms at N.H.R.S., P.7/8: Also at B.U.K. P.G.R.R. Ms. 194.

67. A. Tahir, "The Social Writings.. *op cit* p.16.

68. Ms at N.H.R.S., p.88/4 and P.94/1. Also S.H.B., A.M.S.S./2/32/85.

69. S.H.B., A.M.S.S., 1/18/92.

written by Abdullahi Fodio and also *Usul al-Siyasa*<sup>70</sup> and *Al-Gath al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Iman al-Adl*<sup>71</sup> of Muhammad Bello. There exist also treatise and political correspondences written to the emirs by Sultan Muhammad Bello to advice them on emirate governance. Bello wrote such letters to emirs like Ahmad Zaki of Katagum, Emir Yakubu of Bauchi and to Umar Dallaji of Katsina.<sup>72</sup>

Some important literature written by the Jihadists on the history of the Jihad Movement and the Caliphate are also available. The *Infaq al-Maysur* of Muhammad Bello cited in Several places here had contributed in raising the historical consciousness of the people of the Central Sudan and Hausaland in particular. *Raudat al-Afkar*<sup>73</sup> written by Abd al-Qadir b. Al-Mustafa is an important work of History of Hausaland, the Jihad movement and other significant political issues of the Caliphate. The work *Ida al-Nusukh man akhadhtu'anhu min al-Shuyukh*<sup>74</sup> probably written in 1812

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<sup>70</sup>. S.H.B., A.M.S.S., 1/9/1312.

<sup>71</sup>. Omar Bello, "The Political Thought of Muhammad Bello (1781 - 1887) as Revealed in His Writings More Especially *Al Gath al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Iman Al-Adl*" *Ph.D. Thesis*, London 1983.

<sup>72</sup>. Supplement to Bulletin of News *J.H.S.N.*, Vol.I, III, No.2 (1962) p.5.

<sup>73</sup>. Ms at C.A.D., Ibadan, 82/18 and 82/212. A version of the work was translated by H.R. Palmer as "Western Sudan History: *Raudat al-Afkar*" *J.A.H.*, Vol.vx (1916), pp.261-73. Paler wrongly attributed the work to Sultan 'I-bilad al-hausiyya wal-Sudaniyya. For the alternative translation see A.M. Kani, "The Life and Works of *Abd al-Qadir b. Al-Mustafa*: A Critical Edition of His works and Historiographical Approach" *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1987, p.214. Ms also available at N.H.R.S. p.26/8.

<sup>74</sup>. Ms at N.H.R.S. P.29/1. Translated & edited by M. Hiskett, 1963. Also S.H.B., A.M.S.S., 1/22/102.

by Abdullahi b. Fodio is equally significant as it reveals the history of intellectual activities associated with the jihad leaders, Usman dan Fodio and Abdullahi b. Fodio. The author gives the history of their family, their educational history, including the various books they read dealing with areas such as Syntax and grammar, theology, Mysticism, Law, exegesis, Logic and Mathematics. He also explained the names of the teachers they studied under.

Some other intellectual works of history were mainly written by the *Waziris* of Sokoto, whose roles according to Murry Last had been as historians and Pamphleteers.<sup>75</sup> For instance, Wazir Gidado b. Laima wrote *Raud al-jinan*<sup>76</sup> and *al-Kashf wal-bayan'an ba'd ahwal al-Sayyid Muhammad Bello*<sup>77</sup> and had to come to serve as standard sources for the history of the lives of the Shehu and Bello. AbdulQadir b. Gidado like his father wrote *Anis al-Mufid*<sup>78</sup> which is on the history of the lives of the triumvirate describing their intellectual activities. Although the author drew heavily on material already written by his father, he added materials especially on events he was a contemporary. AbdulQadir b. Gidado also wrote on the biography of the *Amir al-Mumin* he served under, Ali b.

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<sup>75</sup> . M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longman: London, (1967), p.220.

<sup>76</sup> . Ms at S.H.B. A.M.S.S. 4/1/1. See also *Bulletin of News J.H.S.N.* Vol.vii, 2 1962, p.2

<sup>77</sup> . Ms at S.H.B. 4/2/7

<sup>78</sup> . Ms at S.H.B., A.M.S.S. 1/88/301



Muhammad Bello, the work is titled *Majmu Munaqib Amir al-Mumin Ali*<sup>79</sup> in which the political career and the campaigns conducted by Ali b. Bello had been described. Similar biographical work *Nubdha b. Abdullahi*<sup>80</sup> on *Amir* of Gwandu Khalil was written by Umar b. Muhammad Bukhari, a grandson of Usman dan Fodio. It was the same person who wrote *Tanbih al-ikhwan fi amr al-Sudan*<sup>81</sup> considered a general history of Sokoto to the time the author lived including the life histories of the Shehu, Bello and Abubakar Atiku. There is a work on the history of the Sultans of Sokoto up to 1903 when the British colonizers overthrew the caliphal leadership written by Wazir AbdulQadir b. Bukhari. The existence of this large body of literature on the history of the Jihad Movement and Hausaland written by the Sokoto Scholars had been serving as important sources for vital historical information to modern scholars who develop special interest on studies about the Sokoto Caliphate.

The Jihad movement was instrumental in the resurgence of intellectual activity among the womenfolk. There was the rise of women scholars as a result of the education campaign of the Sokoto Jihad leaders. The most notable was Usman dan Fodio's daughter, Nana Asma'u, who is said to be versatile in Qur'an *Hadith*, and also proficient in Fulfulde, Arabic

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<sup>79</sup> . Ms at S.H.B. A.M.S.S. 4/12/71.

<sup>80</sup> . Ms at S.H.B., A.M.S.S. 4/11/61.

<sup>81</sup> . Ms at S.H.B., A.M.S.S., 4/11/63. Also Edited & translated by M.I. Talata Mafara, n.d.

and Hausa languages. She has as many as fifty one short poems in Hausa and Fulfulde to her credit.<sup>82</sup> The works of Nana Asma'u have been preserved in Wazir Junaidu's library at Gidadawa in Sokoto City. Asma'u's important Arabic prose are *Tabshir al-Ikhwān bi-tawassuf - Suwar al-Qur'an 'inda 'I-Khaliq* written in 1839 and then *Tanbih al-Ghafilin wa Tadhkir al-Aqilin ila Turaq al-Salihin* probably written in 1820.<sup>83</sup> The works of Nana Asma'u were mainly directed at the womenfolk. The *Tanbih* was written to guide the women in Islamic moral teachings specifying good habits to be practiced and the bad customs such as *bori* to be discarded. The *Tabshir* on the other hand deals with some inner meanings of some Qur'anic verses. There exist many other intellectual works of Asma'u as compiled by Jean Boyd.

There were other women also who contributed significantly to teaching and scholarship in the Caliphate such as Asma'u's sister Maryam bint Usman Dan Fodio and also Dan Fodio's eldest daughter called Khadija. The latter, according to A.M. Kani<sup>84</sup> was a renowned teacher who translated several books on Islamic Sciences into Fulfulde for the purpose of teaching,

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<sup>82</sup> See Jean Boyd, "The Contribution of Nana Asma'u Fodio to the Jihadist Movement of Shehu dan Fodio 1820-1862" (Polytechnic of North London, 1982), Idem *The Caliph's Sister*, (London: 1985), I.A. Ogunbiyi, "The Position of Women as stated by Usman b. Fudi", *O.D.U. New Series*, No.2, October, 1969, pp.43-60.

<sup>83</sup> Copies of Ms available at Waziri Junaidu's Library, Sokoto.

<sup>84</sup> A.M. Kani, *The Intellectual Origin... op cit.* p.75.

one of such books is *Al-Mukhtsar*, an authoritative text on the Maliki jurisprudence written by Khalil b. Ahmad (d. 1365 A.D).

The contribution of women scholars to the literary tradition in the Sokoto Caliphate is an area that has not been exhausted which should therefore be seriously researched upon. By the beginning of the 20th century the Caliphate was crushed by the British colonial army. It was in March, 1903 that Sokoto fell to the invading force. The intellectuals as the vanguard of the conscience of the people were to face serious challenges with the imposition of colonial rule. In subsequent chapters of this study we shall discuss the role played by the *ulama* and the state of intellectual tradition under colonial rule.

## CHAPTER TWO

### AN OVERVIEW OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST ACTIVITIES IN PARTS OF THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE AROUND THE LATE 19TH CENTURY AS A PRELUDE TO COLONIAL OCCUPATION

#### Introduction - European Imperialism In The Late 19th Century

Scholars with different intellectual background have written much on the phenomenon of imperialism particularly the colonial conquest and subsequent colonization of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate early in the 20th century. The economic and non-economic motives for the conquest of different parts of the Third world as from the late 19th century have been subjected to intellectual discourse from varied perspectives<sup>1</sup> The liberal scholars such as Robinson and Gallagher believed that reasons other than the economic factors such as the internal crisis in Egypt in 1882 were responsible for the colonial conquest of Africa. According to Fieldhouse “imperialism

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the “non-economic” reasons for colonial conquest see P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins “The Political - economy of British Expansion Overseas 1750 - 1914” *The Economic History Review*, XXXIII, 4, Nov. 1980; R. Robinson and J. Gallagher *Africa and the Victorians*, (St Martin’s Press: London, 1961) D.K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830 - 1914* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson: London, 1973); L. Gann and P. Duignan, (eds) *Colonialism in Africa* Vol.I (C.U.P. Cambridge, 1968) and some others with similar intellectual arguments. For counter-arguments from the materialist perspective some of the important works are V.I. Lenin *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Progress Publishers: Moscow, 1981, 1983); Nikolai Bukharin, *Imperialism and World Economy* (Mertin Press, 1971) Bob Sutcliffe and Roger Owen, *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (Longman 1972), V.G. Kiernan, *Marxism and Imperialism* (St. Martins Press, 1975) and Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980). Articles from the *New Left Review* (NLR) are A. Emmanuel “Myths of Development against Myths of underdevelopment” *NLR*, No.85, May - June 1974; P. Micheal, J. Petrass & R. Rhodes “Imperialism and Contradictions of Development” *NLR* No.85, May - June 1974 and A. Lipetz “Marx or Rostow”, *NLR*, No. 132, March - April, 1982.

may best be seen as the extension into the periphery of the political struggle in Europe, colonies therefore became a means out of the impasse.<sup>2</sup> In this case, imperialism is viewed as an event: that was necessitated by the struggle to achieve a balance of power, hence, the clamour by European nations to gain territorial advantage beyond the fringes of Europe. Another writer of the liberal school was Joseph Schumpeter, who argued that the phenomenon of imperialism was caused by what he called "atavistic impulses".<sup>3</sup> And that it was through the actions of some notable European leaders such as Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes, Goldie, Lugard and host of others who were driven by psychological forces and militarism to annex foreign lands. Similarly, Calton Hays observed that imperialism in the 19th century was a nationalistic phenomenon. He cited the example of national wars in Europe which led to the emergence of Italy as a powerful nation, and Germany as a United Nation that eclipsed France and rendered England fearful.

In trying to explain colonialism the Western liberal scholarship often cite the problems of the "periphery". This is the reason why the so-called bourgeois scholars have been subjected to incessant criticisms by scholars who subscribe to the historical materialist views dominant in the Marxist Lennist tradition. The Western bourgeois liberal scholarship has been accused

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<sup>2</sup> D. K. Fieldhouse *op.cit.*.....

<sup>3</sup> J. Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes* (Cass: London) 1951, p.63

of “misinterpreting” facts so as to reverse what has actually taken place.<sup>4</sup> This style of reporting historical events as they happened in the past which also dominates colonial writings about Africa “fits into an excellent scheme of the capitalist, whose existence and perpetuation depends on his showing things and explaining phenomena as they are not”<sup>5</sup> as is shown in the words of one scholar. The historical - materialist historiography therefore took it upon itself the task to “demystify” some of the issues contain in bourgeois colonialist history. For instance, it is argued that, in trying to explain the phenomenon of colonialism in Africa, Marxist scholars should not be contented with what is apparent at the periphery to know what had led to turbulent frontiers and generated crisis. It is important to understand also the nature of the crisis in the periphery, thereby understanding the factors that crippled the free trade capitalism and engendered the colonisation of Africa.<sup>6</sup>

The work of V.I. Lenin which had been based on a combination of the ideas of some bourgeois intellectuals such as Hobson<sup>7</sup>, and the historical

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4. A. Temu & B. Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique* (Zed Press: London) 1981 p.135.

5. S.U. Lawal, “Imperial Policy, Capital Accumulation and Gold Mining in Colonial North Western 1915-55” *Ph.D. Thesis*, U.D.U. Sokoto 1989, p.169 also B. Swai “What is Objective History? Positivism Vs Historical-Materialism” History Department Seminar Series, Sokoto 1985.

6. S.U. Lawal *op cit* p.170.

7. J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London, 1938) also found in Lenin’s work are the ideas of Rudolph Hilferding, *Finance Capital* (Vienna, 1923), It is also argued that Lenin’s work on Imperialism is simply a popularization of Hobson’s and Hilferding’s writings because Lenin only added certain practical political conclusions of his own. See for instance the views of R.N. Carew Hunt *The Theory and Practice of Communism* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1950) pp.204-210.

materialist ideas of Karl Marx, is regarded among the Marxist scholars as a genuine attempt to explain colonialism in the Third World. Lenin in the work tried to explain colonialism in the late 19th century and also the world war I. He argued that imperialism was a necessary stage of capitalist development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established. Lenin showed that in order to acquire greater profits, capital had to be exported to the backward areas or places. In such places the price of land is relatively cheap, wages are low and raw materials are abundant and cheap.<sup>8</sup> The division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist nations had therefore been completed hence imperialism is regarded as a monopoly stage of capitalism.<sup>9</sup> Lenin's thesis on imperialism had been subjected to criticisms by Marxist and Neo-Marxist writers especially as regards the view whether capitalism in the late 19th century was in a decadent stage or not. One writer argued against Lenin's view of imperialism which asserts that in the late 19th century had started stagnating and had to seek profits elsewhere. Imperialism at the monopoly stage of the late 19th century has served a "positive" role in colonial societies hence, as observed by Warren, imperialism was not a major standing block to industrialization in the Third World but rather the "internal contradictions of the Third World itself"<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>. M. Canoy, *The State and Political Theory* (P.U.P. Princeton, 1984) p.176.

<sup>9</sup>. V.I. Lenin *Collected Works* Vol.22 (Moscow: 1982) pp.226-267.

<sup>10</sup>. Bill Warren *op cit* p.9

consistuted the obstacles to capitalist development. Colonialism according to Bill Warren “acted as a powerful engine of progressive social change, advancing capitalist development far more rapidly than was conceivable in any other way”.<sup>11</sup>

The criticisms against Lenin’s position as regards the view that capitalism was declining by the late 19th century had really opened new frontiers in the study of socio-economic and political relations between the colonial powers and the colonised peoples. It has been discovered that Lenin’s study seemed to underplay the capability of the capitalist system for resilience after generating crisis so that it comes out of the crisis even stronger. The scramble and partition of Africa had interestingly been shown by Marxist analysts as part of the process adopted by capitalism for its own survival following the crisis it experienced, as a result of the Great Depressions<sup>12</sup> of the 1870s - 1890s. Capitalism therefore rather than undergoing a down turn started becoming forceful and assertive especially in Africa by the last half of the 19th century. Hence the erstwhile free trade character of capitalism began to be transformed to protectionist tendencies. In West Africa the protectionist policies of the capitalist nations under the so-called legitimate trade involved

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<sup>11</sup> . *Ibid.* Also for a Critique of Warren’s argument see A. Emmanuel *op cit*, P. Michael et al *op cit*.

<sup>12</sup> . A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (Longman: London, 1973); Charles Kindleberger, *The World Depression 1929 - 1929* (Uni. Press: California, 1975).



the safeguarding of sources of raw materials and markets under the guise of “spheres of influence” “protectorates” and finally colonies.

Britain was the dominant power in the international trade of West Africa in the 19th century. From about 1875 Britain was being challenged by other capitalist powers notably France and Germany in the West African trade. The depression years which had adversely affected the West African trade<sup>13</sup> sharpened the contradictions between the European merchants and the African middlemen. For instance the European merchants started to see the African middlemen as a “cog” in the growth and expansion of commerce. The African traders of the West Coast had at different times been accused of being “parasitic” in the coastal trade and also guilty of adulteration of products. The merchant capital was therefore committed to discarding the African merchants and the ruling classes of the coastal polities so that trade could thrive without hinderance. The African ruling class in particular was accused of perpetuating the trading in slaves in search of captive labour to boost their socio-economic and political prestige. Slave raids in the period of “legitimate trade” was viewed as disruptive in the production process of primary agricultural products needed by merchant capital, which must therefore be stopped. In addition, the internecine wars among African states had been

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<sup>13</sup> . On the impact of the depressions on the West African trade See *Ibid*, also Robert Shenton, *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria* (Uni. Press: Toronto) 1986.

causing social instability thereby “stultifying economic activity”<sup>14</sup> beneficial to merchant capital. There were cries at this crucial point by European merchant capital and calls on the home government to come and assist in dealing with the “notorious” African rulers and middlemen. These calls were championed by chambers of commerce of important commercial centres of Europe such as Liverpool, Manchester, Hamburg and many others.<sup>15</sup>

The political class in the capitalist nations whose interests were similar with that of merchant capital heeded the calls for the enforcement of “order and stability” in Africa. It was upheld that, the continent should be “opened up” and the political power of the “intransigent” African leaders should be crushed. It was also planned that infrastructures such as railways, roads and telegraph lines should be constructed to facilitate the penetration of every nook and corner of Africa.

With improved technology at their disposal, and the availability of sophisticated and more precision weapons, the European capitalist began the subjugation of the African states and kingdoms. In the case of the Sokoto Caliphate the occupation of the territory by the British colonial army started from the last decade of the 19th century as discussed below.

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<sup>14</sup> A.G. Hopkins, *op cit* chapter 3.

<sup>15</sup> Bill Preund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa* (Macmillan: London, 1984) pp.88-89; Andrew and Kanya - Forstner “French Business and the French Colonialist” in *History Journal*, XIX, 4, 1976, pp 981 - 1000 and Han - Ulrich Wehler, *ismarck’s Imperialism, 1862 - 90* in past.

## BRITISH CONQUEST AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE

Accounts on the conquest and subsequent colonization of Northern Nigeria, the territory occupied by the defunct Sokoto Caliphate had received sufficient treatment by intellectuals with varied backgrounds such that individual accounts contained view-points of a particular perspective to which the scholar subscribes. For instance, colonial historiography attempted to justify the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate by advancing the reason of the “civilising mission” to enlighten the “barbaric tribes”. Some colonial works<sup>16</sup> on Northern Nigeria, blame the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate for the wars fought in the course of the occupation of the emirates of the Caliphate.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, some writings that belong to the category of post-colonial historiography<sup>18</sup>, emphasized the nationalist and humanitarian reasons for the colonial conquest thereby underplayed other factors especially

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<sup>16</sup>. The Colonialist Historiography was written by the Colonial Administrators themselves and in some respects such works are regarded as anthropological studies. Prominent among the works that treated Northern Nigeria included F. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical West Africa* (London 1922); C.L. Temple *Native Races and their Rulers* (London 1918), M. Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Authority 1918-45* (Collins: London, 1960) A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record* (Fank Cass: London, 1968); C.W.J. Orr; *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, W.N.M. Geary *Nigeria Under British Rule* (Frank Cass: London, 1927); S.J. Hogben, *Muhammedan Emirates of Northern Nigeria* (Oxford Uni. Press, Oxford) 1930 and a host of others.

<sup>17</sup>. See some of the works in note 16 above. Also H.M. Maishanu “On the Historiography of the Sokoto Caliphate” M.A. dissertation, (Sokoto) 1988.

<sup>18</sup>. For a thorough discussion on post-colonial historiography in Nigeria, see A. Temu and B. Swai, *op cit* Chapter II.

the economic factor. For instance, the work of Hogendorn on the groundnut trade shows that the Sokoto Caliphate was experiencing instability and disorder at the turn of the 20th century because of wars, raids and extortion of tributes, hence, the situation in the Caliphate necessitated colonial conquest, to establish law and order.<sup>19</sup> Even some Nigerian scholars who seem to write from the liberal perspective tried to explain colonialism essentially from the colonialist stand point by not exposing the primary role of economic exploitation as a moving force for colonial occupation.

A. M. Fika in his work on Kano Emirate, wrote that colonialism was motivated by the need to end “inter-tribal wars” and “check the French” activities near the Caliphate. He tried to show that, the wars of conquest were imposed on the British by the “hostility and intransigence of the emirates”.<sup>20</sup> It was shown that colonial conquest was followed by the establishment of an administration. And in what looks like glorifying colonialism, he added that it was “secularised and humanised in a certain fundamental ways”<sup>21</sup> for the benefit of people by the introduction of law, education and taxation. C. N. Ubah also writing along the line of liberal view, showed that, colonial conquest of Northern Nigeria was “to free the people from their subjugation

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<sup>19</sup> . J.S. Hogendorn, *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development* (A.B.U. Press Zaria, 1982), p.14.

<sup>20</sup> . A.M. Fika, *The Kano Civil War and British Over Rule 1882 - 1940*, (Oxford Uni. Press: Ibadan) 1978. p.54.

<sup>21</sup> . *Ibid.*

by the ruling class".<sup>22</sup> He argued that with the imposition of colonial rule, peace and stability was enshrined in the protectorate which according to him led to an economic revolution centred in cash crop production.<sup>23</sup>

The argument against some colonial and post-colonial historical writings, had been on the superficial treatment of issues and events in the histories of the African peoples so that certain fundamental aspects are not clearly manifested. It is in the light of this shortcoming of the liberal scholarship that some scholars<sup>24</sup> tailored their discussion along the materialist perspective in order to, in the words of Shehu Lawal, "expose the myth of colonial and post-colonial liberal scholarship relating to colonialism."<sup>25</sup> In this case, charges of misrule against the Caliphal leadership by the colonialists in particular Lugard, was regarded as an exaggeration essentially to convince the colonial office in London to go to war with the Caliphate. The wars of

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<sup>22</sup> . C.N. Ubah, "Administration of Kano Emirate under the British 1900-1930" *Ph.D. Thesis* (Ibadan) 1973 p.36.

<sup>23</sup> . *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> . See for instance S.U. Lawal, "Imperial Policy... *op cit*; Sule Bello "State and Economy in Kano 1890-1960, A Study of Colonial Domination", *Ph.D. Thesis*, (A.B.U. Zaria), 1984; M.I. Mukhtar, "The Impact of British Colonial Domination on the Social and Economic Structures of the Society of Kano, 1903 - 1950" *M.A. Thesis*, (A.B.U. Zaria) 1983; A.T. Adamu, "Colonial Capitalism and Crafts in Northern Nigeria: State and Articulation in Sokoto Province 1903-1960" *Ph.D. Thesis*, (Stanford University, 1985); A.M. Modibbo, "European Companies and the Under-development of Northern Nigeria 1885 - 1937: The Case of the Royal Nigeria Company U.A.C." *Ph.D. Thesis*, (A.B.U. Zaria), 1985 and many others.

<sup>25</sup> . S. U. Lawal, "Imperial Policy...*op cit* p.184.

resistance fought by the emirates and the massive following of Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu during his flight (Hijrah) demonstrated that the Caliphal subjects were not totally alienated from their rulers.<sup>26</sup>

Slavery and slave trade factors were also advanced by the British to justify the invasion of the Caliphate. It is however important to note as observed by Sule Bello that, the fight against the institution of slavery must be understood within the context of the development of the forces and relations of production in the Caliphate.<sup>27</sup> Imperialism at this stage of development sought to subsume the pre-existing mode of production - patrilineal and the slave modes to service the imperialist ambition of the colonial power. Slavery and slave trade were fought against only to the extent that they proved detrimental to the promotion of capitalist interests in the Caliphate. So, while Lugard abolished the export of captive labour through the slave trade, he allowed domestic slavery to persist to augment labour supply for commodity production in agriculture.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> . S.U. Lawal, *Ibid*, also R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804 - 1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies* (Longman: London) 1971 pp 283 - 312; O. Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria* (Heinemann: Ibadan) 1977, pp 205-208.

<sup>27</sup> . Sule Bello "State and Economy...*op cit* p.57.

<sup>28</sup> . P.E. Lovejoy, *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa* (Beverly Hills, 1981); Mimeo *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade* (Madison, 1986); P.E. Lovejoy and J.S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery;: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge, 1993); Ibrahim Jumare, "Slavery in Sokoto City, C 1804-1936: *M.A. Thesis* ((A.B.U. Zaira), 1988.

It was becoming clear that, the economic and political interests of the British imperialists were diametrically opposed to the interests and ambitions of the Caliphal ruling class. It became apparent to the British that the invasion and subsequent colonialization of the Sokoto Caliphate was inevitable in order to resolve the contradictions between the British and the Caliphate. This process was well underway by 1900. The West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) under the command of Lugard was formed. There was a resort to armed confrontation for the capitalist to safe-guard their economic interests being threatened by the “intransigence” of some members of the aristocracy of the Caliphate.<sup>29</sup>

The contradictions between Britain and the Caliphate which precipitated the forceful occupation of the territory of the latter became manifest in different sectors. One of which, was the conflict of interest between the internal handicraft producers and the European/British capitalist firms. At another level also the British merchant capital was totally against the slave trade and the internal utilization of captive labour which were considered inimical to the growth of commerce and industrial development. Encompassing these was equally the issue of the conflict over the control of resources - land, minerals, trade, labour and slaves between the Caliphal

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<sup>29</sup> . See Sam C. Ukpabi, *The Origins of the Nigerian Army: A History of the West African Frontier Force 1897-1914* (Gaskiya: Zaria, 1987); M. Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Adventure* (London, 1956) pp 634-42; J.E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* (London, 1960) p.275 and C.N. Ubah, *op cit.*

ruling class and the various European interests serving as the vanguard of imperialism.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, contradictions between the Sokoto Caliphate and Britain were apparent at the level of internal socio-economic developments of the two social formations. In this regard, while Britain was a developed industrial nation in the late 19th century, the Caliphate was weak and underdeveloped technologically. By virtue of its superior technology, Britain had dominated the commercial and political relations with the Caliphate. The outcome of the military encounter between the two states in order to resolve the various contradictions between them resulted in the victory of Britain over the Caliphate.

Following the occupation of the Caliphate by the British imperial forces which took place between 1897 - 1903 the territory became the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The process for the gradual incorporation of Northern Nigeria into the world capitalist economy was put in place.<sup>31</sup> The promotion of the economic interest of Britain was of paramount importance as could be deduce from a statement credited to Chamberlain who became the colonial Secretary around 1895. Britain was all out to strengthen and expand its political and commercial domination of the world. Colonies came to be

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<sup>30</sup> . S.U. Lawal, "Imperial Policy... *op cit* p.186.

<sup>31</sup> . R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy... op cit* and R. Shenton, *The Development... op cit* p.11.



regarded as “undeveloped estates” that should be “opened up” and invest in them for the benefit of the colonial power.<sup>32</sup>

The process of the occupation of the Caliphate and accounts of the military encounter between Britain and the Caliphate had adequately been treated in some pioneer works on the history of colonial/European activities in Northern Nigeria.<sup>33</sup> Suffice it to reiterate that, it was the imperial ambition that spurred Britain to embark on the invasion of the Caliphate. First, the colonial office through the agency of the British Merchants and firms merged into a commercial conglomerate - the United Africa Company (U.A.C.) bought over the shares of companies of rival European powers namely Germany and France operating around the Niger - Benue area. The U.A.C. under Goldie established a monopoly and unchallenged British presence in the southern emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate as from 1886 when the company obtained a royal charter which made it to transmute its name to Royal Niger Company (R.N.C.).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> . P.A. Igbafe, “Benin Under British Rule in 1897 - 1938: A Study in Institutional Adaptation” *Ph.D. Thesis*, (Ibadan: 1967) p.46.

<sup>33</sup> . R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy... op cit* and M.M. Tukur, “The Imposition of Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources”, *Ph.D. Thesis*, (A.B.U. Zaira), 1979.

<sup>34</sup> . For the details on the career of Golide and the History of the Socio-Economic and Political Events at the Dawn of Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria, See J.E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie... op cit*, C.W.J. Orr, *The Making of Northern Nigeria... op cit*, M. Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* (Faber: London, 1962) and D.J.M. Muffet, *Empire Builder Extraordinary: Sir George Golide* (Shearwater Press, 1978).

The R.N.C. endeavoured to consolidate its base at Lokoja in the territory of Bida emirate. The aristocracy of the emirate was instigated against the French to make sure that no French bases were established in the areas of Borgu, Illo, Gamba etc. The company was therefore posing as “a friend” of the Caliphate willing to assist Bida against the French menace. Relations between the R.N.C. and the most southerly emirates of Ilorin and Bida vacillated between that of hostility and friendship as demanded by particular circumstances.

Ultimately, however, the colonial office had to direct the company to fight the two emirates to clear the way for further intrusion into the territory of the Caliphate. Between 1897 and 1898 Ilorin, Bida and Nupe sub-emirates of Agaie and Lapai were virtually subdued.<sup>35</sup> It was a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of the Sokoto Caliphate. This development was viewed seriously and considered provocative by the aristocracy of the Caliphate at Sokoto and Gwandu. The emirates neighbouring Bida such as Kontagora and Adamawa were put in a state of fear. The British were viewed as enemies of the Caliphate in open conflict with the Caliphal leadership. The emirs were therefore directed by the Caliph AbdulRahman (Danyen Kasko 1891 - 1902)<sup>36</sup> to wage a jihad against the British. In a letter to Zubairu, the Lamido of Adamawa, Caliph AbdulRahman stated that:

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<sup>35</sup> . R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy... op cit* p.198.

<sup>36</sup> . R.A. Adeleye, *Ibid*, See M. Last for a discussion of the reign of Caliph AbdulRahman, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (Longman: London) 1967.

You have seen what the company has done to Bida and Ilorin my territories. You should not to allow the company to remain in any part of the country where you have jurisdiction.<sup>37</sup>

By 1st January 1900 when the W.A.F.F. took over the task of the colonial occupation of the Northern Territory of the Nigerian area, a proclamation was issued by Lugard which explicitly stated the establishment of a colonial regime over the Caliphate. Arabic translation of the proclamation was sent to the aristocracy of the Caliphate. As reported by R.A. Adeleye the reaction of the Sokoto and Gwandu upon receipt of the document was that of “implacable hostility” because the emissaries to the two places returned with unfriendly responses.<sup>38</sup> The Caliph reportedly said “no letter ever brought fear like this one, I will read no more letters from the whitemen”.<sup>39</sup> In Gwandu, the messenger was informed that there could be no reply after the whiteman had seized Gwandu territories. The proclamation was interpreted as a gross violation of all the previous treaties between the British and the Caliphate bordering on the usurpation of the political authority of the latter by the former.

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<sup>37</sup> Colonial Office, C.O./537/15 (Secrete); No 318 in R.A. Adeleye *Power... op cit* p.188.

<sup>38</sup> R.A. Adeleye, *Ibid.* p.222.

<sup>39</sup> N.A.K. S.N.P. 7/3/40 (Confidential), Burdon to High Commissioner, 7 April, 1902. Lugard’s messengers were Kyari for Sokoto and Babando for Gwandu. See R.A. Adeleye *Ibid.*, M.M. Tukur “Imposition... *op cit* p.48, D.J.M. Muffet, *Concerning Brave Captains* (London, 1964) p.319.

A reply from the Caliph was sent to Lugard which was considered “hostile” by the British. He had in his letter indicated his resolve to fight the British. It was based on this that Lugard formally declared war on the Caliphate.<sup>40</sup> The British planned to occupy the Caliphate in piece - meal by which the emirates would be invaded one after the other. When the invasion started in 1901, the Caliphate could not offer a unified resistance. The emirates began to fall one after the other before the colonial army. The ultimate aim of the British being the occupation of Sokoto. Lugard had earlier shifted his base in August 1900 from Lokoja to Wushishi<sup>41</sup> in total violation of the sovereign rights of the emirates of Bida and Kontagora. Between 1901 - 1903 the invasion was over and all the emirates in the Caliphate were occupied which climaxed with the fall of Sokoto in 1903.

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<sup>40</sup> . M.M. Tukur, *Ibid*, p.87. The reply of the Caliph was to Lugard’s letter of March 1902 informing the former about the occupation of Bauchi. The original of the Caliph’s letter could not be found which provided the basis for one to doubt the authenticity of the purported letter. Infact, along this line of argument, it is claimed that Lugard forged the letter to justify the attack on Sokoto. See F.D. Lugard, *Annual Reports 1902* (London, 1911) p.159 and the appendix section of R.A. Adeleye’s book *op cit* for translated copies of the letters.

<sup>41</sup> . R.A. Adeleye, *op cit*.

himself against the charges that the six *ulama* enjoined the public to renew their *bay'a* to the Caliph.<sup>49</sup>

There were also cases of conflict between some *ulama* in the emirates with their respective emirs. In Kano, Emir Usman wanted one *Mallam* at Tsakuwa village to pay tax. Traditionally, the *ulama* were exempted from the payment of tax in the emirate. When the emir insisted, the *Mallam* decided to migrate from the land of Kano to the chiefdom of Ningi near Bauchi emirate. It was while at Ningi, that the *Mallam* collaborated with non-Muslim inhabitants of the area to fight three emirates of the Caliphate namely Kano, Bauchi and Zaria.<sup>50</sup> In some parts of the Caliphate the rulers could not reconcile with the *ulama* up to the time of conquest by the British. Some of the *ulama* were never in position to condone what they saw as the excesses of the emirs. As it happened in Gombe and Yola some *ulama* reportedly refused to fight the British because they considered the emirs no better than the British.<sup>51</sup>

The overthrow of the leadership of the emirs was regarded as inevitable by some of the *ulama* because the Jihad ideals had been thrown overboard.

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<sup>49</sup> Kyari Tijjani, "The Force of Religion in the conduct of political Affairs and Interpersonal Relations in Borno and Sokoto" in Y. B. Usman (ed) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* (Lagos 1979) p.270. Five of the *Ulama* identified were Mallam Bakiri, Mallam Ashafa, Mallam Adamu, the Wali'i, Mallam Badaru and the Liman of Shehu's Mosque at Sokoto.

<sup>50</sup> H.I. Sa'id "Note on Taxation as a Political Issue in the 19th century Kano" in B.M. Barkindo (ed) *Studies in the History of Kano*. (Heinemann; Ibadan, 1983) p.119; A.Patton Jr. "The Ningi Chiefdom and the African Frontier: Mountaineers and Resistance to Sokoto Caliphate, C.A. 1800 - 1908" *Ph.D. Dissertation* (Wisconsin, Madison 1975)

<sup>51</sup> M. M. Tukur "The Imposition... *op.cit* p.114.

Apparently, a section of the *ulama* in the Caliphate had since from the beginning gave up all hopes for the survival of the Caliphate with the arrival of the British. A Hausa scholar - poet from Kano who had this type of belief wrote that:

God has given them (the Christians) his favours over all human beings. One does not recognize their power will meet evil.. In every land, they established barracks and in every land a D.O. or Resident. Their schools are not beneficial at all, and there is nothing in them but lies, evil and paganism. Their prayers are only concerned with wordly things... They have imposed a tax on us which must be paid by people in the towns and villages. They destroyed all the towns of Hausaland.<sup>52</sup>

Another Kano *Mallam* who shared the same opinion with the author/poet above was too specific in castigating the Caliph Attahiru I for daring to challenge the British who according to the *Mallam* were destined to determine the future of the Caliphate. The author reportedly said:

The Sultan of Sokoto (fled) because of his ignorance and his claim that he could fight against *the people whom God had sent for justice*. For God had appointed them his successors on earth...<sup>53</sup> (emphasis is mine).

The issue of promotion of justice by the ruling class became of paramount importance to some of the *ulama*. Earlier we showed elsewhere above, that Sultan Bello had warned the rulers against injustice which were some of the signs of the decline that started to manifest in the Caliphate. By the mid 19th century, the phenomenon of injustice in the Caliph society was becoming pervasive because

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<sup>52</sup> Mallam Ishaq Kano, untitled Mss, 6pp written 1360 A.H. (1914) quoted in J.N. Paden *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Beverly Hills 1972) p.53.

<sup>53</sup> Mss by a Kano Court Scribe in J.N. Paden Ibid pp.53-54.

of “slackness” in implementing the sharia. A grandson of Usman dan Fodio who happened to be one of the scholars in Sokoto at that time wrote extolling the leadership to rise above board and fight corruption and injustice in the land. This descendent of Shehu by name Umar b. Bukhari reminded the rulers to:

rise and prevent injustice in our zone which are appearing because of our slackness.<sup>54</sup>

The economic exploitation of the peasantry and the artisans who formed the bulk of the populace in the Caliphate through taxation and other forms of exactions had opened various avenues for corruption and extortion. In this regard, Umar b. Bukhari identified injustice in the Caliphate by the rulers against the subjects in these words:

taking their properties forcibly, brigandage within the zone as well as robbing in the markets and fructification.<sup>55</sup>

Umar b. Bukhari was making charges against the Caliphal aristocracy almost similar to those made by the Shehu against the *Sarakuna* of Gobir before the outbreak of the jihad in his *Kitab al-Farq*.<sup>56</sup> In the case of the ruling class of the Sokoto Caliphate, the

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<sup>54</sup> Umar b. Bukhari *Tanbih al-Ikhwan fi Amr al-Sudan*, Sokoto State History Bureau, n.d. 817.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid* p.16

<sup>56</sup> See Usman dan Fodio *Kitab al-Farq Bayna Wilaya Ahl al-Islam wa Bayna wilaya Ahl al Kufr* Ed & Trans. by M. Hiskett, *B.S.O.A.S.*, 23, 1960, pp.558 - 79.

introduction of taxes similar to those of the pre-jihad Hausaland was necessitated by the financial requirements to meet the ever increasing expenditure of the state. It could be recalled that, the Shehu during his time created a modest administration made up of only five officials.<sup>57</sup> He also recommended that the same system be maintained though not as a matter of binding rule in the Caliphate. After the death of the Shehu, apparently, a new bureaucracy was instituted by Muhammad Bello which was also copied in the emirates. In the case of Sokoto many of the *Sarauta* titles of pre-jihad Gobir were adopted.<sup>58</sup> Ultimately therefore, the finances of the Central Government must be increased to maintain the administration. Traditionally, the Central Government in Sokoto depended for most of its revenue on the constituent emirates that sent annual tributes of assorted items - slaves, cash (cowries), horses, camels clothes etc.

This precarious financial position of the administration in Sokoto was even made worse because around the 1840s the

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<sup>57</sup> According to Last, the Shehu is said to have had no officials other than the Vizier i.e. the *Waziri* (Abdullahi b. Fodio), the commander of the army of *Amir al-jash* (Aliyu Jedo); the judges/*Qadis* (Muhammad Sambo & Abubakar Ladan Rame), a Chief of Police/*Muhtasib* (al-Hussain Akke) and the *Sa'i* in charge of collections of alms/*zakat*; See M. Last *The Sokoto Caliphate* op.cit p.3. Titles of kings and palace officials of the pre-jihad Hausaland must not be imitated and rulers of provinces were to be called Emirs, the Shehu enjoined in *Kitab al-Farq* p.564. See note 56 above.

<sup>58</sup> See A.R. Augie "Beyond the Shadow of Substance: The Legacy of Gobir in the Sokoto Caliphate" *History Seminar Series*, Sokoto 1987.



revenue of the state was being overstretched in the execution of jihad campaigns against the hardline enemies of the Caliphate namely Gobir and Argungu.<sup>59</sup> It was under this situation that Caliph Aliyu Babba ordered for a general increase in taxes so as to facilitate the execution of wars and governance.<sup>60</sup> According to H. Barth who visited Kano during the reign of Emir Usman (1846-55) the emirate used to send 10,000 cowries to Sokoto and therefore had to review taxes upward to meet its obligation to Sokoto.<sup>61</sup> New taxes were introduced, they included *kudin rafi* (on irrigated produce), *kudin karofi* (on dye pits), *kudin shuka* (on non-grain crops - cotton groundnut, cassava etc) and host of others refer to by M. Watts as “arabesque assortment - of surpluses”.<sup>62</sup> The levies and taxes collected in the emirates which in the case of Katsina totalled up to twenty six<sup>63</sup> had been broadly categorised into three by Watts viz labour rents, rent on land (Kharaj/Haraji) and the

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<sup>59</sup> See M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate... op.cit*

<sup>60</sup> H. I. Sa'id "Notes on Taxation... *op.cit* p.119

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>62</sup> M. Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria* (Berkeley, 1983) p. 67.

<sup>63</sup> A.T. Adamu, "Colonial Capitalism.. *op.cit* p.47.

monetary levies on crops and crafts goods.<sup>64</sup> Some of such levies such as *Kudin Sarauta* and *gaisuwa* accrued into the personal coffers of the ruler and therefore not considered as state revenue.

The most disturbing development as regards the tax assessment and collection was that it was mired by corruption which led to injustice reminiscent of the days of the pre-jihad political dispensation in Hausaland. There appeared discontent with what was happening in the process of revenue mobilization in the Caliphate even among some members of the ruling class as we saw in the case of Umar. b. Bukhari. Undoubtedly, this corrupt system of taxation had lowered the morale of the *talakawa* which made some of them to show indifference to the plight of the aristocracy at the time of conquest. In some places, the peasants and other category of the down trodden were not very keen to support their rulers in resisting the British. For instance, the British reportedly met no resistance while marching from Zaria to Kano except in one place Bebeji.<sup>65</sup>

By the time Lugard took over the administration of the territory of the defunct Caliphate, he realised that the existing

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<sup>64</sup> M. Watts *op.cit.* p.68.

<sup>65</sup> R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Dipomacy.. op.cit* and A. M. Fika, *The Kano Civil War.. op.cit*

taxation system, could be adopted to provide a sound financial base for his new regime. Lugard even tried to raise the sentiments of the *talakawa* and particularly the non-Muslim populations of the defunct Caliphate against the emirates' aristocracy. He tried to overflog the issue of taxation and slavery so as to portray the British as liberators of the down-trodden from the tyranny and oppression of Muslim emirs. To a certain degree, the Lugardian propaganda had facilitated the recruitment of a fighting force to enable the British occupy the Caliphate. A lot of the subjects of the defunct Caliphate constituted the fighting men that invaded this territory.

The British colonialists had equally succeeded in mobilising the indigeneous merchant class of the Caliphate. In some emirates it was the traders that were employed as spies by the British. The most prominent traders that/who served as British agents in gathering intelligence information included Adamu Jakada, Abande and Auta in Kano, Saleh Sarkin Turawa in Yola and Shara Mai Kulki in Katsina.<sup>66</sup> The Merchant class seemed to be more disposed not to fight the British. The penetration of British merchant capital into the Caliphate, had earlier opened more avenues for accumulation by the indigeneous merchants as it

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<sup>66</sup> M. M. Tukur, "The Imposition... *op.cit* p.92

occurred in some parts of West Africa.<sup>67</sup> As observed by Watts and others, the merchants in the defunct Caliphate seemed to have attained a sigh of relief because with the end of the Caliphate system some of what Watts called “sumptuary laws” of the Maliki School which operated in the area were more or less discarded under the colonial dispensation to facilitate long term accumulation typical of the capitalist system.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the old land tenure system was transformed under colonialism to conform with the requirements of the British Capitalists.<sup>69</sup>

The merchant class had over the years established close relations with the European merchants so that by the time the British started the war of conquest the indigenous traders were ready to intercede between the two sides. Infact, in Kano emirate the merchant class was trying to persuade the aristocracy to surrender and not to confront the British invaders. According to Lugard, in a report titled “The Merchant and the Caravan Question” he wrote that “they (Merchants) are all most friendly disposed towards us”<sup>70</sup> and that when the conquest of Kano was

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<sup>67</sup> See A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History... op.cit.*

<sup>68</sup> M. Watts *op.cit* p.72.

<sup>69</sup> See Jumare, *Land Tenure in the Sokoto Sultanate* (York University, 1996)

<sup>70</sup> Quoted in Sule Bello, “*State and Economy... op.cit* p.71.

smiles and unmistakeable goodwill".<sup>71</sup> It is quite significant to note that, Kano being the most prosperous commercial centre of the Caliphate provided the best suitable sample of the attitudes of the merchants towards the colonial conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate. The role of the merchants in the Caliphate during conquest is summarised by Sule Bello who seemed to concur with the reports by Lugard on the issue as he wrote that:

the trading community assiduously avoided any involvement in the resistance against the (colonial) invasion. On the contrary, under the leadership of a certain Abande, they were heavily involved in attempts to persuade the ruling classes to surrender.<sup>72</sup>

On the whole, it is quite clear that, the merchant class in the defunct Caliphate had seemingly alienated itself from the ruling class because it had entered into a marriage of convenience with the British merchant capital. These two "strange bed fellows" derived mutual benefit from this symbiosis. The British undoubtedly enjoyed the alliance as that aided them to gather intelligence information on the military strength and the extent of the preparedness of the emirates before and during the war of conquest. This certainly contributed to some extent towards the victory of the British over the Caliphate.

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid* p.71

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid* p.72.

## CONCLUSION

The occupation and subsequent colonization of the Sokoto Caliphate between 1897 and 1903 came at a time when European imperialism had attained the stage of maturity. The European capitalist powers were committed to acquiring colonies outside Europe to serve as sources of raw materials and markets for the European manufacturers.

The occupation of the Sokoto Caliphate should be seen within the context of promoting the economic interests of the British capitalists. The hitherto cordial relationship between the Caliphate and the British was transformed to that of hostility through persistent provocation of the former by the latter to find a reasonable excuse for invasion. The British strategy worked quite well to its advantage and with military superiority over the Caliphate that was accomplished in 1903 with the occupation of Sokoto.

The internal conditions just before the conquest and at the time of conquest in the Caliphate which were characterised by contradictions were exploited by the British to their advantage. The contradictions in the Caliphate had weakened its social and economic structures to the extent that it could not withstand the external aggression of the British for quite a long time.

## CHAPTER THREE

### REACTION OF THE SOKOTO ULAMA TO COLONIAL CONQUEST AND DOMINATION

#### INTRODUCTION

The Sokoto Jihad Movement led by Usman dan Fodio which was instrumental to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate sought to revive the *Sharia* and the orthodox teachings of Islam in Hausaland and other parts of the central *bilad* Sudan. Accordingly, the founding fathers of the Caliphate and some of the first generation of rulers of the Caliphate strove to uphold the tenets of Islam in the operations of state affairs and to some extent at personal level. This however should not be regarded as a sweeping statement which implied that all was well and good with the Caliphate. Contemporary studies<sup>1</sup> on the Sokoto Caliphate have thrown new light that indicate cases of deviations from the pristine path of Islam among the aristocracy of the state. The most important point worth noting is that the Islamic character of the Caliph state in Sokoto remained in operation until the imposition of a secular socio-political order by the British colonialists early in the 20th century.

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<sup>1</sup>. For more on the changing patterns in politics and socio-economic relations in the Sokoto Caliphate see A.M. Kani "Between Theory and Practice: Changing Patterns in the Political Thought of the 19th century Jihad Leaders in Hausaland". *Seminar on State and Politics in Islam*, London, August, 1983; K.S. Chafe, "The State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Politics and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts, C 1804 - 1903" *Ph.D Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria; A. Mahdi "The State and the Economy: The Sarauta System and its Roles in shaping the society and economy of Kano with particular reference to the 18th and 19th centuries" *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1982.

The relations between the Sokoto Caliphate and the European powers viz Britain, France and Germany have been studied a great deal.<sup>2</sup> The coming of Clapperton to Sokoto during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bello (1817 - 1837) in the year 1824 marked the earliest contact between the Caliphate and the Europeans. Clapperton visited Sokoto the second time during the rule of Aliyu Babba (1842 - 59) sometime in 1842. Essentially,, the Islamic *Sharia* provided the framework that guided the relations between the Caliphate and the European visitors. It was during the second coming of Clapperton that a formal treaty<sup>3</sup> was signed in 1853 which spelt out the conditions for commercial relations.

As provided under the *Sharia* the Caliphate granted *dhimmi*<sup>4</sup> status to the Europeans and conferred on them (the Europeans) certain privileges as *Musta'mins*.<sup>5</sup> The most essential feature of the treaties between the Caliphs of Sokoto and the Emirs on one hand, and the Europeans on the other, was suppose to be a guarantee for safe conduct of trade by the European visitors and/or traders.

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<sup>2</sup>. See the seminar papers on "The Sokoto Caliphate and the European Powers 1890 - 1907" February 1993, Sokoto also A.S. Kanya - Forstner and P.E. Lovejoy (eds) "The Sokoto Caliphate and the European Powers 1890-1907" *PAIDEUMA*, 40, 1994.

<sup>3</sup>. H. Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (London 1829). The Specimen copy provided in the appendix of this study.

<sup>4</sup>. *Dhimmi* -(Arabic) non-Muslims resident in a Muslim territory (da al-Islam). They were guaranteed security and the practice of their faith while paid *jizya* (poll tax) in lieu of military service.

<sup>5</sup>. *Musta'mins* - Literally beneficiaries of *aman* (trusts) from the Muslim Islamic State.



The reception accorded the Europeans at the early period of their coming to the Caliphate was based on suspicion. The Caliphal rulers, based on their knowledge of the imperialist moves by the Europeans in other parts of the world such as in the Indian subcontinent regarded the European visitors and traders coming to Hausaland as spies who were clearing the way for the eventual take-over of the Caliphate. As it turned out to be, in line with the suspicion of the aristocracy of Sokoto Caliphate, the Europeans started to show their political interests in the Caliphate when the scramble for territories in Africa among the European powers was started by the late 19th century. The commercial concessions previously granted to the European merchants were to be a source of conflicts between the Europeans and the aristocracy of the Sokoto Caliphate.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately, relations between the Caliphate and the European powers became strained and led to the overthrow of the Caliphate as has been discussed at length in chapter two of this study.

Between 1900 - 1903 all the emirates of the former Caliphate were virtually subdued and subjected to the British authority through military power. The Islamic values which had been entrenched in the caliphate system for almost a century provided the framework for response of the caliphate to the British conquest. The responses were championed by the *ulama* as the “think tank” of the Caliphal society. As we shall see in the course of the discussion, the reaction of the intellectuals was as varied as the perception of the different groups of scholars.

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<sup>6</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1904 - 1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies*: (Longman London) 1971, chapter III & IV.

Some of the *ulama* by virtue of their position within the aristocracy expressed views which could be considered as the “official response” of the Caliphate. The Mahdist doctrine which influenced the Sokoto Jihad Movement to a certain extent in the 19th century was also employed by some *ulama* to resist colonial domination. The Mahdist tradition was preached by the Shehu during his period of mobilization and thereafter apparently to instil a lasting hope in the Jihad Movement. It was stated in some of the Shehu’s works<sup>7</sup> that the Jihad would continue until the time when the *ashrat al-Sa’at*<sup>8</sup> would manifest to herald the advent of the “Expected one” (the Mahdi).

Mahdism which is a belief in an “eschatological figure” who would salvage the world from tyranny, had been an old tradition in Islam.<sup>9</sup> In the early part of colonialism in Northern Nigeria, it served as an ideology for violent protest against colonial rule especially between 1906 and 1920 as we shall discuss later in the chapter.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>. See for instance R.A. Adeleye “Sifofin Shehu an Auto-biography and characteristic study of the Sheikh Uthman b. Fudi in verse” *Research Bulletin of the Centre of Arabic Documentation* (C.A.D.) Univ. of Ibadan, II, I 1966.

<sup>8</sup>. Literally means signs of the hour or the end of time.

<sup>9</sup>. See Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah* II, London 1958 trans. by F. Rosenthal, pp 156 - 200 also. Morgaliouth, “Mahdi” in *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, III, pp 336 - 40.

<sup>10</sup>. Some of the works on Mahdism in the defunct Sokoto Caliphate and later in Northern Nigeria that I consulted included M.A. Al-Haji “The Thirteenth century in Muslim Eschatology: Mahdist Expectations in the Sokoto Caliphate”, *Research Bulletin C.A.D.*, Ibadan, III, 2, 1967, Mimeo, “The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria”, *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria 1973; M. Z. Njeuma, “Adamawa and Mahdism: The Career of Hayatu Ibn Said in Adamawa 1978 - 1898” *J.A.H.* XII, I; Mimeo “The Usmanuya System, Radicalism and the establishment of German colonial rule in Northern Cameroon, 1890 - 1907” in *PAIDEUMA*, 40, 1994; G.J.F. Tomlinson and G.J. Lethem, *History of Islamic Propaganda in Nigeria* 2 vols, (London 1927) Asma’u G. Sa’eed “The British Policy Towards the Mahdiyya in Northern Nigeria. The study of the Arrest Detention and Deportation of Shaykh Said b. Hayat 1923 - 1959: A

The *ulama* from among whom the political and spiritual leaders of the society were drawn in the defunct Caliphate, engaged in the interpretation of the relevant provisions of the *Shari'a* for response to the crisis situation following the collapse of the Caliphate. It is also pertinent to add that, the news of European conquest of other lands reaching the Caliphate which was tangibly confirmed with the arrival of *Amir al-Muminin* Ahmad Umar of Segu in Sokoto with a large followership indicated a kind of degeneration in the affairs of the Muslim world. The entire episode began to be viewed as the triumph of unIslamic forces represented by the European "infidels" over *Dar al-Islam* symbolised by the Caliphate.

#### RESPONSE OF THE "OFFICIAL ULAMA" IN SOKOTO

The *ulama* in Sokoto like in other parts of Hausaland had been guardians of the Islamic faith. The *ulama* had been serving as the conscience of the Muslim community. The colonial situation in Sokoto demanded the articulation of a position that would not jeopardise the Islamic faith and the general interests of the Muslims. The colonial challenge pushed the *ulama* into intellectual discourse in which the leading actors were the *Waziri* of Sokoto, Muhammadu Buhari, Qadi Ahmad b. Sa'd and Qadi Abdullahi. One could discern the three principal positions that informed the response of the Caliphate to the British rule as enunciated by the scholars namely to fight the British invaders, to undertake *hijrah* that is immigration

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Bibliographical Note" in *Kano Studies*, 2, 3, 1982/85 pp.95 - 119. J.E. Lavers, "Jibril Gaini: A Preliminary Account of the Career of a Mahdist leader in North-Eastern Nigeria", *Research Bulletin* C.A.D. Ibadan, 1967; and P.E. Lovejoy and J. S. Hogendorn "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to colonial Rule in the Sokoto Caliphate 1905-6" in *J.A.H.* 31 1990.

which implied strategic withdrawal from the territory occupied by the unbelievers and the last to negotiate truce with the infidels.

It was from the scholarly discussions of the leading intellectuals that the two famous *risalas* were produced. Both *risalas-Risalah ilal Mu'asirin* by Qadi Abdullah and the *Risalah ila ahl al-Ilm wal tadabbur* of Waziri Buhari were based heavily on the earlier works of Usman dan Fodio that explain the conditions for relations between the Muslims and non-Muslims. In particular, the authors of the two *risalahs* made extensive use of *Masa'il Muhimma* and *Bayan Wujub al-hijrah* to support their respective positions. In addition, other important Islamic sources principally the Qur'an was widely utilised in the two documents to put the message of the authors across to the community.

The *risalah*<sup>11</sup> of Qadi Abdullahi seemed to be the first to be written because it was addressing the Muslims to immigrate from the land occupied by unbelievers. It was this position of Qadi Abdullahi that must have probably influenced the *hijrah* of Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu (Attahiru I). We tried to show elsewhere in this study that the decision to flee was temporarily shelved at the insistence of *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare.

The *Marafa* sensing that the Caliph Attahiru I was almost swayed to immigrate, wrote and cautioned even against revealing the plan for the *hijrah*. Maiturare wanted the Sokoto aristocracy to await for the unfolding of events and prepare for a fight with the British when

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<sup>11</sup> O. Bello (trans. & ed) as *Ulama and Colonialism* Islamic Academy, Sokoto (n.d.).

they reach Sokoto. As the *Marafa* wrote in one of his letters, he advocated an armed encounter with the colonialists “till such a time as Allah decrees for our departure”.<sup>12</sup>

The position of the *Marafa* was accepted by the Sokoto aristocracy up to the time the armed encounter took place at Giginya with the British forces. It was clearly in line with the argument of Maiturare that the leadership of the Caliphate should remain in Sokoto come what may, that must have encouraged the *Waziri* later to remain behind when Caliph Attahiru I left with a large entourage for the *hijrah*. Opposition against immigration advocated by Qadi Abdullahi met stiff opposition as explicitly articulated in the words of Marafa Maiturare thus:

..... further I earnestly beseech you in God’s name (to) let no one hear a suggestion of our departure from your mouth in this land as this would mean ruin to our affairs.<sup>13</sup>

The Caliph was again cautioned not risk losing public support as there was likely to be “betrayal” by the *talakawa* if the situation were to turn against the aristocracy of the Caliphate during the occupation. In this case the *Marafa* warned that:

Our subjects and people who are within the boundaries of our land would certainly throw off their allegiance to us on hearing such news. We should get no assistance from them of what they have promised us.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> D.J.M. Muffet, *Concerning Brave Captains*, London, 1954 p.145.

<sup>13</sup> H.F. Blackwell, *The Occupation of Hausaland* (Frank Cass: London 1969) p.74.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Marafa* finally rested his case and urged that:

..... Let us sit and wait the issue of the matter. Help lies with Allah alone, and if He makes easy this matter, He is all powerful. If we remain in our kingdom, all will be ordered for us by the Great Ordainer.<sup>15</sup>

Earlier on, as we tried to show elsewhere above the *risalah* of Qadi Abdullahi which called for immigration and if possible armed resistance against colonial rule, contributed immensely to the mobilization of the Muslims when the *hijrah* became inevitable following the fall of Sokoto to the colonial forces. The *risalah* of Qadi Abdullahi showed that it was unlawful under whatever reason for Muslims to live under the rule of unbelievers. If for any reason Muslims were compelled to live under infidel rule such as the British colonial domination, then that must be only temporary. In fact, according to Qadi Abdullahi Muslims could only negotiate truce with unbelievers only to enable the former to prepare themselves to fight when they become strong. In essence, truce between Muslims and non-Muslims was purposely meant “to allow Muslims to remain under Islamic law or live with them (non-muslims) to teach them Islam as in the case of Hudaybiyyah”<sup>16</sup> As for the Muslims who refused to immigrate and accepted to live under the British, Qadi Abdullahi considered that act illegal and concluded that would only:

Put Muslims under unbelievers rule, decrease the number of Muslims and undermine the strength of Islam; pave the

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<sup>15</sup> . *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> . O. Bello *op cit* p.5

way for Christian interference in Muslim affairs and (the) gradual pollution of Muslim values and ethics.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, the main import of the *risalah* of Waziri Muhammadu Buhari was to defend the truce that was negotiated and signed with the British by the “remnants” of the Sokoto aristocracy. As analysed by R.A. Adeleye, the *risalah* of Waziri Buhari was “an apologia for the role he (the Waziri) played in working with the British conquerors after the conquest of Sokoto...”<sup>18</sup> The date when the document was written is not certain, but the contents seem to suggest that it must have been shortly after the fall of Sokoto as rightly observed by Adeleye.<sup>19</sup>

Principally, the *risalah* of Waziri Buhari informed the people of the available alternatives open having been conquered and brought under British rule. It had already been realised by the *Waziri* and some of the people who remained with him that military resistance was “futile” against the destructive weapons of the British invaders. The task to decide the next line of action to take on behalf of the Muslims after the departure of the *Caliph* fell on the shoulders of Waziri Buhari. The options opened to the remaining Muslims in Sokoto were either to persist in underground resistance against the British or total surrender which involved adopting the strategy of *taqiyya* (dissembling). The second alternative was adopted which

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<sup>17</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, “The Dilemma of the Waziri: the place of the *Risalat ila ahl al-Ilm wa'l tadabur* in the history of the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate” *J.H.S.N*, IV, 2, 1968 p.285.

<sup>19</sup>. *Ibid.*

implied having relation with the British and befriending them (only outwardly), so that Muslims could practice their faith without hindrance.

Waziri Muhammad Buhari discussed the strategy of *taqiyya* at length in his *risalah*. According to the *Waziri* he was made to understand that it was practically impossible to undertake the *hijrah* successfully “owing to the scarcity of water along the roads (and/or) the total lack of it along some of them as well as the severity of the heat and the presence of the Christians (Euorpeans) camped along all the routes”.<sup>20</sup> In taking the decision to work with the British, the *Waziri* reported that, he acted according to the learned advice of some *ulama* who were around just when the British chased out the Sokoto army. Infact, as shown by Buhari in the *risalah*, in the midst of the confusion that engulfed the Sokoto contingent, he ordered his followers that “every one from among them to leave me (Waziri) and to take his own road”.<sup>21</sup>

The intervention of the *ulama* at this point helped the Waziri to control the situation. The entire scenario was there and then subjected to scholarly analysis. As reported by the *Waziri*, the scholars referred him to the *Masa'il Muhimma*<sup>22</sup> written by Usman dan Fodio C. 1803 at a relatively similar situation in order to find solution to the predicaments caused by the British conquest of Sokoto in March 1903. Essentially, the *Masa'il* which was written at the

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<sup>20</sup>. *Ibid* p.306.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>22</sup>. MSS at centre for Islamic Studies, Sokoto (C.I.S.) 1/9/158.



height of persecution of the Shehu's *jama'a* by the Gobir aristocracy provided the framework for interaction between the Muslim community and the non-Muslims.

The section of the *ulama* who were with the *Waziri* at Dinawa, a village to the east of Sokoto where the fugitive Sokoto contingent camped, sanctioned the negotiation with the British. Contact with the colonial forces was started after having cleared the perceived ambiguities in taking such action. The *Sharia* provisions on the truce with the colonial army was obtained from the *Masa'il* and some other Islamic sources especially the precedents established in the remotest past of Islam. Specifically, it was endorsed by the Muslim intellectuals that remained in Sokoto, that intercourse with unbelievers was permissible when the Muslims were under the fear of military strength of the unbelievers.<sup>23</sup> Hence, Waziri Buhari obtained the legitimate ground that made him to conclude a treaty of "understanding" with the British colonizers.

The truce was further consolidated when Lugard acquiesced to the request of the Sokoto aristocracy to surrender to the British forces. Lugard wrote a reply to the *Waziri's* letter which was delivered to the latter at Dinawa. Thereafter the Sokoto "fugitives" rode back and were allowed to enter the city to conclude the truce. The outcome as reported by Waziri Buhari was that:

I heard from them (the British) a talk which did not bear on the prohibition of prayer, which is the greatest of the acts of worship, nor on the prohibition of the Ramadan

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<sup>23</sup>. *Ibid* Also R.A. Adeleye *op cit* p.307.

fast, payment of *Zakat* and going on pilgrimage to the Holy House.<sup>24</sup>

The guarantee granted by the British for the practice of Islamic rituals was among some of the reasons that made some Muslims under the *Waziri* to stay behind and work with the British. It is however pertinent to point out that religious freedom the British claimed to have granted to the Muslims in the defunct Caliphate was never absolute. In essence, the practice of the faith was restricted to the rituals. The implementation of the Islamic principles as they affected mundane matters particularly in the courts was not allowed. The Islamic *Shari'a* which formed the bedrock of the Islamic religion was completely overhauled. We shall discuss this in greater details in a subsequent part of this study. British colonialism set in a process for the secularization of the Islamic socio-political order existing in the defunct Caliphate. As rightly observed by Buhari, the new set of foreign rulers set about running the affairs of the people with extreme arrogance putting in place the necessary infrastructures needed by the colonial state for exploitation of the human and material resources of our area of study. This is how Waziri Buhari puts it in his *risala*:

.... they (the British) were showing off their subjugation of Muslims and glorified in their conquest of them and in the greatness of their own power.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> R.A. Adeleye *Ibid* p. 308. The four together with the *Kalimah* i.e. to profess and testify to the oneness of Allah as the only Diety made up the five pillars of Islam (Arkan ul-Islam).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*.

And as explained further by the *Waziri*; exploitation by the colonial state was a phenomenon that was immediately started when the new political order was put in place by the British. This according to the *Waziri*:

They (the British) were ordering them to build houses here and there (for the comfort of colonial officials).<sup>26</sup>

It was perhaps after having considered the humiliating condition under which the Muslims found themselves and the seemingly uncertain future of the Islamic *Shari'a* that Waziri Buhari became disturbed for the course of action he had taken in concluding truce with the British. The *Waziri* had to seek for more learned advice regarding his intercourse with the Christians (the British). Thus, the *Waziri* admits in his *risalah* that:-

something entered my heart and excited my grieves and I became bewildered in my affairs. When I saw this I sent... to the very learned and very understanding brother, Ahmad b. Sa'd to ask him for a clarification of the truth in this matter of ours.<sup>27</sup>

The intellectual counselling of Ahmad b. Sa'd greatly assisted the *Waziri* to get peace of mind. The *Waziri* considered Ahmad b. Sa'd as his "intellectual mentor" it was therefore the latter who consoled the *Waziri* by justifying the legality of the truce with the British. The history of similar setbacks suffered by the Muslims in their history was recounted by Ahmad

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<sup>26</sup>

*Ibid.*

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*Ibid.* Ahmad b. Sa'ad b. Abdul-Rahman was a Gwandu *Malam*. His father studied under Abdullahi b. Fodio. There exist no scholarly on Ahmad b. Sa'ad at the present. But he was said to be a learned person. He wrote the *Tartib Ashab Shaikh Abdullahi*.

b. Sa'd to show that the Sokoto situation was not unique in the history of Islamic struggles. For instance, the Muslims were in a similar predicaments following the occupation and fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258 A.D. The Abbasid dynasty was chased out of Baghdad.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly, Ahmad b. Sa'd reminded Waziri Buhari that in C 930 A.D. the Qarmatians sacked Mecca and even took away the Black Stone, from the Ka'aba for twenty years.<sup>29</sup> Despite all these odds, the Muslims successfully overcome the problems and with the help from Allah, the Ka'aba and the *Khilafa* were restored to the Muslims in later years. Considering the above historical events, Ahmad b. Sa'd reassured the *Waziri* that the crisis precipitated by the fall of Sokoto to the British colonizers would be resolved in favour of the Muslims through God's intervention just as the event had parallels in the past of Islam.

The two divergent views of Qadi Abdullahi and Waziri Buhari actually found real expression in the defunct Caliphate. Caliph Attahiru I on the advise of Qadi Abdullahi undertook the *hijrah* which drew a mass followership from all over the Caliphate. On the other hand, a section of the Sokoto aristocracy submitted to the British which the *ulama* regarded as the act of *taqiyya* dissembling, which has been discussed above.

Contemporary scholars on the caliphate have for quite sometime been assessing the two divergent decisions that led to the *hijrah* on the hand and the *taqiyya* on the other. The anti-colonial and anti-European sentiments have undoubtedly influenced some of the views expressed on the actions taken at the time of the fall of Sokoto. It is in the light of this, that the

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<sup>28</sup> R.A. Adeleye, *The Dilemma* *op cit* p.298.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Caliph Attahiru I and other members of the aristocracy who organised and led the flight or immigration are hailed as heroes and patriots. They exhibited courage and resisted the British until they lost their lives in defence of *dar al-Islam*. To pay the supreme sacrifice in the course of promoting Islam is the highest honour a Muslim could attain. It is also a guarantee to enter paradise in the here after. That mainly explains the actions of the Caliph and others.

It is now almost clocking a century since the battle of Giginya took place. With the benefit of the hindsight, one can now say that, after all the decision to stay behind and conclude a truce with the Europeans was not a wrong one. The decision taken by Waziri Buhari and some other *ulama* at Marnona produced far reaching positive consequences in the Muslim North. The decision to stay safeguarded the future of Islam and the Muslims in Northern Nigeria from the time of colonial period and beyond. Specifically, intellectual materials notably the hundreds of books written by the jihadists and other Sokoto scholars were effectively preserved. A lot such literature on Islamic sciences and the history of the caliphate would have been lost in the process of migration to the East.

It is no doubt that Islam has for all this long remained quite significant in the social and political life of the majority of the population in the North. Furthermore, despite the imposition of a Euro-Christian political superstructure by the British, the long established Islamic traditions and institutions persisted because of the "deal" brokered by the *ulama* under Waziri Buhari with the British. The long-term consequences for the mass immigration from the area of our study would have certainly been adverse to the growth of Islam and the survival of its institutions in the North. Evidently, the Muslim population in Northern Nigeria would have been displaced by the British and their cherished values and legacies destroyed reminiscent of

the events and calamities that happened to the Muslims in Spain as a result of the crusades. The possibility of destroying most of the cardinal literature on Islam by the British had they found no one in our area of study cannot be ruled out. Perhaps, as was the case with Spain, access to materials with religious undertones could have been restricted. The intention would have been to re-orientate the people along Euro-Christian values with the assistance of the colonial state in whichever way.

It was apparent that those who survived the battle of Burmi had to face problems of adaptation and integration in their new settlements first at Shiekh Talha and later at Maiwurno all in the Sudan. The fact that the colonial powers had established their dominance in many parts of Africa early in the 20th century, means it was almost difficult or even impossible for the immigrants from the old Sokoto Caliphate to continue with their journey to Mecca as envisaged at the beginning of the flight from Sokoto in March 1903. Quite very few made it to the holyland with the bulk of them terminating the movement in the Sudan. The establishment of a new place called Maiwurno by the Sokoto contingents, aliented them from the rest of the indigenous Muslims in the Sudan, so full integration was difficult initially.

The continuity therefore of the intellectual tradition in the Sokoto area can be attributed to the foresight of the *ulama* who resolved to stay behind. In subsequent chapters of this study, we shall explain how this category of *ulama* facilitated continuity in different spheres of life. The *ulama* were responsible in providing a link between the old and the new. This can be seen clearly in the diverse roles that they played as administrators, scribes, teachers and advisers under the colonial system. The most important point here is that, while the aristocracy of the defunct caliphate conceded certain powers to the British, the latter as well conceded limited

autonomy to the local aristocracy under the emergent indirect rule. Therefore, despite the subjugation of the leadership of the old caliphate, in the final analysis, the arrangement that emerged was that of “give and take” and not that of “the winner takes all”. There was no loss of honour and integrity of the *ulama* and other members of the aristocracy who opted to cooperate with the British.

### THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HIJRAH OF SARKIN MUSULMI ATTAHIRU I

The Islamic values upon which the defunct Caliphate was founded provided the framework for relations with the Europeans as we showed above and also later the reaction of the *umma* (Muslim Community) to the conquest of the Caliphate. After the fall of Sokoto, a section of the *umma* for some few months went on resisting the British domination. As reported by Adeleye “resistance was resumed with a vehemence and a tenacity of purpose which threatened the establishment of British power.<sup>30</sup> The *hijra* (immigration) led by deposed Caliph Attahiru I was one of the ways the Muslims adopted to defy the authority of the British “infidels”. It has been reported that most of the ruling emirs had fled from their domains with large followings immediately the Southern emirates were occupied by the British. This was the case with Emir Abubakar of Bida, Ibrahim Nagwamatse of Kontagora and Lamiddo Zubairu of Yola.<sup>31</sup> Emir of Kano, Aliyu one of the advocates of the *hijra* also departed his

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<sup>30</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy Iop cit p.291.

<sup>31</sup>. See *Ibid* pp 227-236.

troops at Birnin Goga with the plan to embark on the *hijrah*. Emir Aliyu had earlier proposed to the Caliph that Muslims should evacuate their territories because it was almost possible to resist the European invasion.<sup>32</sup>

The *hijrah* of Caliph Attahiru I started on 15 March after the battle at Sokoto, the Caliph escaped eastwards. Some members of the Sokoto aristocracy who were with the Caliph during his flight included the *Qadi* of Sokoto, Abdullahi, the *Ubandoma*, the *Dan Maji*, the *Dan Magaji*, the *Madaki* and the *Sarkin Kwanni*. Some of the Sokoto officials who joined the Caliph's party but shortly afterwards returned to Sokoto were notably the *Marafa*, Muhammad Maiturare, some of the "royal" electors, and the *Amir al-Jaish*.<sup>33</sup> There were also some commoners among the Sokoto people who according to colonial reports returned after fleeing because of the "hardships of the road caused by lack of water and food and also because they learned that the British were sending military patrols after them"<sup>34</sup>

The flight of the Caliph to the east was proposed to terminate at Mecca in order to meet the Mahdi. The Mahdist doctrine which is based on the belief in the appearance of an escatological figure who would reform the world towards the end of the time had gained wide prominence in the Caliphate since the time of the Shehu. The phenomena of Mahdism greatly

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<sup>32</sup>. *Ibid* p.291. Also A.M. Fika, *The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882 - 1940*, (Oxford University Press Ibadan) 1978.

<sup>33</sup>. *Ibid* p.294.

<sup>34</sup>. *Ibid*. Also N.A.K., S.N.P. 15/57 C.I. Temple's Report on the circumstance that led to the death of the Caliph Attahiru, 8 August 1903.



influenced some anti-colonial movements in Northern Nigeria lasting up to about 1926. We shall return to the discussion on the role of Mahdist Movements in anti-colonial resistance in parts of the defunct Caliphate in the next section of this chapter.

Meanwhile, Caliph Attahiru's eastward flight was primarily aimed to terminate at Mecca. In the alternative it was assumed in some sources<sup>35</sup> that the Caliph was heading towards Balda in Adamawa or the hilly area of Bima in Gombe emirate where previous leaders of Mahdism in the defunct Caliphate had established their bases before being crushed by the European colonizers.

It needs to be stressed at this point that, the popular support which the Caliph's party enjoyed was essentially out of the religious zeal demonstrated by the masses. In particular, the personality of the Caliph as the religious and temporal head of the great Caliphate to a great extent influenced the massive support demonstrated by the people through every emirate that the entourage passed in the course of the flight. The underlying motive was to preserve the *Dar al-Islam* (Land of Islam) against colonial occupation and destruction as ordained by the Sharia.<sup>36</sup>

The immense following the Caliph's *hijrah* attracted alarmed colonial officials so that Lugard had to order for a serious pursuit of the Caliph. The Residents of Kano, Zaria and

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<sup>35</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy... op cit* p.295.

<sup>36</sup>. See *Ibid* Also O. Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria The British Conquest*, London, Heinemann 1977.

Bauchi were involved in the pursuit of the fugitive Caliph.<sup>37</sup> Patrol teams were sent out to follow the Movement of Caliph Attahiru whose route according to Adeleye “lay through the southern borders of Kano emirate with Zaria and Ningi, on to southern Katagum (Jama’are district), Zadawa, Misau and south east from there to the Bima hill area on the eastern banks of Gongola, south of Burmi, where his final confrontation with the British was to take place”.<sup>38</sup>

Field reports by the commanders in the pursuit of the Caliph indicated that people were leaving their settlements to join the *hijrah* of Attahiru. For instance one of the field commanders reported to Resident Cargill in Kano that:

we (the patrol team) have marched for three days through country crowded with villages and towns which have been recently occupied, but have now not a soul in them, all having joined the *sarkin Musulmi*.<sup>39</sup>

Information sent to the Resident of Kano by his field commanders were in turn passed on to the Acting High Commissioner Wallace at Zungeru. In one of such reports Resident Cargill stated that, the population of towns and the peasants in the villages had tied up their belongings such as “loads of cloth and food in indescribable confusion”<sup>40</sup> to follow the Caliph.

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<sup>37</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy.. op cit* pp 296-305.

<sup>38</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, *Ibid* p.298.

<sup>39</sup>. Quoted in *Ibid* p.298.

<sup>40</sup>. *Ibid*. p.300.

Hence, according to Resident Cargill “to allow Attahiru in one place for even a week, would mean virtually the whole population joining him (the Caliph) en mass.”<sup>41</sup> Cargill concluded that, “the Movement started by Attahiru was rapidly assuming proportions of a *jihad* which might pitch the entire Muslim population against the British if not checked immediately”.<sup>42</sup>

The massive immigration was also reported by the Residents of Zaria and Bauchi. In Zaria, according to the Resident, some men had disposed of all their property to follow Caliph Attahiru and that this included a section of the aristocracy.<sup>43</sup> In the case of Bauchi the mass movement of the population worried the Resident C.L. Temple so that he was compelled to write to Zungeru for reinforcements to halt the population movement.<sup>44</sup> The leading commander in the pursuit of Attahiru, Captain Sword later reported that:

“the *Sarkin Musulmi* has now many thousands of people with him. The whole population from Kano to the Gongola have joined him”<sup>45</sup>

The frightening news of large scale population movement engendered by the *hijrah* of Attahiru sent signal to the British colonial officials that the Caliph was perhaps mobilizing not only to escape but to launch a serious insurgence to overthrow the colonial state in Northern

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<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid* p.301.

<sup>42</sup>. *Ibid*.

<sup>43</sup>. *Ibid*.

<sup>44</sup>. *Ibid*.

<sup>45</sup>. Quoted in *Ibid*.

Nigeria and restore the Caliphate. The British on their part unleashed the superior military force of the colonial state and crushed what was regarded as an uprising against colonial rule by Caliph Attahiru. A fierce encounter took place between the British army and the Muslim forces under Caliph Attahiru I in which the Caliph and a large number of the Muslims lost their lives.

**UPRISINGS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF SATIRU THE INTELLECTUAL BASIS OF THE MAHDIST ANTI-COLONIAL REVOLT IN SOKOTO EMIRATE.**

The tradition of Mahdism had been an old phenomenon in the history of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate. Interestingly, scholars have to a large extent treated the subject<sup>46</sup> We shall attempt to highlight the intellectual foundation upon which the *ulama* who led such upbringings launched the movements and mobilized public support.

Historically, as far back the 1880s, Mahdism posed a serious challenge to the aristocracy of the defunct Caliphate. Prominently two figures were identified with Mahdism in late 19th century namely: Hayat b. Sa'id and Jibril Gaini.<sup>47</sup> The hegemony of the Sokoto Caliphate leadership was brought into question through activities of the two Mahdist leaders which persisted until the colonial conquest of Northern Nigeria. The followership; of the Mahdists particularly in the eastern emirates of Gombe and Adamawa was quite immense to the extent

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<sup>46</sup>.

See footnote No. 10 above.

<sup>47</sup>.

*Ibid.*

that the strong influence of the Mahdist Movements had grossly weakened the internal cohesion of the defunct Caliphate.

Between 1903 and 1906 when the British colonial state was being consolidated in Northern Nigeria, there was sporadic resurgence of Mahdism in some parts of the territory. The colonial state succeeded in suppressing the anti-colonial Mahdist Movements. However colonial officials even thereafter did not give up the meticulous observation of any "strange" religious activity and surveillance on individual *malams* suspected of preaching anti-colonial sentiments in order to overthrow the colonial regime in Northern Nigeria. This monitoring of the religious activities and Muslim intellectuals included exchange of intelligence information with the French. In addition, intelligence reports were persistently sent on regular basis by the Residents to the colonial government through the Secretary Northern Provinces.<sup>48</sup> Colonial reports dealing with the phenomenon of Mahdism and other matters related to Islam and Muslims which were perceived as threatening the existence of the colonial state were dealt with utmost dispatch and given the treatment that they deserved.

In a report from the British Legation, Jeddah in the 1930s which was copied to British possessions with Muslim populations such as India, Sudan, Nigeria etc, the concept of Islamic unity that was discussed in a handy pamphlet to guide the pilgrims became a point of concern to the colonial administration. The political implication of the gathering in the holy land was highlighted in the report. It was pointed out that Muslims would have "opportunities for social

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Arewa House, Archives (A.H.A.) S.N.P/4682 2 Vols. Islamic Propaganda External Intelligence (2) General Exchange of Intelligence with the French.

intercourse with fellow Muslims, for considering their economic problems; and for exchanging views “on the diverse problems of the time”.<sup>49</sup> There was some elements of worry that certain Muslim elements from other countries could exploit the occasion “for their own political ends and to make use of this annual gathering as a platform from which to air their views”<sup>50</sup>

The Residents in the northern provinces were directed to find out discreetly whether pilgrims returning from Mecca were bringing any propagandist literature in the form of leaflets or pamphlets. Replies by the Residents indicated no evidence of propagandist literature being brought into this country. The watch on all returning pilgrims became an annual exercise by the colonial officials. In this regard, the Residents used to even report information on the experiences acquired by the pilgrims. In 1946 the Acting Resident, Bauchi Province dismissed the issue of Pan-Islamic propaganda being feared by the colonial regime in Northern Nigeria. According to him “the influences exerted on pilgrims during their journey.... would appear to conduce more to a feeling of relief to be back than to acquiring a sense of dissatisfaction with the political or religious conduct of affairs in the country”<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the information from the Resident of Katsina Province in 1946 indicated that the colonial state in Northern Nigeria was up to the 1940s being haunted by the fear of Muslim revolts like that of the Mahdist between

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<sup>49</sup>. A.H.A., S.N.P./4682 enclosed A.S. Calvert to Sir Samuel Hoare  
30th September 1935 pp 442-443.

<sup>50</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup>. A.H.A., S.N.P./4682, Ag. Resident Bauchi Province to S.N.P. 23  
May 1946 p.455.

1903 and 1906. There is evidence to believe that from the report of Resident of Katsina that surveillance on Muslims in the Northern Provinces was after all excessive and was informed by an exaggerative notion of the colonial regime as regards anti-colonial sentiments among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. According to the Resident of Katsina, there was no evidence that pilgrims from his province “have retained any impressions indicative of their having absorbed any subversive propaganda no has any propagandist literature come to light. One thing that does seem to have made a distinct impression on them is the very high price of nearly every thing.....”. Furthermore, the Resident reported that “most of the pilgrims were illiterates and unsophisticated and unlikely to pick up much in any case....”<sup>52</sup>

Like the issue of the pilgrimage the movement of some Muslim personalities within the British territory of Northern Nigeria and into the French Niger and from there engaged the attention of the colonial authorities. Essentially, the exchange of intelligence information dealt with the movement of some *malams*. In August 1928, Resident Carrow of Kano informed the Monsieru le Commandant Zinder about the arrival of one Sherif Abdullahi from Gure in French territory. The Sherif visited Hadejia and went to Malam Alhaji Bamelle and the *Sarkin Tijjani*. According to Carrow as there was nothing actually suspicious about the Sherif he was allowed to proceed.<sup>53</sup> The Resident of Adamawa in September, 1928 received information that the French administrator of Garua has detained two *Malams* namely Ummaru and Sherif Umaru and proposed to extradite them to the British territory if the Adamawa Resident wanted

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<sup>52</sup>

A.H.A., S.N.P./4682, Resident of Katsina to S.N.P. 7 June, 1946.

<sup>53</sup>

A.H.A., S.N.P./4682 V.II Ag. Resident Carrow of Kano Province to Monsieur le Commandant of Zinder, 5 August, 1928.

so. It was also reported to the French that one *Sarkin Bibeni*, east of Garua was a Mahdist and was using his influence to spread sedition, hence, the French resolved to depose the chief. Similarly, the French authorities were informed about the escape of a *Malam* at Zurmu into the French area of Sorau in the region of Adamawa.<sup>54</sup> Such pieces of information exchange between the colonial administrations of the French and British were of great significance as they enabled the colonialists to keep trail of the suspected *Malams* to prevent them as much as possible from spreading what the colonialists considered seditious propaganda.

The apprehensible impression which the colonial administrators in Northern Nigeria had about Muslims and Islam was partly informed by the violent manner the Mahdists reacted against colonial domination. In Sokoto Emirate, the Satiru uprising had throughout the history of colonialism remained the most serious challenge against the colonial state. The Mahdist doctrine greatly influenced the Satiru movement. Conceptually, the Mahdist ideology which spurred the *Malams* who led the anti-colonial uprisings in Northern Nigeria had basis in some Islamic sources.<sup>55</sup> The Mahdist idea sustained an everlasting hope in the minds of the faithfuls. The belief is for the ultimate triumph of Islam over social injustice and *Kufr* forces. The Muslims believe in the appearance of an eschatological figure called the *Mahdi* (the rightly guided one) due to the ubiquity of sins on the earth to restore the true Islamic order at the end of time.

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<sup>54</sup>.

A.H.A. S.N.P./4682 Vol.II Resident of Adamawa Province to S.N.P. 28 September, 1928 p.162.

<sup>55</sup>.

See Footnote No.9 above.



The expectation of the Mahdi gained wide prominence in the 19th century Hausaland through some of the writings of Usman Danfodiyo and those of his lieutenants.<sup>56</sup> At a particular period during the jihad in Hausaland, the Shehu warned his people about the nearness of the Mahdi's appearance. According to Shehu, the jihad would continue until the advent of the Mahdi.<sup>57</sup> Immediately after the death of Shehu, some people began migrating to the eastern emirates in anticipation of the Mahdi.<sup>58</sup>

The exodus of learned individuals with mass followings was on the increase from the last few years of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bello (1817 - 1837) through the period of the reign of Bello's successor, Caliph Abubakar Atiku (1942). The Caliph, Atiku at a point in time had to issue a public proclamation to halt the exodus by declaring that it was not yet time to meet the Mahdi. "Since there is still some good remaining among us"<sup>59</sup>. The Caliph's aristocracy could not stem the tide of migration to the east engendered by the idea of Mahdism.

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<sup>56</sup> See R.A. Adeleye Sifofin Shehu...*op cit* and Muhammad Bello b. Usman Danfodio, *Infaq ul-Maisur fi Tarikh bilad Takrur* (Ed C.J. Whitting, London 1951 and A. Gummi, Cairo 1964).

<sup>57</sup> M. Njeuma, "Adamawa and Mahdism... *op.cit* pp. 63 - 64.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Abubakar al-Atiq, *Risala ila Jama'at Gwandu* cited in S. Biobaku and M.A. Al-Hajj "The Sudanese Mahdiyyah and the Niger-Chad Region" in I.M. Lewis (ed), *Islam in Tropical Africa* (O.U. Press, Oxford 1966) p.429.

To a certain extent anti-colonial elements among the *ulama* in parts of the Caliphate exploited the Mahdist sentiments to further their personal image and to fight against the colonial system. The general form of protest against the British as observed by R.A. Adeleye was that, the protests were mostly led by “numerous *Malams* of local repute who though organising secretly were able to command comparatively large followings”<sup>60</sup> Anti-colonial movements imbued with Mahdism started to proliferate as from 1900 when the invasion of the defunct Caliphate by the British was underway. Subsequent Mahdist uprisings after the fall of the Caliphate were essentially aimed at sending the white infidels away and to maintain the *dar al-Islam* (land of Islam).

The earliest of such Mahdist revolts reported was by one Malam Maizanna who proclaimed himself a Mahdi in 1902 in Nupeland. He mobilised a large followership and was instigating his people to drive away the British and fight the new Emir Muhammad, who the Mahdists considered a British protege.<sup>61</sup> Another *malam* rose up in Kontagora and preached against the payment of taxes to the British. He predicted that a mysterious force would emerge to exterminate the whites since they had appeared invincible by any mortal force.<sup>62</sup> At Jebba and Yelwa, two other type of preachers emerged and were spreading anti-colonial sentiments

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<sup>60</sup>. R.A. Adeleye “Mahdist Triumph and British Revenge in Northern Nigeria: Satiru 1960” in *J.H.S.N.* VI, 2, June 1972 p.194. Also A.M. Saulawa, “Islam and its Anti-colonial and Educational Contribution in West Africa and Northern Nigeria, 1880-1960” in *Hamdard Islamicus*, XVIV, I, Spring 1996 p.72.

<sup>61</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup>. *Ibid.*

among the people.<sup>63</sup> Resident Burdon also reported from Sokoto province prior to the outbreak of the Satiru revolt that a certain Mallam Mai Layu (the scholar with charms) had arisen. The *Malam* had migrated from Rabah to Dajin Gundumi mobilizing the religiously conscious to join him in establishing an Islamic community. He was later arrested and confined by the Sultan.<sup>64</sup>

At Gombe, Bauchi and Adamawa the old centres of Mahdism there was a resurgence of the phenomenon. Neo-Mahdists according to colonial reports emerged around Nafada which is a place close to Bima Hill as well as at Balda and at some places near Burmi.<sup>65</sup> The *Mallams* in all the above places were preaching for the annihilation of the white infidels.<sup>66</sup> These incipient revolts discussed above were instantly checked and crushed by the colonial authorities in Northern Nigeria. Some of the *Mallams* were forced to flee, others were arrested and some even deported into exile.<sup>67</sup> The British occupied Bima Hill and built a garrison at the place considered the centre of Mahdism.

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<sup>63</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>. N.A.K., *Sokoto Provincial Report 1906*, p.11

<sup>65</sup>. *Ibid.* p.196. Also R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy... op cit* p.322.

<sup>66</sup>. *Northern Nigeria Annual Reports, 1905-1906* (London, 1920).

<sup>67</sup>. Asma'u G. Sa'eed "The British Policy *op cit.*

All the early Mahdist protest in Northern Nigeria except one were according to Reverend Miller “sporadic, unconnected and never dangerous” the exception being the case of the Satiru uprising.<sup>68</sup>

The Satiru revolt of March 10, 1906 represented the most formidable resistance against colonial domination. The Satiru event had been adequately discussed in some other works.<sup>69</sup> In terms of intensity, scope and casualties, colonial sources are unanimous that the Satiru riot surpassed other Mahdist anti-colonial uprisings in Northern Nigeria.

In its composition, the movement was made up of scholars, students and ordinary peasants. As suggested by Shehu Lawal, Satiru town was emerging as a centre of learning with the inflow of scholars and students and that even the revolt was “an act of scholarship”.<sup>70</sup> The scholarly nature of the Satiru movement is not acceptable to some particularly members of the traditional establishment who considered the act of the Satirawa as illegal.<sup>71</sup> The scholarship

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<sup>68</sup> R.A. Adeleye, “Mahdist....*op cit* p.196.

<sup>69</sup> Some of the works on Satiru that I consulted are R.A. Adeleye “Mahdist....*op cit*; S.U. Lawal :Lugard Traditional Rulers and the subject - Peasantry: The Satiru Revolt of 1906” *M.A. Thesis*, London 1982 A.S. Mohammed :A Social Interpretation of Satiru Revolt of (1894-1906) in Sokoto Province” *M.A. Thesis*, Zaria, 1983 and M. Perham *Lugard: The Years of Authority* London, 1906 pp.247.

<sup>70</sup> Oral Information quoted in S.U. Lawal *op cit*. p.17.

<sup>71</sup> Interview Alhaji Bello Gidadawa, Dangaladiman Wazirin Sokoto (72 years) July, 1995.

and learning noted among the Satirawa militants has however been widely acclaimed as some people could even recall popular poem in praise of the scholars and students of Satiru.<sup>72</sup>

The Satiru activists came to the knowledge of the powers that be in Sokoto when in February 1904 the Chief of Satiru declared himself a Mahdi and his son was named Isa being the companion of the Mahdi as is known in Islamic tradition. The two were to fight for the end of injustice and for the Islamic order to prevail in the world.

The Satiru episode became an important development in the political history of Northern Nigeria because of the simple fact that even after three years of the occupation of the territory there was as observed rightly by Lawal “the underlying discontent of the subjects... with the establishment of British rule”.<sup>73</sup> Most importantly as remarked by Adeleye “Satiru divided the indigenous power elite”.<sup>74</sup> It was evident that while the Sokoto aristocracy under Sultan Attahiru II were against the Satirawa, the movement enjoyed the support and patronage of the Gwandu ruling class under the Emir who had to be deposed by the British for not being loyal to the colonial authority.

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<sup>72</sup>. An extracted of the poem was recalled by an informant:

Behold the Scholars! Alu a student of Mallam Jibo  
 So he narrated  
 Scholars converging among *Sabara* (the plant  
*Giuerro Senegalensis*)  
 Cried a Loud proclaiming scholarship.  
 See S.U. Lawal “Lugard...*op cit* p.17

<sup>73</sup>. S.U. Lawal, *Ibid* p.16

<sup>74</sup>. R.A. Adeleye “Mahdist *op cit* p.193

Like other Mahdist before them, the Satiru leaders had a universalist perception about their movement and its objective. Essentially, the mission of the movement was to fight the colonial *Kufur* system and restore the *dar al-slam*. In this religious duty, the two most revered Muslim leaders in the defunct Caliphate viz the Sultan and the Emir of Gwandu were invited to join the movement. The former vehemently disassociated himself with the movement where as the latter pledged to offer possible assistance to the activists.<sup>75</sup> The Sultan and other members of the Sokoto aristocracy alienated themselves from the anti-colonial struggle started at Satiru. The Satiru Movement hence became a symbol of opposition against the British and their local agents from amongst the tradition ruling class. In fact, Lugard confirmed in his reports that the Satiru revolt was directed not solely against the British but against the whole colonial administration both “British and its native allies”.<sup>76</sup> The British succeeded in mobilizing the instant support of the Sokoto aristocracy in suppressing the revolt. The military power of the colonial regime was unleashed on the Satiru rebels resulting in mass brutal murder.

The religious zeal with which the Satirawa fought accounted for their initial victory at the first instance. As reported by Resident Burdon, the initial setback and humiliation the British suffered at Satiru manifested the “deep-seated hatred of the British among the

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<sup>75</sup>. N.A.K. *Sokoto Provincial Report 1906*, p.11.

<sup>76</sup>. F. Lugard, *Annual Report... op cit* p.370.

populace.<sup>77</sup> The news spread all over the province that the rifles of the Europeans had become useless and that the *Sarkin Musulmi* had joined the Satiru movement. The people started moving from as far as Zamfara area to come and see the true situation.<sup>78</sup> There was this fear expressed by Lugard when he reported that had the Sultan shown the slightest indecision, “the bulk of the *talakawa* would at once have joined the enemy”.<sup>79</sup>

The religious ideas preached by the leaders of the Satiru movement for mobilization were efficacious in drawing large followership and maintaining cohesion within the movement. Some of the supporters of the Satirawa included some people from the French territory. One of such people was Malam Shu’aibu (Dan Makaho) who became a principal pillar in the movement. He escaped from Zaberma after instigating a religious revolt against the French. On his way to Satiru, he came through Birnin Kebbi and Gwandu from where he gathered a large following before arriving at Satiru. As reported by Adeleye, the Zaberma experience proved a great advantage to the Satiru risings in that “the ideas held in Zaberma about divine intervention including confident assertions that European guns the one evident assurance of white invincibility would issue forth not lethal bullets but water, enjoyed wide currency among adherents of the Satiru revolt”.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>. N.A.K. *Sokoto Provincial Report 1906* p.5

<sup>78</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup>. F. Lugard, *Annual Report... op cit* pp.373 - 4 M. Perham *Lugard: The Years of Authority... op cit* p.258.

<sup>80</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, “Mahdist...*op cit* p.199.

The faith in the divine power was further strengthened when the Satiru men in the first encounter with the British force not only routed the whole company of mounted infantry but also took the maxim gun away. It was after this humiliation suffered by the British on 10th February, 1906 at Satiru that Lugard vowed to launch a counter-offensive against Satiru.

According to Lugard :

The military situation demanded a signal and overwhelming victory for the restoration of our prestige and the prevention of any such rising in the future...<sup>81</sup>

It was on 10th March, 1906 that the counter-offensive was launched on Satiru by a strong British force armed with modern weapons while the Satirawa were armed with locally made simple weapons. Meanwhile, a fighting force of 3,000 men under the *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare was sent by the Sultan before the arrival of the British force to attack Satiru. The *Marafa's* army was routed and even the *Marafa* himself narrowly escaped with his life. This once again enhanced the position of the Satirawa and vindicated their cause. In fact reports have it that the *Marafa's* men refused to fight against Satiru for what they considered to just and holy cause.<sup>82</sup> After all there was this grumbling among the general

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<sup>81</sup>. F. Lugard, *Annual Reports... op cit* p. 368.

<sup>82</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, "Mahdist...*op cit* p.203, F. Edgar, *Littafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, 3 vols (London: Belfast 1911) - Vol.I p.267.



*talakawa* that the Europeans had instituted various forms of exploitation from taxation to forced labour in order to sustain the colonial system.<sup>83</sup>

The second encounter with the British on 10th March was deadly. It was when the Satiru activists were marching to meet the heavily armed British soliders that they chanted war songs to boost the morale of the fighting men. A few lines of the song are:

*Marafa ya dade bai zaka ba,  
Waziri ya dade bai zaka ba,  
Balle Nasara mai dan wando,  
Babban mutum da wandon yaro.*

Translation:

*Marafa* (later Sultan Muhammad Maiturare)  
should come by himself  
*Waziri* could as well come by himself  
What more of the Christian  
A big man wearing children's short nicker.<sup>84</sup>

The entire scenerio of the ecounter was described by a Sokoto aristocrat in these words:

They (the Satirawa) came on, and the  
horsemen gave way and went back:  
no one took any notice. I thought we  
were all going to be killed as before.

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<sup>83</sup>. See *Ibid* F. Edgar *Ibid*. The complaint amongst the Marafa army as reported was that: *Wannan abu yayi muna yawa. An ci mu, an sanya muna kudin kasa, an sanya muna kudin jangali, an sa mu komi mun yi, kana kuma a sa mu, mu yi masa yaki su dai su tafi su yi abin su.* (that having been conquered, land and cattle taxes imposed on us, we shouldn't be asked to fight what is a "whiteman's war".)

<sup>84</sup>. S. W. Junaidu "Resistance to Western culture in the Sakkwato Caliphate: A Lesson to Generations Yet Unborn" in A.M. Kani & K.A. Gandhi (ed) *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press 1990 p.241.

Someone gave an order everyone fired  
then a whistle blow, everyone stopped,  
and there was no one left alive in front.<sup>85</sup>

The episode which resulted in mass killings at Satiru was also described as “the imperialist method of barbarity” by the then Prime Minister of Britain.<sup>86</sup>

Malam Dan Makaho who assumed the leadership of the movement after the death of Isa was captured and tried in the native court with five main actors. They were all sentenced and executed at the Sokoto Market on the instruction of Sultan Attahiru II. To further give legitimacy to the British savagery, the Sultan on the orders of Resident Burdon pronounced a curse on any one who rebuild Satiru or cultivate its soil.<sup>87</sup> The significance of involving the Sokoto aristocracy at the finishing stages of the Satiru event was for the British to gain some political advantages. The fact that the Sultan had publicly condemned “the false prophet” that would enhanced the political position of the British colonialists.

By way of conclusion in this section we wish to restate that Mahdism during the early part of colonial period in Northern Nigeria provided an alternative platform for the expression of anti-colonial sentiments. Such anti-colonial views were propagated through the activities of some *Malams*. The Satiru movement was one of such movements that was guided by the Mahdist doctrine. The preaching of “revolutionary” ideas of Mahdism provided the *Malams*

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<sup>85</sup>. F. Lugard, *Annual Reports... op cit* p.368 - 9.

<sup>86</sup>. N.A.K. *Sokoto Provincial Report 1906*, No.29.

<sup>87</sup>. *Ibid.* Also F. Edger *op cit* Vol.I pp.268-9.

or the *ulama* with a veritable tool for mobilization of support and the sustenance of cohesion within their movements.

On the other hand we showed that colonial officials employed the services of traditional authority backed by their "official" *ulama* to launch a counter offensive against the anti-colonial elements. The combine efforts of the colonial regime and the local aristocracy through ideological war and military action facilitated the successful annihilation of some of the Mahdist Movements as it happened in Satiru of Sokoto Emirate.

### THE ROLE OF SCHOLARS-CUM-POETS IN COLONIAL RESISTANCE .

The military superiority of Britain which had been established with the defeat of the Muslims under Caliph Attahiru I and some other isolated encounters in parts of the Caliphate did not bring the resistance against colonialism to an end by the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. The Muslims under the *malams* and in some places with the support of their Emirs<sup>88</sup> persisted in their rejection of the socio-political order imposed by Britain on the defunct Caliphate. Some of the scholars resolved to fight the British imperialists through the use of their pens. The *ulama* in Northern Nigeria had never under-rated the power of the pen to bring about the much desired social change as was evident in the 19th century jihad of Usman dan Fodio. The writing of poems was subsequently employed to mobilise and enlighten the Muslims on what the *malams* considered the evils of the infidel system introduced by the British.

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<sup>88</sup>. A good example was that of Emirs Hadejia and Katsina Emirates. See R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy.. op cit* pp.318-320 and AbdulMaliki Mani Zuwan Turawa *Nijeriya ta Arewa* (Gaskiya; Zaria 1956) pp.154 - 5..

Historically, the writing of poems had been an old tradition in Hausaland dating back to the 17th century when Islam had taken firm root in the society of Hausaland. Scholars started to write in *Ajami* (Hausa in Arabic characters) to educate the people. For instance the famous 17th century Katsina scholar and saint Dan Marina had a lot of writings to his credit among which was *Wakar Yakin Badar* (A poem on the battle of Badr).<sup>89</sup> Similarly, in the 18th century Hausaland, some of the outstanding poets included Mallam Muhammadu Na Birnin Gwari who wrote poems on admonition (Wa'azi) on Islamic religious subjects one of such was *Durratus-Sana*<sup>90</sup> and another scholar was Mallama Shi'itu Dan Abdur-Ra'uf of Zariya whose poems were also religious in nature like his *Jiddul Ajizi*<sup>91</sup> and many others.

The writing of poems known in Arabic as *Madih* was an important branch of knowledge taught in Muslim Hausaland for a very long time. The panegyric or eulogy according to Hiskett used to be addressed predominantly to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.). In these "Songs of Praise" the poet expresses his love for the Prophet, the desire to visit the Prophet's mosque (and tomb) at Medina and also describes some of the "evidentiary miracles" or *Mu'jizat* which Allah bestowed on His chosen Prophet of Islam.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>. M.A. Alkali, "Rayuwar Alhaji Bello Gidadawa Sakkwato da Wakokinsa" B.A. (Hausa) project, Sokoto 1983 pp 4 - 5; also M.A. Ibrahim "Alkali Haliru Wurno da Wakokinsa" B.A. Hausa project, 1984, p.3.

<sup>90</sup>. M.S. Ibrahim, *Adabin Zamani Na Hausa* Inst. of Education A.B.U. Zaria, 1977 pp.5 - 10.

<sup>91</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup>. M. Haskett, "Islamic Education in the Traditional and State System in Northern Nigeria" in G.N. Brown & M. Hiskett (eds) *Conflict and Hermony in Education in*

The Sokoto jihadists promoted *Madih*. The classical Arabic panegyrics to the Prophet was an important part of the curriculum of Islamic scholarship in the defunct Caliphate. In line with this, Usman dan Fodio composed several poems in Arabic and Fulfulde which were later translated into Hausa by Isa Maikware (Autan Shehu - the last born of Shehu's children). Some other Sokoto scholars including the female scholars like Nana Asma'u<sup>93</sup> also wrote poems on variety of subjects of interest to Islam. Most of the poems by the jihad leaders were popularised through constant recitation by beggars in and around mosques and by the women in purdah. A lot of such songs like the famous *Tabban Hakika* of Usman dan Fodio and the rest had penetrated the different parts of Hausaland through the agency of itinerant scholars and students who traversed the length and breadth of the country in such of knowledge.

The literary tradition of poetry was imbibed by the next generation of scholars in the 20th century. The challenge of the imperialists such as the onslaught on the faith and culture of the Muslims engendered by colonial occupation of the Muslim lands, compelled the *ulama* in Hausaland to employ the tactic of intellectual warfare through composing songs during colonial period.

Essentially, the message in the poems during colonialism and immediately thereafter was for the Muslims to stick to Islam and preserve their faith, to shun vices and the adoption of Christian (nasara) way of life, then much later some poets were enlightening the people to

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*Tropical Africa*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.) 1975 p.138.

<sup>93</sup>. J. Boyd, *The Caliph's Sister Nana Asma'u 1793 - 1865* (Frank Cass: London) 1975, p.138.

accept some of the modern innovations that were introduced by the Europeans which were not in conflict with Islam.

By way of elaboration of the points above, one can say that, the early part of colonial rule witnessed the composition of the poems that seemed to adopt hardline postures. The *Wakar Zuwan Annasara*<sup>94</sup> readily falls under the hardline category. The Europeans and their rule together with their way of life were completely condemned in the poem. Infact nothing associated with the *nasara* was regarded good since they were enemies of the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).

Some of the issues raised in the poem - *Wakar Annasara* included the compelling reason to migrate to Medina because of the occupation of the Muslim lands by the Europeans. The author castigated the physical features of the Europeans and whatever innovation they brought because there was no excuse according to the author whatsoever that would make the Muslims to relate with the Europeans. Here are some few lines below from the poem:<sup>95</sup>

8. *Batu na Shehu yay yi shi ba shi tashi*  
*Kasag ga tana zama mulkin Nasara.*  
 (The Shehu's prediction is true that  
 This land would be ruled by the Europeans)

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<sup>94</sup>. The real authorship of the poem has remain controversial among scholars. For some of the arguments See D. Abdulkadir, *Rubutattun Wakoki Na da Da Na Yanzu*, (Nelson: Nigeria) 1979; also A.B. Yahya "The significance of the 19th century Hausa Poetry Teachings" in A.M. Kani & K.A. Gandi (eds) *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, (Univ. Press Sokoto) 1990 p.289.

<sup>95</sup>. Bello Said "The Reaction of Hausa Poets to Western Civilization in *Harsunan Nijjeriya*, Vol.XVII, 1995, pp.14-16.

10. *Idan ni dai ka tashi ba ni zamni*  
*Zama Wallahi ba ni biyat Nasara.*  
 (Even if I am the only person to leave,  
 I will not stay)
11. *Cikin biyu sai a zabi guda a dauka,*  
*Walau tashi walau a bi Annasara.*  
 (There is no third choice,  
 Either leave or follow the Europeans).
18. *Idan sun ba ka kyauta kar ka karba*  
*Dafi na sunka ba ka guba Nasara*  
 (If they give you a present do not take it,  
 it is poison they give you).
19. *Suna foro gare mu bar zalama*  
*Mazalunta da kansu diyan Nasara.*  
 (They advise us to stop injustice  
 while they are the true tyrants).
20. *Bakar fitina gare su da kau makida,*  
*Ta bata dinin Musulmi Annasara.*  
 (They are troublesome and wily,  
 In manoeuvring to destroy Islam).

The author did not spare those Muslims who compromised with the Europeans in order to work in cooperations with the British under the colonial order. The author described such conformist Muslims below:<sup>96</sup>

33. *Munafukkai cikin mu yawa gare su*  
*Wadanda ka kyauta al'amarin Nasara*  
 (They are hypocrites among us  
 who support the way of the Europeans).
34. *Da masu zuwa cikinsu suna jiyayya,*  
*Munafukkanmu ke ga Annasara*  
 (Those who have contact and are in good  
 terms with them,  
 Are our real hypocrites).
37. *Da mai cewa abinsu shina da kyawo,*  
*Ku bar fissai ku sa shi cikin Nasara.*  
 (And the one who praises their ways,  
 Judge him no different from the Europeans).

The colonizers, the writer cautioned Muslims, should be considered an embodiment of evils hence Muslims should return to Allah for protection against the evils of the Europeans.

The poet continued thus:<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>. *Ibid* p.15.

<sup>97</sup>. *Ibid*.



45. *Nasara fari gare su bisa jikinsu,  
cikinsu baki kirin shika Annasara.*  
(The European skin in white  
But inside they are jet-black).
49. *Akwai mu da magani, mu tsaya ga Allah,  
Garai muka dogara mu buwai Nasara.*  
(The only remedy is to return to Allah,  
Depending upon Him sets us overcome the Europeans).

Malam Abubakar Maikaturu was another scholar - poet who lived in Sokoto and died in the 1940s. He witnessed the gradual penetration of European culture into the social setting of the Muslims in Sokoto. He wrote many poems on Islamic teachings and one of such poems was tailored towards an uncompromising stand against colonialism and western culture. The anti-colonial poetry he wrote is reproduced below in which the author attack the European way of dressing, language, pastime activities such as games etc.<sup>98</sup>

1. *Kayansu in kassa don ka kula,  
In kai dubun sallah gonga wala  
Dai dai da mai yo wat kwan hitila*  
(Their dress if you wear take not that,  
Even if you pray a thousand times it is  
Ineffective you remain like the manufacturer  
of a bulb).

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<sup>98</sup>. *Ibid.* pp.16 - 17.

2. *Wandon ga dan guntu shi da tsala,*  
*Kwas sa shi kafiri yai Makurdi.*  
 (Those little shorts and the tight pants,  
 Wearing them is the act of an infidel).
5. *Sos, Kwandiras, bata, shoti kwala*  
*Kwas sa su yayi fadi.*  
 (Socks, shirts and any kind of European shoes,  
 Wearing them is to add to the number of infidel).
6. *Kaki da hawanjama kowane na,*  
*Yas sa su yai salla yayi kaudi.*  
 (Wearing Khaki cloth and pyjamas,  
 And praying in them is the act of intrusion).
7. *Tawul, bulu, hoda kak kayi su*  
*Don gobe sai nari am majidi*  
 (You should not possess a towel or use washing  
 blue or powder,  
 Lest later you lodge in Hell fire).
8. *Har tocilan dahir ka jim shi,*  
*Da agogo kwad damra sai makodi*  
 (Listen any brother, even a flash light  
 And a wrist watch, he who possess them will be  
 severely beaten (in the Hell fire)).

14. *Hausassu kwas san ta ya halaka,*  
*Daidai da mai kirat dan mabudi.*  
 (Whoever learns their language will perish  
 And will be as the man who invented the Padlock).

Some other poets severely criticized the system of writing introduced by the British in which the writer starts from the left moving to the right as opposed to the reverse order obtained in Arabic cum Islamic scripts. In Islam, it is a prophetic tradition to begin positive things and/or action by using the right side either hand or left whichever is applicable. Hence, Muslims are ordained to eat with the right hand, enter the house with right leg first, wear a pair of shoe on the right foot first etc.<sup>99</sup> In rejecting the system of writing of the Europeans and the writing materials particularly the pen, one poet wrote:

*Amshi takardun ka da babu Basmala,*  
*Babu salati babu sunan Allah,*  
*Alkalamin su mai kamar masilla,*  
*Da taddawa tutut tana dalala.<sup>100</sup>*

That is,

Take (away) your papers which bear no *Basmala*,<sup>101</sup>  
 No praise to the Prophet of Allah,  
 Their pen resembles a shaft,  
 With ink ceaselessly flowing.

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<sup>99</sup>. See *Biyadhi al-Salihin*, (Darul Ma'amun: Beirut) 1976 (1396 A.H.) pp.327 - 328.  
 Also see Hadith No. 50 by Bukhari and Muslim in *Bulughul Maram Min Adil-Latil Ahkam* (Darul Fikr Beirut) 1994 (1414 A.H.) p.27.

<sup>100</sup>. S.W. Junaid "Resistance... *op cit* p.247.

<sup>101</sup>. It is name given to the opening sentence of the chapters in the Holy Qur'an.

Some of the disciples of poets like Maikaturu followed the footsteps of their teachers. Hence, a scholar - poet known as Malam Khalil one of the former students of Malam Maikaturu was as well unrelenting in his attack against the colonial order and European way of life. The *Malam* reportedly died around 1975 and in one of his poems he was very critical of these Muslims who assumed political leadership after the departure of the British colonizers. The following lines are from the poem in which he criticised Muslims in position of authority particularly those who followed the European ways.<sup>102</sup>

12. *An shiga Kufru babu hus gare mu,*  
*Ya Rabbu Ya Hayyu Ka agaje mu,*  
 (Everyone is involved in infidel practices;  
 We are in trouble  
 Oh! our Lord, help us).
18. *Dubi Musulmi ka biyat Nasara*  
*Gidanku dai gobe dada mugira.*  
 (Look at it that a Muslim obeys Europeans,  
 You will share the same house with them  
 in the Hereafter).
19. *Dubi Musulmi shi taho da oda,*  
*Shi firgita mu don rashin sa'ada.*  
 (Look at it that a Muslim brings ordinances,  
 Dismaying us by his unhelpfulness?)

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<sup>102</sup>. Bello Sa'id *op cit*, pp 19-20.

20. *Dubi Musulmi ka rabon jarida*  
*Ga 'yan'uwansa ya shige irtadda.*  
 (Look at it a Muslim distributes newspapers  
 To his brothers involving himself in apostacy?)
21. *Dubi Musulmi ka ajin haraji*  
*A bai shi kai ma Kafiri yai yaji.*  
 (Look at it a Muslim collects tax  
 And dares to take it to unbeliever?)
26. *Dubi Musulmi aka ba albashi*  
*Shi yo zaton gobe a tsarkake shi,*  
 (Look at it that a Muslim receives a salary  
 And thinks to be purified in the Hereafter?)
34. *Dubi Musulmi ka hawan karuffa,*  
*Shi dora kumburi shi hau katifa.*  
 (Look at it that a Muslim rides a vehicle  
 Arrogantly and sleeps on a mattress?)

As regards Muslim masses who willingly supplied physical labour for colourful projects in exchange of token amount and those Muslims involved in other forms of dealings with the Europeans, Mallam Khalil raised serious doubts about their faith in Islam. He writes that:<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>. *Ibid* pp.20-21.

55. *Dubi Musulmi aka jingacewa,  
shi zo shi baibaye gidan baubawa.*  
(Look at it that a Muslim makes contracts  
With unbelievers to roof their houses).
67. *Wadanga Musulimina don ka lura,  
Ba Musulmina na ba duk bayara*  
(Those Muslims we have mentioned,  
Are not real Muslims, they have strayed).
68. *Sun aza sun zamo cikin Musulmi,  
Sabadda haifuwa cikin Islami.*  
They think that they are among Muslims  
Because they were born in a Muslim society).
70. *Kowane kag gani shina ma'amala,  
Da Kafiri sun zama dai don ka kula.*  
(Whoever you see interacts with unbelievers,  
they are the same).
74. *A'uzu bil-Lahi da yin soyayya  
Da Kafiri mun fi da son kiyayya.*  
(I take refuge in God from entering into  
relationship with unbelievers; we prefer enmity).

Another scholar - poet who composed anti-colonial poems in colonial Sokoto was one Mallam Maharazu. He was taught by one of the scholars among the Satiru activists. He identified a number of cultural traits of the British colonizers which had been entrenched in the

indigeneous system of the Muslim - Hausa in Northern Nigeria. Furthermore, the poet lamented the replacement of the *sharia* system with a non-Islamic legal system of European origin. Some of the views of Mallam Maharazu, are stated below in some verses in one of his poems:<sup>104</sup>

6. *Had dai ga yau ga shi zab ban firgita,  
Bisa zamani komi shi zam na Nasara.*  
(Today things have reached a point where they cause fear,  
that in this age Europeans dominate everything).
7. *Suturammu duk hatta abincin marmari  
Kuddinmu babu su yanzu sai na Nasara.*  
(What we wear and what we eat,  
Our money too - all replaced by things European).
12. *Hakana shari'o'i na alkallai ga yau,  
An fara kowace babu sai ta Nasara.*  
(All the *shari'a* cases heard by judges nowadays  
Must be judged under European law).
13. *Hakana saraki masu ikon duniya,  
Wasu inda kad dube su ke ga Nasara.*  
(Emirs supposed to,/(who) rule in this world,  
Now some of them look like the Europeans).

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<sup>104</sup>. *Ibid.*

14. *Da abin hawa da abin shiga da abin rufa,  
Hakana wurin kwancinsu duk na Nasara.*  
(Their vehicles, houses and dress,  
As well as the beds they sleep in (on) are Europeans).

In some other verses of his poem, Malam Maharazu expressed great fear because the colonial masters had really assumed full control in monitoring the conduct of some religious duties by Muslims in Northern Nigeria. The colonial administration organised the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and the building of Islamic schools and such functions impliedly used to be the exclusive responsibility of the Muslim authorities in Muslim Hausaland before the colonial era. The poet was also specifically concerned about the role of teachers under the colonial dispensation. According to Malam Maharazu, teachers who in the past used to serve as role models in words and deeds, abdicated that religious duty under the secular colonial setting. Hence the poet observed that:<sup>105</sup>

16. *Hajinmu ban tsoro gare shi na zamani  
Mai kai mutane yau su yo shi Nasara.*  
(Even the conduct of our pilgrimage now is frightening  
(For it is Europeans who take people to perform it).
20. *Ginat akai Islamiya ga garuruwa,  
Amma alamominta duk na Nasara.*  
(Islamic schools are built everywhere in the towns  
But they look like European ones).

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<sup>105</sup>. *Ibid.*



25. *Kuma babu amri babu nahayi ko kadan*  
*Rudi akai niyya tana ga Nasara.*  
 (There is no enjoining of good or forbidding of evil,  
 But deception; the intention is to make Europeans).
54. *Shi Mallami ya sa tufafin bariki*  
*Ga batun gwadin iko shikan fi Nasara.*  
 (The teacher wears Western clothes,  
 In his arrogance of power he exceeds even Europeans).
31. *An yanka albashi gare shi ana biya,*  
*Ya zam awa Inyamuri da Nasara.*  
 A fixed salary is paid to him,  
 He becomes one with Ibo and Europeans.

The Muslims who found themselves under colonial domination were strongly warned as regards the way to relate with the colonial masters. Malam Maharazu like other Muslim - Hausa poets drew heavily from the Qur'an and the prophetic sayings to provide the Islamic framework for social interaction between the Hausa - Muslims and the British overlords in Northern Nigeria. The poet wrote that Muslims must never imitate the Euro-Christians colonizers because that tantamount to one joining the Jewish and /or Christian faith as shown in the Qur'an and hadith. According to the poet:

33. *Ji "Wa man tashabbaha" ga Hadisi ya fadi,*  
*Fa "bikaumi fa huwa minhumu" akara.*  
 (Listen to what the Hadith says "He who imitates,  
 A people, he is one of them".)<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>. The hadith in full is "*Wa nan tashabbaha bi kaumin fa huwa minhum*" meaning "Whosoever admires a particular people's (way of life) then he is among them".

37. *A yat "Wa lan tarda" ku bi ta ku fassara,*  
*"Ankal Yahudawa gami da Nasara".*  
 (Make clear the meaning of Qur'anic verse which says:  
 "Never will the Jews or Christian accept you...")<sup>107</sup>
38. *Sai ka bi addininsu ba wata gardama,*  
*Sannan su yarda da kai kana wa Nasara.*  
 (Until you follow their religion without dispute,  
 Then they will accept you when you become like the Europeans).
46. *Zancen Ilahid dini an ki biya tasa,*  
*An hau jawabin kafirina Nasara.*  
 (The words of Allah have been rejected  
 only the words of infidels are followed).
53. *An ki har an koma son su ga zamani,*  
*Don ko Musulmi sun ka gade Nasara.*  
 (We shun them, but gradually, we have come to admire them,  
 Because, Muslims have now taken over the ways of Europeans).
54. *Ja yau sana'a dai shikai sai kwadago,*  
*Bidi babbaku yau don ka gane Nasara.*  
 (Today the whiteman is nothing but a hireling  
 Today you look for European among the blacks)

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<sup>107</sup>. See Holy Qur'an: II (The Cow): 120 "And the Jews will not be pleased with thee, nor will the Christians till thou follow their creed..."

Malam Maharazu lived long because he died sometime in 1983. He lived to witness some spectacular developments engendered by technological breakthrough in Northern Nigeria. Overtime some of the “hardline” views of Mallam Maharazu especially about colonialism and Western culture were moderated to adopt to the changing circumstance of the post-colonial period in Northern Nigeria. In this regard the poet composed poems which indicated a change of attitude towards modernization. We shall discuss more about this development in the latter part of this section.

Meanwhile, the Islamic orientation of the Hausa poetry which influenced the poets a great deal persisted up to the period of independence struggle. In one of such poems in the 1950s, one political poet wrote and used the Islamic influence to promote the political fortunes of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The Islamic character of the NEPU songs<sup>108</sup> provided the party with a strong ideology for mobilization and the sustenance of massive support among the *talakawa*. The poem in question portrayed NEPU as a promoter of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood in the Muslim emirates of Northern Nigeria as opposed to the rival political party, the Northern Peoples’ Congress (N.P.C.) which was shown to be in league with the British colonizers who apparently destroyed the Islamic foundation that existed in precolonial Northern Nigeria. According to the poet:<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>. See J.N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Uni. of California Press, Los Angeles) 1973 pp 291-298 where some verses from the poem on NEPU were reproduced. Also H.A. Birniwa’s, “Conservatism and Dissent: A Comparative Study of N.P.C/N.P.N and NEPU/P.R.P, Hausa Political Verse From Circa 1946-1979”. *Ph.D Thesis*, (U.D.U, Sokoto) 1987.

<sup>109</sup>. M. Hiskett, *A History of the Hausa Islamic verse*, (Oxford Uni. Press London) 1975 p.111.

1. Think of the self-respect of our country (in the past)  
Our ancestors had Islamic learning  
And the *Shari'a* which had no equal,  
Today our Chiefs have no respect,  
Those NPC followers and the rest have given respect to the  
Europeans.
  
2. With their aid our Chiefs have been demoted  
They have been turned into mere parliamentary representatives,  
Today, they refuse to apply our (Islamic) knowledge,  
As for our *Shari'a*, all it does is harm us,  
The Chiefs and the *Alkali* (Muslim magistrate) are in  
league with the Europeans.
  
5. They cheat us behind our backs,  
They are rubbing shit in our calabash,  
Flies crawl all over our food,  
If we say we want make things better they rebuke us,  
It is greed that deceives you, you fool.

As from the late 1940s upward there there was the emergence of a new generation of scholar - poets among the Muslim - Hausa apparently with a new world outlook ready to appreciate modern changes under colonialism. In addition, some of the scholar-poets from among the old generation had compromised to some extent. Hence as we indicated above a conservative Muslim poet like Mallam Maharazu came to recognise some aspects of modernity

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as worthy of praise. Hence some things introduced by the Europeans like bicycles, automobiles, aeroplanes, soap, sugar, bread, metal products such as European nails, wires, keys and even the train were the objects that engaged the attention of the scholar - poets to show their socio-economic values to the society.

Among the scholar - poets who composed poems in appreciation of the European technology was one Mallam Sa'idu. The poet was full of praise for King George V of England (1910 - 1935) who supposedly did a lot for the development of Northern Nigeria. Some of the ideas of Mallam Saidu about the social and technological changes in the North are contained in the verses reproduced below:<sup>110</sup>

3. *Jama'a iri da iri da Hausa dabam-dabam*  
*Ya sa su Hausa guda Amirin Ingila.*  
(There are different people with different languages,  
But the King made them speak one language).
  
5. *Oda da Turawa kaza da bakin mutum,*  
*Kuyi gaskiya kun san Amirin Ingila.*  
(Laws have been enforced upon black and white  
(Be honest, for you know the King of England).
  
10. *Hikima tana nan inda mai aikin waya,*  
*Batu wanda sunka yi safe, hantsi Ingila.*  
(There are wonders in telecommunication,  
A talk given here is there in England an hour later)

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<sup>110</sup>. N.A. Skinner, *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki A Kano Malam* (A.B.U. Press, Zaria) 1977 p.98.

17. *Ku fa lura in an ce Waziri na tafe,  
Duka sai ku bushe kas shi ce batu Ingila.*  
(You should pay attention when the Governor comes.  
You must stand erect, lest he reports it to England).
35. *Ku tsaya ku lura da al'amurran ajibi,  
Aikin kwadarko can Kaduna na Ingila.*  
(Let me tell you the wonders I witnessed,  
The building of Kaduna bridge by England).
37. *Hanya guda jirgi guda mato ka bi,  
Daya ko mutane, gagara na Ingila.*  
(Trains and automobiles run on the same way,  
People too have their way; England is unbeatable).
40. *Can dauri mun ji Kwara ba ta kwadarkuwa,  
Ya ce a zo a yi mat shine can Ingila.*  
(We were told before that the River Niger could not be  
bridged,  
(The King) ordered that to be done while away in England).
44. *Manyan makera na gidan Bulda budi,  
Sarkinku ya ce kui da kyau mai Ingila.*  
(Expert metal workers of the Public Works Department,  
Your King from England ordered you to do it well).
45. *Ya ce da kaya nai na aiki ga kudi  
Ku yi waibuwa da yawa da injin Ingila.*  
(With his materials and money he said,  
You should make wonderful things with English machines).

Malam Dan'amu a Sokoto scholar - poet who later became the Chief Imam of Kano wrote a poem to commemorate the landing of the first aeroplane in Sokoto in 1927. Mallam Dan'amu was a renown poet in Musim-Hausa land and he belonged to the generation of scholar-poets who regarded colonialism as a phenomenon in which there were the good and bad sides. The poem of the aeroplane described the external features of the plane and the mode of its movement, the poet was really marvelled by the aeroplane as indicated in the poem, he wrote:<sup>111</sup>

1. *Akwai sihiri mai yawa don su shaida,  
Ga wannan da yak kago jirgin sama.*  
(There is a magic you know,  
In the invention of aeroplane).
2. *Ka tsinkai shi dan karami dab bisa,  
Ashe babba na rad da yaz zo kasa.*  
(You see it small up in the air,  
And huge when it comes to the ground).
3. *Zama wanda bai san karamatu ba,  
Ku san ya bace radda duk yag gusa.*  
(He who does not know what a miracle is,  
For sure he will be lost when he dies).

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<sup>111</sup>. Bello Sa'id pp.27-28.

4. *Ziza shikai wadda taf fi ta mota,  
Ya fi ta zafi wurin lankwasa.*  
(It roars loader than a motor car,  
And is faster in turning).
5. *Kafafunsa biyu na misalin na tsuntsu  
Shina tad da kura garin durkusa.*  
(It has two legs like a bird,  
It raises the dust on landing).
6. *Janahaini su ag garai ca kakai  
Awa jinjimi am misali nasa.*  
(It has two wings. It looks  
Just like a white ibis).
7. *Da yaz zaka yag kewaye Sakkwatawa,  
Fa matan gari ba su woba tasa.*  
(When it came and circled over Sokoto,  
Even women in the house have witnessed it).

Malam Aliyu Namangi, a scholar-poet from Zaria who was awarded an honorary Doctor of Letters by Ahmadu Bello University Zaria in the early 1970s also composed a poem on the automobiles known as the *song of Bicycle*. According to Skinner, the poem was composed in 1959, the year the Northern Region became self-governing.<sup>112</sup> The poet described the efficiency and ease achieved through the use of the motor car, the train, motor-cycle,

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<sup>112</sup>. N.A. Skinner *op cit* p.164.



aeroplane and the bicycle, courtesy of the European rule. Here are some lines from Namangi's

*Song of Bicycle*.<sup>113</sup>

1. *Muna shukura ga Rabbal Alamina,*  
*Da alherin da yai mana ba kadan ba.*  
(We give thanks to the Lord of the World  
For the bounty bestowed on us in no small measure).
2. *Muna murna da Mulkin Ingilishi,*  
*Zuwan da sukai kasarmu ba tai taiyaba.*  
(We rejoice in the rule of the English  
For since they came our country has not known poverty).
3. *Gama zamaninsu ne aka zo da faifa,*  
*Kudi ba masu nauyaya aljihu ba.*  
(For in their time we have been brought paper money  
Which does not weigh down the pocket).
4. *Dada zarafinsu ne aka zo da jirgi,*  
*Kaje Maka ba da tashin hankali ba.*  
So too through their kindness we have received the aeroplane,  
So that you go to Mecca without trouble).
5. *Sannan ga su babur ga su mota,*  
*Da farko da a can ba mu san da su ba.*  
(Then there are motor-cycles, cars and the rest,  
Which in the old days were unkonwn to us).

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<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

6. *Izan tafiya ta faru ka nemi mota,  
Izan jirgi ba kai daidai da shi ba.*  
(If you have to travel, look for a lorry,  
If you don't coincide with a train).
7. *Izan kau babu jirgi babu mota,  
Ka je da kafarka ba keken tsiya ba.*  
(But if there's neither train nor motor,  
Then go on your feet and not on shameless bicycle).

In Sokoto, the conservative scholar - poet Mallam Maharazu we discussed elsewhere above surprisingly became among the few who composed poems in praise of some European products introduced as a result of colonial domination. In a poem on Dangerous Drugs (Miyagun Kwayoyi), the poet identified some items that he considered useful to the Muslims which should be adopted. On the other hand the dangerous drugs and other such things which have no apparent tangible and/or does not serve some spiritual values were to be discarded by Muslims and these included items like cake, sweets, sugar, biscuits and bread. Products such as the public address system for use in the mosques, tape recorders for audio preservation of religious poems, coins, kerosine and the lamp as well as the soap for bathing for one to be clean were all shown to be of immense benefit to the Muslims.<sup>114</sup>

Interestingly, there appeared some changes in the perception of the poet about colonialism and some of its antecedents. The uncompromising stand against European culture

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<sup>114</sup>. Bello Sa'id pp 27-28

and system gave way to an accomodating posture towards the phenomenon as expressed in the few lines below by Mallam Maharazu. He wrote:

17. *Abin da duk an na baki kar mu yarda da shi,*  
*Mu zan biyat namu shi ak kama hanyoyi.*  
 (We should not trust anything (sic) brought by aliens<sup>115</sup>  
 To stick to our traditions is the right way).
18. *Su kyat su biskin burudi suga alawoyi*  
*Babban bata wanda yaf fi gare su kwayoyi.*  
 (Cakes, biscuits, bread, sugar and all kinds of sweets,  
 And the biggest sin of all - dangerous drugs).
19. *Su lasifika akwai rana gare su suma,*  
*Wurin kiran Salla aka buda muryoyi.*  
 (Loud-speaker are useful no doubt  
 They increase the power of voice in calling to prayer).
20. *Awa rikoda mawaka na ganin hikima,*  
*In anka buda su nan aka damre muryoyi.*  
 (Tape recorders too are valued by poets  
 Through which their voices may be preserved).

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<sup>115</sup>. The word *anything* used by the translator does not seem to convey the idea of the poet. The correct word to use should be *everything*. The word anything as use in the text indicates a sort of total rejection by the poet whereas it appears in the subsequent verses there is a selection of some items considered of value from among the variety of products made by the Europeans.

21. *Da sabulunsu ana wanka ana wanki,  
Kananzirinsu ana fitila da mayoyi.*  
(Their soap is useful for bathing and washing cloths,  
Kerosine too is useful for lamps).
22. *Waya da kushoshi karfen Nasariya,  
Dud dai da sauki gare su da tib da tayoyi.*  
(Wires, nails and all European metals  
Are harmless, so too tyres and tubes).
23. *Kudi karuffa da fefofin ga nasu duka,  
Sun ba mu su bad da namu irin na ijyoyi.*  
(Their money, coins and bills  
Which they brought to us when they took our cowries).
24. *Abubuwan da sukan yo duk da saukinsu,  
Sharri gami da bala'i sai ga kwayoyi.*  
(And many of their manufactures are harmless,  
But the most disastrous and evil thing is dangerous  
drugs).

The last category of the scholar - poet we wish to consider in this section of our study are those we refer to as “the new breed”. A lot of the Hausa poets under this category were born during the early decades of the colonial period specifically in the 1920s to 1930s. Some of them had attended the Western Schools (*Makarantun Boko*) established in the Muslim Emirates. In addition quite many of them had received a fair training in the Qur’anic schools

(*Makarantu Allo*) and therefore had some background in Islamic education. Such poets were products of a “dual curricular”.

The preoccupation of “the new breed” or “modern” scholar - poets was to strike a balance between the cherished values of their traditional social setting which predominantly was Muslim and the “good” aspects of the Western system introduced by the colonialists. From the writing of these class of scholar - poets one could discern “a soft pedalling” move to enlighten the Muslims in the Northern Emirates on the aspects of modernity under the colonial social order. In essence, the aim of the poets was to enlighten their people to accept and accommodate social changes and integrate them into the existing social system in the Emirates. In our area of study some of the scholar - poets to be identified under “the new breed” category include Alhaji Bello Gidadawa, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the late Wazirin Sokoto Dr. Junaidu Buhari and Malam Halliru Wurno and host of others we cannot all present in this limited study.

Essentially, the Hausa poets who witnessed last decades of colonial rule contributed immensely in disabusing the minds of the Muslims on many aspects of modernity that came through the European colonizers. A number of the scholar - poets either on their own or through the agency of the colonial regime and the traditional leadership had assisted in the spread of some good modern ideas and technological products of immense value and benefits to the Muslim subjects. In some respects, the poets brought much religious (Islamic) influence to bear in their poems on modernity in order to provide a strong premise to praise the modern innovations. One poet called Salihu Kwantagora attributes the intelligence of the Whiteman in technological breakthrough primarily to the gift of mental aptitude from Allah as Muslims are made to believe.

According to Malam Salihu, the numerous inventions of the modern times such as the gun, bullet, aeroplane, explosives, the television and radio should not be seen as products of magic but of the brain which is a more complicated creation of Allah. The poet wrote in the lines below that:<sup>116</sup>

26. *Yai bindiga hadda harsashi,*  
*Ya kera jirgin da ke tashi,*  
*Ku dubi jirgi da girmanshi*  
*Ya wo fitila da lantarki.*

(He (European) makes the gun and bullet,  
 He makes the plane that flies,  
 Look at the huge size of the plane,  
 He makes the lantern and generates electricity).

42. *Ku lura dai Radio ku gani*  
*Komi mutum duniya ya gani,*  
*Ai ba kamarsa ga nawa gani,*  
*Da yaw wuce shi ga mamaki.*

(Consider the invention of radio,  
 Nothing invented in this world,  
 Ever exceeded it to my thinking,  
 In wonder).

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<sup>116</sup>. Bello Sa'id *op cit* 28 - 30.

The writer in some other verses of the poem regarded some individuals as fools who because of ignorance could not appreciate the fact that whatever wonder man exhibits in this world that should ultimately reinforce one's belief in the Giver of the faculty of intelligence. Hence the poet continued thus:<sup>117</sup>

88. *Wadansu kan nuna wautarsu,*  
*Domin karancin tunaninsu,*  
*In dai suna batu kyale su,*  
*In dai sunai kar ka sa baki.*  
 (Some show their foolishness  
 For their shortsightedness  
 Ignore what they may say,  
 Do not even listen to them).
89. *Suna fadin babu ko shakki*  
*Wai Radiyo wanga dai aiki*  
*Abin ga mai ba da mamaki*  
*Wai har suna ce da shi gunki.*  
 (They used to say it was sure,  
 That the way radaio functions,  
 This wonderful thing  
 They would even call it a fetish).

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<sup>117</sup>. *Ibid.*

90. *Mai wanga kullin irin ra'ayi,*  
*To kuskure ba musu yay yi,*  
*Nan ga rashin bincike da yayi,*  
*Ya mance Allah mai mulki.*  
 (He who has this opinion,  
 Without any doubt is wrong,  
 For he never looks properly into the matter,  
 And forgets the power of God).

During the late 1940s the nationalist struggle was gathering momentum especially in Southern Nigeria. By 1945 the World War II in which the colonial people fought on the side of the Allied Forces <sup>118</sup>against the Axis Powers<sup>119</sup> had come to an end. The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.) was formed and among the principles enshrined in the U.N. charter was the affirmation of self-determination. It became universally recognized that peoples in the colonial territories should choose the form of government under which to govern themselves. The main colonial powers namely Britain and France started preparing the ground for the political independence of their colonial subjects. This and many other domestic developments in Nigeria opened the flood gate for calls on Britain to grant political independence to Nigeria. In the process of mobilization of the people to join in the agitation for independence some poets in Northern Nigeria composed anti-European and anti-colonial poems to awaken the

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<sup>118</sup>. Allied Powers: included Britain, France, the United States who led the countries that fought against Nazi Germany.

<sup>119</sup>. Axis Powers: were principally Nazi Germany, and Japan.



consciousness of the Muslim - Hausa to the reality of the new situation. In Sokoto, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, a former school teacher and later in the 1980s became the first Executive President of Nigeria, wrote a poem titled: *Wakar Bature* (Ingilishi).<sup>120</sup> It was a typical nationalist poem. The poet exposed the underlying motive of the colonial enterprise which made the British to come to the North which as shown by the writer was primarily for the exploitation of natural and human resources of the territory for the personal benefit of the whiteman. The poet wrote that there was no true love of the Africans by the white colonizers apart from the facilitation of colonial domination of our people. According to the author in a number of places such as the Gold Coast (Ghana), India and even in Southern Nigeria around the coast among the Igbo<sup>121</sup> there grew strong opposition against British colonial domination. In this respect, Shehu Shagari urged his Hausa audience particularly in the North to rise and challenge British colonialism. The Muslim - Hausa specifically were reminded by the author to have faith in God and with His assistance they would certainly succeed and drive the colonialists away from Nigeria.<sup>122</sup>

The poet used Islamic prayers typical of other Hausa - Muslim poets at the beginning of the stanzas. The Islamic ideology apparently had been recognised by the Hausa writers as a good mobilization tool. Hence, even at the peak of the colonial period, Islam had been

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<sup>120</sup>. Mss copy in possession of the researcher. I am grateful to Dr. A.B. Yahya of the Department of Nigerian Languages U.D.U. Sokoto for making a copy of this poem available to me.

<sup>121</sup>. *Ibid* p.2.

<sup>122</sup>. *Ibid* pp.2 - 3.

recognised by the Hausa writers as a good for and it had therefore mobilization remained efficacious. Here are some lines from Shehu Shagari's *Waka Bature* (Ingilishi) i.e. Song of the European - the British written in 1947.<sup>123</sup>

3. *Na roki Maigirma shi yo mini budi*  
*In zagi kafirranda ba su biyar shi.*  
 (I seek help from Allah, The Great to enable me  
 Criticise the infidels who rebel against Him).
  
4. *Don wajibina gun Musulmi duk shi fal*  
*Lasa kafiri har dai Bature, don shi...*  
 (It is compulsory upon every Muslim to expose  
 (the machinations) of the infidel especially the European).
  
5. *Ban sonsa ban kaunarsa ban komi da shi,*  
*Ba don rashin karfi ba sai in kar shi.*  
 (I neither like nor admire him and got nothing to do with him,  
 I would have finished him if not because of my weakness).
  
6. *Don ja'irina, kafiri kuma makiri*  
*Ga halin sa kowas san shi bai kaunar shi.*  
 (Because he is stupid, infidel and malicious,  
 For his habit anyone who knows him will hate him).

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<sup>123</sup>. *Ibid* p.1.

7. *Hali na alheri ko guda bai san shi ba,  
Komi shi ke don kansa dai yai yi shi.*  
(He possesses not a single worthy character,  
Whatever he does is rather self-centred).

8. *Motsi kadan duk shi ce mana ci gaba  
Ta baya dai zai kaimu in mun bishi.*  
(He always claims progress and development,  
It is rather backwardness he brings if we follow him.

In some other verses the poet exposed the typical character of the colonialists such as the misappropriation of the economic surplus of the colonized society for the benefit of the colonial masters and their metropolitan nations. In addition, the writer brought examples from India, the U.S.A. and China where the nationalist agitation had succeeded. This was meant apparently to strengthen the hope of Nigerians that they were bound to succeed with dogged determination to fight the British colonizers. The verses are stated below.<sup>124</sup>

15. *Nijeriya ya zo ta domin kansa dai,  
Ya ko ji dadi baida niyyar tashi.*  
(He came to Nigeria for his material gains  
Hence he is comfortable and never intends to leave).
16. *Ya amshe 'yan kurdinmu wai shi ag gwani,  
Ya san dibara sai mu zo mu bi tashi.*  
(He is an expert in misappropriating our resources,  
Thereby makes us subservient to his wish.

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<sup>124</sup>. *Ibid* p.2

17. *Allah baren shi tai dabara Ingila*  
*Kowa shi keshi abar biya tai bashi.*  
 (He plans very well for the development of England  
 To make her strong economically).
18. *Duk duniya an gane halin zalumi*  
*Nijeriya dai yanzu tad dauke shi.*  
 (The oppressor had been exposed all over the world  
 Except in Nigeria where he is still influential).
19. *Su Amerika sun gane mugu tuntuni,*  
*Sun gane kissoshin sa sun koro shi.*  
 (The Americans had since understood the Exploiter  
 And had realised his deceit and chased him out).
20. *Don Indiya da Monlay da Bama kasar Ceylon,*  
*Kwananga yaf fita cana an kore shi.*  
 (Even from India, Malaysia including Bama and SriLanka,  
 he has been sent packing since).
21. *Mugun hali nai ya fice dada ya gani*  
*Ya ki shi bai ko son ace mai nashi.*  
 (His lack of good manners is known to even himself,  
 He rejects them, and always stays away from them).
22. *Yau ko 'ina jama 'a su na ta muzakara*  
*'Yan Gwalda Kwas yanzun ga sun so gagara.*  
 (The colonise people all over the world are struggling,  
 The people of the God Coast <sup>125</sup> now proved difficult).

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<sup>125</sup>. The country's name was changed from Gold Coast to Ghana at Independence in 1957. The name Ghana was derived from the name of the old kingdom of Ghana in West Africa.

24. *Inyamurai sun fara jifar marmara,  
Sauran mutanen Hausa in mu tankara.*  
(The Igbos have started the agitations against colonial rule,  
It remains for the Hausas to rise up.
25. *Game kai muke yi don nufin korar su,  
Jama'a mu tashi mu dubi sa'a ta zaka.*  
(We must cooperate to chase them out  
Oh, people let us be awake for the signs of the hour.<sup>126</sup>
26. *Kada ko mu ce karfinmu bai yiwa nashi  
Karfin Ta'ala na wajenmu mu tabbata.*  
(It is not our military strength which matters  
Allah's help is on our side).
27. *In mun game kanunmu sai mu buwai shi  
Domin Tabaraka ba shi kunyata mumina,  
In sun bi hanyar Sayyadi Manzonsi.*  
(If we join hands together, we shall overpower him,  
For Allah betrays not the faithfuls,  
As long as they obey his Prophet).
28. *Alhmadu na cika wagga waka, Rabbana,  
Ka tsaran ka fissan wanga tarko tashi.*  
(All praise be to Allah, I have come to the end,  
I seek Allah's protection against the tricks of the  
European).

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<sup>126</sup>. Signs of the hour in the Muslim faith are the things that shall happen at the end of the temporal life to herald the life in the hereafter.

## CONCLUSION

The colonial socio-political system imposed by the British on the society of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate was a great challenge to the Muslim intellectuals (*the ulama*). The *ulama* as the conscience of the society responded to the new colonial situation. Such reactions had been so divergent which reflected the varied views and opinions prevailing among the intellectuals at the time of conquest and there after. The basic point was that such divergent views which influenced the reactions of the category of *ulama* were predicated on the Islamic prescriptions as contained in the Qur'an and the prophetic *ahadith*.

Response ranged from the hardline type to that of compromise and accommodation. The activities of the *ulama* particularly the scholar - poets had produced the desired impact in the society at different times in the Sokoto Emirate during the colonial period. There were changes of attitudes among the indigenous population towards the British colonizers. The colonial state also made use of force in some situations to suppress anti-colonial movements that were viewed to pose a threat to the hegemony of the colonial state. Subsequent discussion shall touch on the ways and manner some sections of the *ulama* were incorporated into the colonial administrative machinery to serve in different capacities for the survival of the colonial system in Sokoto Emirate.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## THE ROLE OF THE *ULAMA* IN EMIRATE ADMINISTRATION IN COLONIAL SOKOTO

### INTRODUCTION

The accomplishment of the occupation of the former Sokoto Caliphate with the fall of Sokoto in March 1903 gave the new British High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria (called Northern Protectorate) the opportunity to put into practice the British theory of colonial administration. Lugard, the representative of the imperial government in the Northern Protectorate resolved to introduce what he called Indirect Rule. The underlying idea was to rule the conquered peoples through their local rulers.<sup>1</sup>

At the face value level, one presumes that Lugard had regards for the indigenous rulers and their institutions which made him to make them part of his administration in Northern Nigeria. However, to some scholars conversant with the practice of colonial administration in Northern Nigeria, many are of the view that as the years passed by, it became obvious that the retention of the so-called Fulani rule, was only “experimental intended to prove to the Fulanis that the British were not hostile to them apart from insisting on” good government and justice”.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. Some relevant works on Indirect Rule include: F. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (Frank Cass: London), 1968, M. Perham, *Lugard The Years of Authority 1899 - 1945*, (London, 1960); R. Heussler, *The British in Northern Nigeria*, (London, 1968) and I.M. Okonja, *British Administration in Nigeria 1900 - 1950: A Nigerian View*, (London, 1969) Chapter 2 pp 24 - 52.

<sup>2</sup>. *Northern Nigeria Annual Reports 1900 - 1911* Also P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province under Colonial Rule 1903 - 1939* (A.B.U. Press: Zaria) 1988 p.48.

For a very long time, even among the colonial officials it was considered that Lugard was never sincere in his pronouncements about the indirect rule. According to Resident A.H. Festing, the more one reads Lugard's *Political Memoranda, 1906* the more one gets convinced that Lugard's ultimate intention was for direct administration.<sup>3</sup> Infact, Festing's observation were quite valid because Lugard was later to confess that "as soon as the British felt that they had attained through hold on the country they were to take up the reigns of government placing such Emirs as they required on fixed salary and using them and such of their institutions as were compatible with British justice and sense of fair play in the administration of the country."<sup>4</sup>

As far as the indirect rule in Northern Nigeria was concerned, the implementation of its principles as regards the making use of local chiefs and traditional institutions that was done only "as a matter of convenience." Lugard as is known never made "absolute pledges" hence, all his views about indirect rule should be considered with some caution and suspicion. "Absolute pledges" according to Lugard would tie down his administration which he wanted to avoid. As we begin our discussion in detail in the remaining part of this chapter, we shall see the extent to which the British violated some of the cherished Islamic precepts that had been in existence in the defunct Caliphate. We shall draw some of our examples from the cases of appointments, dismissals and the administration in Sokoto Emirate. Apparently, some contradictions started to manifest when the British usurped the political powers of some of the traditional institutions charged with specific roles. For instance there were frictions between

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<sup>3</sup>. See N.A.K./SNP 15/3 ACC NO 3/74 for A.H. Festing's comments on Sir Percy Girourd's memo on land tenure and taxation in Northern Nigeri 1 September 1907.

<sup>4</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana *op cit* p. 48.



the British authorities and the Sokoto Electoral Council at different times over cases of appointments and/or removal of the Sultans at different times. While the former expected the latter to perform certain assigned roles under the colonial system, members of the Electoral Council wanted to preserve its traditional powers and exercise such powers without undue interference from the British. Such contradictions bred conflicts at different times in the emirates which we shall explain in due course. First, we begin with the structure of Emirate Administration popularly called the Native Administration (N.A.).

### STRUCTURE OF THE NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

The system of Native Administration (N.A.), according to Lugard “had been based on a recognition of the authority of the native Chiefs”.<sup>5</sup> In essence, the system as applied in Northern Nigeria was under the control of the Emir who was assisted by his numerous officials in the running of the day to day affairs of his domain. The Emirs, according to the policy were to govern their peoples not “as independent, but as dependent rulers”. The Chiefs exercised their authority over the territory divided into small administrative units - the districts down to the small villages. The District Heads mostly titled officials in the Emirates supervise the remotest part of the countryside with the assistance of the “village headmen” or “village heads”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>. F. Lugard, Ibid p. 200; A.H.K. Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record* (Frank Cass London, 1968); A.H.M. Kirk Greene *The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria* (London, 1962); A.B. Yahya *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950 - 1970: N. A Study in Political Relations with particular reference to Zaria N.A.* (A.B.U Press: Zaria, 1980).

<sup>6</sup>. The Hausa equivalent of the title is *hakimi* (plu = hakimai) in Kano Emirate while in Sokoto area (including Kebbi and Zamfara) it is known as *Ubankasa* (plu = Uwayen kasa). In the case of Sokoto area *hakimi* is a junior to *ubankasa* and receives order from the latter. The most junior title official

The provinces that made up Northern Nigeria sometimes contained several N.A.s based on the old Emirates of the defunct Caliphate or on newly constituted chiefdoms created by the colonial regime in the non-Muslim areas.<sup>7</sup> In Sokoto province during the early part of colonial period, there existed only three N.As. namely Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu, later Yawuri was created as independent N.A.

The orders of the colonial state to the colonial subjects emanated from the Emirs but according to the instructions given by the Provincial Residents; the arrangement as put by Lugard is that:

While they (Emirs and Chiefs) are controlled by the government they are controlled in accordance with that policy.<sup>8</sup>

Further illustration given Lugard is thus:

A political officer would consider it as irregular to issue direct order to an individual native or even to a village head, as a General commanding a division would to a private soldier, except through his commanding officers.<sup>9</sup>

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in rural Kano is called *dagaci* (plu = *adagatai*) and *Maiunguwa* in the town or city. See G.P. Bargery, *A Hausa - English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary* (O.U.P Oxford) 1951 Bargery defines *hakimi* as "an official (other than a paramount chief) who exercised jurisdiction over a district and not merely over a town (p. 438) while *dagaci* is simply "a village headman" (p.188.)

<sup>7</sup>. Most of such chiefdoms could be found in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria examples are the TIV, Yawuri, Keffi, Abuja, the Borgu State of Bussa and Kiama, the states of Fika and Bedde to the West of Borno.

<sup>8</sup>. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the.... op cit* p.70.

<sup>9</sup>. *Ibid* pp 70 - 71

The role of the Resident was to represent and promote the interests of the colonial regime as might be determined by his superior officer - Lieutenant Governor (Later Governor) of the protectorate. The Resident as explained by Lugard:

acts as sympathetic adviser and councillor to the native chief, being careful not to interfere so as to lower his prestige, or cause him to lose interest in his work<sup>10</sup>.

There also existed similar arrangement at the village where the colonial administration appointed District Officers (D.Os) whose function was to:

Supervise and assist the native district headmen, through whom they convey any instruction to village heads, and make any arrangements necessary for carrying on the work of the Government departments but all important orders emanate from the Emir, whose messenger usually accompanies and acts as mouth-piece of a District Officer.<sup>11</sup>

The British for most period of their rule in Northern Nigeria employed the services of the traditional leadership essentially to achieve the socio-economic and political goals of the imperial regime. The British officials initiated the policies and the traditional rulers saw to the implementation of the policy to the latter particularly the unpopular policies dealing with taxation and forced labour. P.J. Shea rightly concluded that "it was not so much the rule or government that was indirect, but responsibility. The colonial rulers were fully able and

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<sup>10</sup>. F. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate.... op cit* p.201

<sup>11</sup>. *Ibid.*

willing to direct action when it was in their interest but usually it was more convenient for them to use surrogates.. often traditional officials who could deliver the goods”<sup>12</sup>

Towards the end of his tenure as Governor-General of Nigeria, Lugard was full of praise for the performance of Emirates in the running of the N.As in Northern Nigeria. In one of his reports to the colonial office, Lugard wrote that:

There has been no vestige of unrest in these states when the Tuereg rising occurred in 1916 in French territory, they were eager to join in the assistance we gave. Prayers have been daily offered in the mosques, the treasuries have offered about fifty thousand pound each year one hundred and fifty thousand pound plus three thousand pound to Red Cross to the end of 1917 towards the war costs.<sup>13</sup>

The native administration in Northern Nigeria had by the 1920s and thereafter became very powerful instruments of colonial control. The imperial state depended on the native chiefs for the maintenance of law and order, the prevention of crimes, arresting and punishing felons and vagabonds, execution of social services in the areas of public health and sanitation, education and water supply. The N.As. became wealthier at a particular time during the colonial period but often lacked financial autonomy to execute vital projects for the promotion of what the chiefs considered public good due to tight financial control by the colonial administration.

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<sup>12</sup>. *Ibid* p. 160.

<sup>13</sup>. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the Amalgamation op cit* p.20

**THE ROLE OF THE *ULAMA* IN THE PRACTICE OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION (N.A.) IN SOKOTO EMIRATE.**

The administrative system that was put in place by the founding fathers of the Sokoto Caliphate was guided by the Islamic principles. This was in line with the philosophy of the leaders of the Sokoto Jihad which principally aimed at the establishment of an ideal Islamic state as obtained during the time of the Prophet and the orthodox Caliphs. Admissably, the true ideals of Islam which the pioneer leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate envisaged were not fully realised during the one century period of the existence of the Caliphate. However, it is on record that for almost half a century a great deal was done to implement policies that were based on the *sharia* as contained in the Qur'an and the traditions of the holy prophet of Islam.<sup>14</sup>

The Islamic scholars or *ulama* played important role in the administrative practice of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate. The *ulama* according to Shehu Usman, occupy the most influential position in life of the Muslim community, hence, he refers to them as "those with power to bind and loosen"<sup>15</sup> In the pre-colonial administrative set up like in the former Sokoto Caliphate it was from among the *ulama* that most if not all the important state officials were appointed. The most significant qualifications for appointment to leadership as shown by Shehu and other notable scholars of the Caliphate were piety and learning. The office of the Caliph occupied the highest position in the administrative set up the caliphate as explained by Usman dan Fodio. The Caliph should appoint the following officials from among the learned

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<sup>14.</sup> See Ibrahim Sulaiman, *The Islamic State and the challenge of History* (Mansell Publishers: London) 1987.

<sup>15.</sup> F.H. El-Masri, "A Critical Edition of Dan Fodio's Bayan Wujub al-Hijra Alal-ibad" *Ph.D. Thesis*, Ibadan, 1968. p.277.

in the community, the officials are: a *Wazir* (Waziri) who should serve as adviser to the Caliph; a *qadi* (Alkali) to judge all cases according to Allah's laws; a *Sahib al-Shurta* i.e. Chief of Police to prevent the victimization of the weak by the powerful and the *Saii* Commissioner of Revenue such as *Kharaji* (haraji - land tax) and *Zakat*.

The political views of the Jihad leaders and all that guided the Caliphate are contained in the numerous works<sup>16</sup> that they wrote which are detailed explanations of the general *sharia* principles derived from the Qur'an and sunnah (traditions) of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).

The imposition of British colonialism following the conquest of the Caliphate brought about the introduction of a new political system that had no regard for Islam. The new political order was a secular one which never made special provision for the role of the *ulama*. As we tried to explain elsewhere above the system of indirect rule which the British imposed on the emirate of the defunct Caliphate sought to utilise the existing indigeneous structure of administration *only* as a matter of convenience of the colonial superstructure rather than for the sake of the preservation of the status quo per se.

It is therefore very important for one to note that administrative functions which the *ulama* and other members of the aristocracy of the emirates were assigned under the colonial dispensation that was primarily done to facilitate the effective running of the socio-political and economic structures that service the colonial superstructure. In this regard, where the colonial

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<sup>16</sup>. See for instance B.G. Martin "A Muslim Political Tract from Northern Nigeria: Muhammad Bello's Usul al-Siyasa" in F.D. McCall & R. Bennett (eds) *Aspect of West African Islam*, Boston Uni. Press 1971 pp.78-86. Also O. Bello "The Political Thought of Muhammad Bello (C. 1781-1837) in Al-Gath al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-Adl" *Ph.D. Thesis*, London, 1983.

administration found it expedient to engage the services of a particular scholar to work as scribe to a district headman for the purpose of tax assessment in the locality, such an arrangement would be maintained in the overall interest of colonialism.

In Sokoto Emirate like in other parts of Northern Nigeria, the foundation of the new N.A. was laid with the creation of the new Emirates. Territorial adjustments were effected over extensive areas to create the so-called homologous districts to enable the British undertake assessments for the collection of taxes. The pre-colonial arrangement of the territories which as we know had worked so well was described by Resident Burdon of Sokoto “ as a great confusion of territories, chiefs and districts” where one could find no order in the geographical arrangements.<sup>17</sup> However, we should not lose sight of the fact that Burdon’s criticism was informed by the fact that territorial arrangements in the defunct Caliphate was not for the collection of taxes as the colonialist would have wished. The people of Sokoto and Gwandu emirates prior to colonial rule were not paying taxes like the ones introduced by Lugard but only *Zakat* used to be collected.<sup>18</sup>

With the re-organization effected the relative autonomy enjoyed by some of the outlying districts and villages in Sokoto such as in the running of some of their affairs was terminated. The British did not like a situation in which settlements (districts) existing close to each other with relative independence. The old political arrangements in which territorial chiefs served as only the representative of the *Sarkin Musulmi* was completely overhauled so that a number

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<sup>17</sup>. N.A.K., Sokprof 260/1905 “ Sokoto Provincial Report for first quarter end 30th April 1905” by Resident J.A. Burdon.

<sup>18</sup>. F.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.74.

of some of the chiefs had to lose their political privileges as obtained in the defunct Caliphate. The *ulama* who often served as advisers to rulers in the countryside as well as arbitrators in social disputes in their respective areas to a certain extent lost such prestige. In the next chapter, we shall discuss how the changes affected the judicial functions formally performed by the *ulama*.

Meanwhile, the restructuring exercise in Sokoto emirate was started in July, 1905 by Resident Burdon. While some district headmen lost territories others gained mainly because of their loyalty to the new overlords - the British. The creation of what the British called homologous districts in the Sokoto Emirate continued up to 1915 when Muhammadu Maiturare became the Sultan.<sup>19</sup>

In Sokoto town by 1912 only five districts were carved out of the small districts in the vicinity of the town. The five districts were put under the vicinity of the town. The five districts were put under the direct supervision of the title holders who form the Sultan's Advisory Council namely the Sultan himself, *Waziri*, *Ubandoma*, the *Sarkin Zamfara*, the *Magaji Rafi* and the *Galadima*. All the above title holders except the Sultan and the *Waziri* were posted out of Sokoto as resident district heads. The title holders continued to reside in their respective districts outside Sokoto until the 1920s when Muhammad Tambari was appointed the Sultan when they were recalled back to assumed their de facto roles as advisers to the Sultan.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>. F.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.67.



The new administrative structure established by the colonialists which could be said to have been consolidated with the territorial re-organization usurped the powers of the local rulers in the emirates. In Sokoto Emirate the power of the Sultan over his subordinate chiefs was drastically reduced because it was the Resident who determined the way and manner of running affairs in the Emirate ultimately. The changes that were effected in the Emirate administration marginalised a number of state officials who hitherto exercised immense influence prior to the colonial intervention. In particular the *ulama* who used to performed advisory roles to the Sultan and the Emirs were not recognised officially under the new colonial arrangement. Infact, as rightly observed by Tibenderana the colonialist regarded some members of the aristocracy including the “palace *ulama*” in the emirates as “unproductive administrators” and that “the majority, if not all, of the pre-colonial state officials held sinecure offices at the towns as courtiers while leaving the administration of their districts to their slaves”.<sup>21</sup> The British colonizers tactiefully removed from the juridsdiction of the emirs all issues that might require the expert advice of the *ulama* as custodians of the faith. Right from the beginning Lugard pledged to esestablish a secular administration. In this regard, the British stated in the appointment letters of all the Emirs including the Sultan that they had no powers over land, power to appoint and dismiss their senior officials and the power to levey taxes except those sanctioned by the colonial government under the High Commissioner who determined the way and manner taxes were to be disbursed and utilised. Most importantly, the power to make laws and to amend the old laws became the responsibility of the colonial

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<sup>21</sup>. P.K. Tibernderana, *Sokoto Province.... op cit* p.67.

Governor.<sup>22</sup> This actually contravened the *Shariah* principles in operation in the defunct Caliphate in which the power of legislation was regarded as belonging to Allah. In essence, the secular principles upon which the colonial administrative structure was laid provided no chance for the *ulama* to make any significant input. The *ulama* therefore became also a marginalised class in the scheme of things under the new system of colonial administration of the British in Sokoto Emirate.

The role of the *ulama* as far as the colonial administrative practice in the Emirate was concerned was further rendered less relevant. As we showed elsewhere above, the Advisory Council of the Sultan was almost disbanded at the inception of the colonial administration in Sokoto Emirate. According to Tibenderana, all the state officials in the Sultan's Council were not accorded recognition by Lugard except the *Waziri* whom the British came to accept as head of administration in the Emirate government. The remaining council members were appointed district headman and posted out of Sokoto so as to reside in their respective districts - they were the *Magaji Gari*, posted to Gumbi, *Galadima* to Durbawa the *Magaji Rafi* to Achida, the *Ubandom* to Hamma'ali.<sup>23</sup> The Sultan was instructed to delegate some of his authority to the Resident district chiefs.

The office of the *Waziri* had since the establishment of the Caliphate been held by the learned from among the aristocracy and apparently that was recognized by the British hence under the colonial dispensation, the *Waziri* continued to serve as the Chief Adviser to the

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<sup>22</sup>. See the Appendix for a specimen copy of Sultan Attahiru's letter of appointment of 22 March 1903.

<sup>23</sup>. Ibid p.85.

Sultan. However, that notwithstanding the Sultan was deprived of the advice of other members of his council because they were posted out of Sokoto to perform administrative duties in the districts. The services of such councillors was required more at the early period of colonial rule when there was the need to make the necessary adjustments to the new political situation created by colonialism.

It was in the absence of the advice of the *ulama* and other category of officials that the Sultan had to depend on the British officials for advice. The British officials a lot of them were ignorant of the local condition in their Emirates and were incapable of assisting the Chief passionately to deal with the challenges posed by the colonial situation.

The *Waziri* whom we said was by tradition a very learned official principally remained in charge of the Emirate administration together with the Sultan. As from 1903 the learned *Waziri*, Muhammad Buhari was in charge and reportedly proved quite efficient in the conduct of the administration of the Emirate until his death in 1910.<sup>24</sup> The Sultan, Attahiru II left the administration of the Emirate in the hands of the *Waziri*, and three other persons namely the *Majidadi* known as Usman and the *Sintali*, called by name Sa'idu. The *Waziri* whom the Resident described as "the ruler of the state"<sup>25</sup> became very influential at the expense of the Sultan and other councillors who according to Tibenderana had "remained in oblivion".<sup>26</sup> The

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<sup>24</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>. N.A.K. , Sokprof 3/27/S.2916/491 Res. R.J. Arnett to SNP, Kaduna 29 July 1918 also Sokprof 2/2/200/1911 "Synopsis of Events in the Province under British Rule 1903-1911" by Res. Brooks (n.d.)

<sup>26</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.85.

Sultan sought the advice from the *Waziri* and other individuals particularly among the nobility who were conversant with the wishes and desires of the British colonizers.

The qualities of scholarship and administrative expertise must have accounted for the success of Waziri Muhammadu Buhari. From all accounts the tenure of Sambo as Waziri of Sokoto after the death of Waziri Buhari was a “frustrated” endeavour because he was handicapped intellectually and politically to run the Emirate administration like his predecessor.

Intellectually, the shortcoming of the new *Waziri*, Sambo ought to be viewed in relation with the type of experience Sambo’s predecessor had been able to acquire which was intelligently utilised to resolved the numerous contradictions created by the colonial situation in Sokoto Emirate. It should be recalled that both men were products of the same intellectual environment, though their scholarly attainment might differ that should not make us to regard Waziri Sambo as “ignorant” as shown by Tibenderana.<sup>27</sup> Admittedly, an important characteristic of an intellectual is to apply one’s ideas and experiences to solve everyday problem and not necessarily to get “educated” in the school system.

Interestingly, Waziri Muhammad Buhari was a product of one intellectual culture but a man of two fundamentally different political eras. Waziri Buhari was at the helm of affairs at the time of the demise of the Caliphate system. He witnessed the violent metamorphosis of the system into a new one and had participated in the formation of an entirely new political system under colonialism. What made him an intellectual per excellence was his ability to combine

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<sup>27</sup>. *Ibid.*

his past experiences and the knowledge of the contemporary situation in order to face the ever new challenges posed by the colonial system in operation.

Politically, Waziri Muhammad Buhari was at a great advantage than his successor Waziri Sambo. The new colonial overlords very much sure of the role played by the former (Waziri Buhari) in the surrender to the British at the time of the fall of Sokoto found him a suitable material to be utilised to further the cause of colonialism in Sokoto. The British appreciated his administrative expertise and hence harnessed the potentialities of Buhari to the fullest for the operation of the Emirate administration.

At the time Sambo became the *Waziri*, it became clear that he was not as competent as the late Waziri Buhari. Most of the Residents of Sokoto passed unfavourable comments about Waziri Sambo as regards his administrative ability. As shown by Acting Resident Mc Allister, Waziri Sambo had virtually no control over the affairs of the state but was acting like “a mere figure head”.<sup>28</sup> Likewise the substantive Resident of Sokoto Province E.J. Arnett who succeeded Resident Burdon complained that Waziri Sambo was “an imbecile and by no means an effective adviser” to the Sultan.<sup>29</sup> Waziri Sambo therefore did not enjoy the political goodwill of the British administrators. Furthermore unlike his predecessor, Waziri Sambo did not enjoy the support of the palace servants who were very close to Sultan Muhammad Attahiru II. Principally, the two servants the *Majidadi* and *Sintali* who contributed to the success of Waziri Buhari were “vehemently opposed” to the appointment of Samob hence as

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<sup>28</sup>. N.A.K. Sokprof 3/2/S.2916/1911 Sokoto Provincial Report for the quarter 30 September 1911” by Res. Arnett to SNP Kaduna, 29 July 1912.

<sup>29</sup>. N.A.K. Sokprof 3/27/S.29`6/491, Res Arnett to SNP Kaduna, 29 July 1912.

reported by Tibenderana they made the tenure of Waziri Sambo “inert” and unsuccessful.<sup>30</sup> The advisory role which Waziri Sambo was supposed to play as the most senior councillor in Sokoto Emirate was to say the least “hijacked” by the *Majidadi* and *Sintali*.

The British administration in Sokoto having realised the fact that Waziri Sambo was not a capable administrator and adviser, recalled the former councillors from their respective districts to work with Waziri Sambo in advising the Sultan. The next section treats the place of the *ulama* or the Kingmakers in the politics of appointment of Sokoto Sultans between 1903 and 1938.

#### **THE ULAMA AND THE POLITICS OF APPOINTMENTS AND REMOVAL OF THE SOKOTO SULTANS 1903 - 1938.**

The discussion in this section is to feature on the cases of appointments of the Sultans and in some cases the deposition of one of the Sultans who worked under colonial rule in Sokoto. It is hoped that, by them we present some examples of the political intrigues that took place during the period under discussion, we should have fully appreciated the role of the *ulama* or intellectuals in the scheme of things. From the onset however, it should be noted that aspects of Emirate administration in colonial Sokoto particularly as regards the appointments and/or removal of a *Sarkin Musulmi* were issues that concerned mainly “the official *ulama* serving in different capacities as titled holders.

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<sup>30</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.86.

The following title holders called the *Sarakunan Karaga* namely *Waziri*, *Magaji Gari*, *Magajin Rafi*, and *Galadima* constituted the Advisory Council of the Sultan (Majalisar Sarki). Members of the Sultan's Council were drawn from the Fulani lineages that participated in the Jihad campaigns since the time of Muhammadu Bello. It is this council that select the person to be appointed a Sultan with eight other members. The *Sarakunan Karaga* plus the eight others constitute the council of Kingmakers. The remaining eight include (1) *Sarkin Yakin* of Binji (2) *Ardo* of Shuni, (3) *Sa'in* Kilgori, and (4) *Sarkin Adar* of Dundaye. The rest included (5) *Ardon* Dingyadi, (6) *Sarkin Kabi* of Yabo, (7) *Baraden* Wamakko and (8) *Ubadoman* Hamma'ali.<sup>31</sup>

The *Waziri* is the most influential figure on the Electoral Council. By virtue of his learning other members of the council respect his views even though that does not preclude the articulation of contrary views on any issue before the council by any other member. The most important point however is that the views of the *Waziri* carry "special weight" to guide the council to attain consensus on any matter.

As from 1903 when the British occupied Sokoto, the traditional function of the Kingmakers in determining who becomes the Sultan was to a large extent usurped by the new overlords. According to Tibenderana the appointment of the Sultan and some other Emirs in 1903 almost contravened the traditionally laid down procedures for selection.<sup>32</sup> Essentially, the

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<sup>31</sup>. *Ibid.* Also J.N. Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values & Leadership in Nigeria* (Alhukahuda, Zaria), 1986 pp.47-48.

<sup>32</sup>. *Ibid.* In Sokoto Emirate Sultan Attahiru II was appointed to succeed ex-caliph Attahiru I. In Gwandu Emir Muhammad was appointed on the recommendation of Sultan Attahiru II and *NOT* the Gwandu Electoral Council. The electoral council which nominated Attahiru II comprised the following: Waziri Muhammadu Buhari, the *Galadima* Shehu, the *Sarkin Gobir*, Umaru ,the *Marafa*,

main preoccupation of the British at the immediate post-conquest period was to scout for candidate who would co-operate with the British to be appointed as Emirs.

In Sokoto when it was time to appoint a new ruler after the departure of the former Caliph Attahiru I, Lugard summoned the few members of the aristocracy available to a meeting on the 20th March 1903. The Electoral Council was not properly constituted. The British only pretended to show that the aristocracy had a free hand in the appointment. Lugard was highly impressed by the nomination of Attahiru II (alias Attahirun Alu). Lugard saw the nominee as an ally and therefore manipulative as the former wrote that:

(Sokoto) As at Kano... I consider that we were fortunate... for Attahiru was a man whose face and manner greatly prepossessed me in his favour... I agree to appoint him Sultan....<sup>33</sup>

As from 1915 it became apparent to the British that for successful administration in the Emirates some of the councils that had existed since the pre-colonial period at least had to be reconstituted to solve some new problems. The colonial situation for instance in Sokoto Province required the input of some members of the aristocracy with knowledge about the traditions and conventions in practice in the defunct Caliphate but which might be of relevance under the colonial dispensation. Such members of the aristocracy who had served as councillors and advisors right from the pre-colonial days had under the new colonial dispensation been relieved of their advisory duties and reassigned new roles but only with few

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Muhammadu Maiturare, the *Sarkin Burmi*, the *Sarkin Zamfara* and the *Sarkin Kabi*. See F.D. Lugard *Northern Nigeria Annual Report, 1900-1911* (London, 1911) pp 162-3.

<sup>33</sup>. F.D. Lugard, *Ibid.* pp.162-3.



exceptions. The year 1915 therefore became very crucial in the history of colonialism in whole of Sokoto Province as reported by Tibenderana. It was the year when all the Emirs of the three Emirates of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu died. Emir Haliru of Gwandu died on 21st March, 1915 followed by Emir Samaila of Argungu on 1st May, 1915 then Sultan Muhammad Attahiru II who died on 14th June, 1915. The vacancies created by the death of the Emirs in Sokoto Province all in the same year brought to the forefront the political significance of the Electoral Councils .

Since the inception of colonial rule in 1903 the British had maintained a standing policy that only candidates whose loyalty was ascertained would be appointed Emirs. The fact had been acknowledged by the British that the security of the colonial state depended largely on the goodwill and support of Emirs as was demonstrated by Sultan Attahiru II during the trying period of Satiru uprising. One of the ways through which the British manipulated the appointment of Emirs was by reconstituting the Electoral Council to include the henchmen of the colonialists. The British had almost around the 1930s recognised the powers to elect Emirs by the Kingmakers in a number of Emirates. However the powers given to such bodies were grossly limited because the British never restored the full powers of the Electoral Councils throughout the period of colonial rule. Evidence abound to prove that the British in Sokoto Province for example between the period 1903 - 1930 did not allow the Kingmakers a free-

hand in the election of Emirs.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, contrary to the claims in some works<sup>35</sup> the colonial regime in Northern Nigeria was performing more than a confirmatory functions in the appointment of traditional rulers. This we shall see in the case of Sokoto below.

The reconstituted council that met to elect the successor of Sultan Attahiru II was presided over by Waziri Maccido. The old practice of heading the Electoral Council by the *Waziri* was upheld by the British because he was regarded as the most senior councillor and presumably the most learned on the council.

As it occurred, throughout the period of colonial, it was not so much the level of Islamic learning among the electors that the British wanted from the Electoral Council. The British preference was more to the candidate who would show loyalty to the colonial administration. By the time the Sokoto Electoral Council convened to elect Sultan Attahiru II's successor, members were duly informed of the British choice among the candidates. The contenders to the throne by then were Marafa Muhammadu Maiturare (backed by the British), Ibrahim, the *Sarkin Rabah* (Father of the late Premier of Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardaunan Sokoto), the *Sarkin Gobir* of Isa, Umaru and Maigandi, the son of late Sultan Attahiru II the last three all from the Bello ruling house.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>. For some accounts see P.K. Tibenderana "The Role of the British Administration in the Appointment of the Emirs of Northern Nigeria, 1903-1931: The case of Sokoto Province" in *J.A.H.* 28 (1987) pp 231 - 257. See A.M. Fika *Kano Civil.. op cit* for similar case in Kano.

<sup>35</sup>. See for example J. Smith, "The relationship of the British political officer to his chief in Northern Nigeria" and J. Paden "Aspects of Emirship in Kano" in M. Crowder and I. Ikime (eds), *West African chiefs; Their Changing Status Under Colonial Rule and Independence*, (University Press: Ile Ife) 1970. Also M. Perham, *Native Admin... op cit* p.116.

<sup>36</sup>. For historical background of the emergence of the ruling houses of Bello and Atiku, See M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, (Longman Ibadan)1967. Claims and counter claims to the monopoly of leadership of the throne of the Sultanate by only the above two ruling families

It was the *Galadima* Haruna who campaigned for Maituare on behalf of the British. Maiturare had been in the good book of the British since the fall of Sokoto. He played a decisive role in the suppression of the Satiru Revolt by personally leading a force of 3,000 calvary men against the rebels.<sup>37</sup> When the names of the candidates for election were presented before the council members, Galadima Haruna conveyed the British threats to his colleagues that whoever failed to vote for Marafa Maiturare would be punished by the British.<sup>38</sup> The influence of the *Waziri* on the council which in the past determined the one who emerged as the choice of the Kingmakers was thwarted by the British preference for Maituare over the remaining contestants. Waziri Maccido who was initially in support of Maigandi, the son of his late mentor had to switch over to the side of Maiturare. Muhammad Maiturare was nominated and having passed the British criteria for good Emirs.<sup>39</sup> The Governor-General endorsed the nomination and the new Sultan Maiturare was installed as 14th Sultan in June, 1915. However, to be fair to Sultan Maiturare in addition to the British support which counted so much in his favour, he also enjoyed popular support. According to oral testimonies, he was

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sparked a hotly controversy in the 1980s. The assertion at a public forum (an N.Y.S.C. Lecture) that only the descendents of Bello and Atiku were eligible to contest for the throne. However, the election and installation of the Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki as the 18th Sultan in 1988, who is a descendent of Buhari, had no doubt invalidated the arguments above.

<sup>37</sup>. R.A. Adeleye, "Mahdist Triumph and British Revenge in Northern Nigeria: Satiru 1960" *J.H.S.N.*, 4, 2, June 1972 p.203.

<sup>38</sup>. N.A.K. Sokprof 3/1/C.9 (Secret), Resident to Lt. Governor, 30 November, 1928.

<sup>39</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana, "The Role of the British... *op cit* p.242.

a man of “strong character” who could protect the interests of his people against unpopular policies of the colonial regime.<sup>40</sup>

Subsequent appointments and even deposition of Emirate officials further demonstrated that the input of the Muslim intellectuals counted less in the determination of the way the pendulum of traditional authority swung. It was only when it suited the political interests of the British that the intellectuals were allowed to freely decide on the important issues of selection of leaders. Interestingly, the British were not unaware of the great influence of the *ulama* and also Islam in the socio-political lives of the people. This explained why the colonial authorities utilised the two variables to attain their political goals not only in Sokoto but in the whole North.

In the 1920s for instance the colonial administration attempted to entrench a particular ruling house in the leadership of the Sultanate. The British through a combination of political and/or security and religious reasons wanted to exclude all the claimants to the throne of the Sultanate from the Bello ruling house. In particular, Sokoto princes in the line of Bello notably the *Sarkin Gobir* of Isa and *Sarkin Rabah* Ibrahim were described in a report by Resident Palmer as “the sworn henchmen of Mahdism”. Palmer’s report showed that the reigning Sultan, Maiturare from the Atiku house was “a friend” of the administration. In this regard, Palmer recommended that the government should consider “the advisability of setting (future) succession on Maiturare’s family”.<sup>41</sup> Despite the long standing tradition of alternating

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<sup>40</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid.*

successions to the throne between the ruling of houses at that time, Palmer's recommendation was accepted by the government. It was obvious that the government's decision was taken without due consultation with the Sokoto Kingmakers. What was paramount to the government was to stamp out all traces of Mahdism which had threatened the colonial state from its foundation during the early period of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria.

The decision to exclude rival contestants identified with Mahdism from aspiring to the throne opened the way for Sultan Maiturare's son Muhammadu Tambari. The stage was therefore set for a likely conflict between the British authorities and the Sokoto Kingmakers should there be an election to fill a vacant post for the throne of the Sultanate. The government seemed to have indicated where its choice would be not withstanding the established tradition in Sokoto on succession. From every indication, it was clear that the government had resolved to do away with anyone associated with Mahdism. The Lieutenant - Governor of the Northern Provinces (W. Gowers) had earlier observed that Mahdist activities would persist as long as there were Emirs willing to collaborate with the movements. Hence, Gowers concluded that "the only bulwark against the recrudescence of Mahdist subversive activities was to instal loyal and audacious Emirs who could oppose false Mahdism".<sup>42</sup>

The proposals of Palmer on the succession issue was at first impugned by Gowers who argued that hereditary principles and electoral procedures had been well entrenched in the Sokoto tradition which would make it difficult for government to jettison overnight. Gowers

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<sup>42</sup>.

W.F. Gowers, "Supplementary Note" to H.R. Palmer's Conf...., Appendix" to Borno Province Annual Report 1923 (14 February, 1924).

however concurred with Palmer that under the existing circumstances in the early 1920s and based on the findings from the investigation by Palmer, Maiturare would be succeeded by one of his sons. Indeed, it is on record that Gowers directed the then Resident of Sokoto G.W. Webster to divulge the secret pledge to Maiturare in order to reinforce his loyalty to the government.<sup>43</sup>

The Sokoto Kingmakers were summoned on 22nd June 1924 to elect a new Sultan following the death of Maiturare. The main contestants were the *Sarkin Baura* of Dange, Hassan, the eldest surviving son of the ninth *Sarkin Musulmi* (Caliph), Mu'azu b. Muhammad Bello (1877 - 1881) and Muhamad Tambari, the *Sarkin Gobir* of Gwadabawa, the eldest son of Sultan Maiturare. Going by the Sokoto tradition in which the throne alternates between the houses of Bello and Atiku, Hassan stood a better chance of becoming the new Sultan, then Tambari whose father was the deceased Sultan. The electoral council under *Waziri* Maccido recommended Hassan to the Lieutenant-Governor which Resident Webster endorsed accordingly. Webster in passing the recommendation to Gowers wrote that it was the turn of Bello's house to produce the next Sultan in accordance with the tradition in Sokoto and therefore urged the government to uphold the verdict of the Kingmakers.<sup>44</sup>

The failure of Webster to prevail on the electors to bring out their verdict in line with Gower's pledge to Maiturare in 1922 earned the Resident reprimand from Gowers. The type of questions raised on the voting pattern at the council and on the personality of Hassan made

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<sup>43</sup>. N.A.K. Sokprof 3/1/C.9/651/3 S.N.P. to Resident of Sokoto, Kaduna, 11 March, 1924.

<sup>44</sup>. *Ibid.*

Webster to “Coerce” the Kingmakers to reverse their decision on Hassan in favour of Tambari being the choice of the colonial administration. Some of the Kingmakers never yielded to the pressure of the Resident and still Resident Webster wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor that the Sokoto Electoral Council had overturned its earlier decision and now recommended Tambari to be the new Sultan. Despite the apparent contradictions contained in Webster’s report, Gowers went ahead and approved for Tambari to succeed his father. The Governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford on the recommendation of Gowers formally installed Tambari as the 15th Sultan in October, 1924.<sup>45</sup>

Therefore, it had become clear by the 1920s that much as the colonial regime was willing to restore the power of Electoral Councils in the Emirates to nominate “suitable candidates” to fill vacant seats for Emirship, such nominations could only be endorsed if they conformed with British expectations and criteria for determining “good and loyal Emirs”. It was a matter of coincidence that Maiturare was popular in his own right and had satisfied British requirements for Emirship hence appointed a Sultan in 1915. On the other hand, Sultan Tambari though never nominated by the Sokoto Kingmakers, yet the British appointed him simply because Tambari was qualified by the “standard” of assessing candidates who could make loyal Emirs. Sultan Tambari’s appointment was owed not to the Kingmakers but to the British who regarded him as an asset in their fight against Mahdism” the phenomenon which had become a dreadful monster feared by the British.

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pp 110 - 34 and R. Heussler, *The British in Northern Nigeria* London 1968 pp 127-9. P.K. Tibenderana, the making and unmaking of the Sultan of Sokoto Muhammadu Tambari 1922-1931. *L.H.S.N, LX, 1977* pp.110-34.

Tambari's appointment despite the opposition of the Sokoto nobility did not lead to any reaction in form of violence because among the commoners they did not possess the political or military power to confront the colonial state. Members of the Sokoto aristocracy who supported Hassan at the election "ganged up" against Sultan Tambari. The *Waziri*, who during the pre-colonial period had veto power in the election of the Caliph, this time around led the opposition against Tambari. In order to consolidate his position in the face of vehement opposition against his rule, Sultan Tambari embarked on "mass" dismissals of officials whose loyalty he doubted. This measure adopted by Tambari was very much typical of the British. The exercise led to the exit of *Waziri* Maccido, the *Magajin Gari*, Usman; the *Majidadi* Usman and the Chief *Alkali* Samaila to mention just a few.

Sultan Tambari subsequently had to contend with a lot of contradictions that surrounded his reign. Although backed by the British at his appointment, Tambari had conflict with the administration. The colonial regime withdrew its support for Tambari for his handling of judicial matters most especially what Tibenderana called Tambari's "audacious stand" over matters relating to the *Sharia* Law in which the *Alkali* courts were directed by Tambari not to compromise on the implementation of the *Sharia* principles.<sup>46</sup>

Furthermore, Tambari seemed to have alienated himself from a large section of the aristocracy. The purges he effected seemed to have injured the sentiments of the most influential members of the ruling class some of whom were members of the Electoral Council. It was therefore quite clear that Sultan Tambari also lacked the support of the traditional

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<sup>46</sup>.

P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province... op cit* pp 130-131.



leadership in Sokoto. By the time it became apparent that the Sultan had lost the backing of his “mentors” - the British, a section of the Sokoto aristocracy came out to strike a strong blow that led to the downfall of Tambari. He was accused of a wide range of allegations that included corruption, miscarriage of justice and most seriously the violation of the tenets of Islam by engaging in fetish practices. Tambari was consulting with Wizards and sorcerers for guidance in taking administrative actions that affected the Muslim Community he was leading.<sup>47</sup>

An investigation was ordered on the charges against Sultan Tambari. It was Resident C.A. Woodhouse of Niger Province who was sent to Sokoto by the Lt. Governor C.W. Alexander to conduct the investigation.<sup>48</sup> However, from the outcome of the inquiry it showed that the most influential aristocrats in Sokoto wanted the Sultan deposed. The *Waziri* (Abbas) for instance who was considered the most senior official in the Emirate after the Sultan, was the only member of the Electoral Council who testified before Woodhouse. Apparently, the views of the *Waziri* could be taken to represent the feelings of the senior nobility on the Electoral Council of Sokoto Emirate. Resident Woodhouse wrote his report which according to Tibenderana was based mainly “on the testimonies of Resident Backwell and Waziri Abbas”<sup>49</sup>

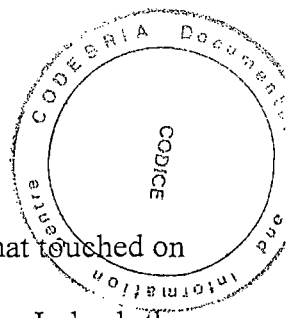
On receiving the report, C.W. Alexander expressed more concern about the alleged association with wizards and sorcerers brought against Tambari because of the security implication on the colonial state. According to Alexander charges of administrative abuses

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<sup>47</sup>. *Ibid* pp 132-34 for more details.

<sup>48</sup>. N.A.K., Sokprof 3/1/C.14, Resident to S.N.P. (n.d.)

<sup>49</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.133.



should not lead to the deposition of the Sultan but since there was allegation that touched on the Muslim faith it would be dangerous to allow Tambari to remain in office. Indeed, the Sultan seemed to have lost the support of the Muslim subjects going by this contention, as such there was every possibility of a Muslim uprising should the government decide to keep Tambari in power the consequences for which nobody could predict. In view of the above observations Tambari was officially deposed on 15th January, 1931 by the colonial administration of Northern Nigeria.<sup>50</sup>

Following the removal of Tambari whose appointment in the first instance was influenced by the British, the colonial administration came to recognise that only the appointment of Emirs with popular support would improve the performance of native administration. In line with this, the colonial administrators started to push a change of policy in the appointment of Emirs as from the 1930s in the interest of the security of British rule.

The crises that dominated the reign of Sultan Tambari which ultimately led to his downfall clearly demonstrated the political significance of the traditional council of Kingmakers. The British colonizers came to recognise that the ideas of the Sokoto aristocracy as they pertained to appointments of Emirate officials were of immense importance to the success of colonial rule in Sokoto and to the overall survival of the colonial state. Along this line therefore, the British as from the 1930s appreciated the political expediency to allow the

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<sup>50</sup>.P.K. Tibenderana, "The Role of the British... *op cit.* p.254.

traditional Kingmakers as representative of the local community and the “think tank” of the people a free hand to elect Sultans in the future.<sup>51</sup>

For the remaining part of the period of colonial rule elections of Sultans took place in 1931 and 1938. Evidently, the colonial regime upheld and endorsed the choices the Electoral Council. First it was in 1931 when the council under Waziri Abbas convened to nominate a successor following Tambari’s deposition. From the list of the eight contestants the most popular with the Kingmakers was the *Sarkin Baura* of Dange, Hassan dan Mu’azu. Hassan was closely followed by the *Sarkin Gobir* of Isa, Umaru a grandson of the sixth Caliph, Aliyu Karami (1866 - 1867). It was an opportunity for the aristocracy to elect Hassan for the second time having been rejected by the British in 1924. Hassan was recommended to the government by the electors. The colonial regime approved the choice of the Electoral Council in the spirit of the new policy of appointing only popular candidates to the throne of the Sultanate.<sup>52</sup> The colonial administration seemingly ignored conviction of Hassan for tax misappropriation in 1927 which earned him a sentence for years in prison.<sup>53</sup> It is not quite clear from the records available if Hassan had been given amnesty by the colonial state. At any rate, the fact that Hassan was subsequently installed officially as the sixteenth Sultan on 23rd November 1931 indicated that, there was kind of renewed confidence in the competence and political influence

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<sup>51</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>. *Ibid* p.255.

<sup>53</sup>. N.A.K.Sokprof. 3/1/C.13/E.9/5 Res. Webster to SNP Kaduna 29 January 1992.

of the traditional Kingmakers.<sup>54</sup> Most significantly, any contrary action by the British bordering on the rejection of the choice of Hassan would no doubt jeopardise the new official policy of endorsing popular candidates as Emirs. Sultan Hassan dan Mu'azu died on 6th May, 1938.

The Sokoto Kingmakers were given the freedom to elect a new Sultan. They met and elected Abubakar, a cousin of Sultan Hassan. Abubakar had been very close with the late Sultan and even accompanied the latter to the United Kingdom in 1934. The new Sultan had acquired enough administrative experience as a member of the Sultan's Council as the *Sardauna* since 1932. He was councillor incharge of N.A. Police, Prisons, Forestry, Agriculture and Works. As the 17th Sultan he witnessed Nigeria's transition to political independence in 1960. He was the longest serving Sultan have reigned for forty good years. He died November, 1988 after witnessing the various post-independent phases in Nigeria's history for at least 28 years.<sup>55</sup>

In a nutshell, we attempt to show in this section that the British colonial authorities almost usurped the power of appointment and deposition of removal from the traditional Kingmakers in our area of study. However, the British overtime came to realise that the input of the traditional Kingmakers was quite important to the success of the colonial administration and the security of the colonial state.

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<sup>54</sup>. N.A.K. Sokprof 3/1/C.14/8 S.N.P. to H.F. Backwell, Kaduna 10 March 1931. Also Sir Donald Cameron, "Speech on the Occasion of the installation of Sultan of Sokoto" 23 November 1931.

<sup>55</sup>. See S. Malami, *Sir Siddiq Abubakar III: The 17th Sultan of Sokoto*, Evans Publishers, Ibadan 1989 J. Boyd with H.M. Maishanu.

In the next section below we examined another important aspect of colonial system which is taxation and how the new taxation introduced by the British affected the position of the Sokoto *ulama* and other members of the aristocracy in Sokoto Emirate.

### THE ULAMA AND STATE REVENUE IN COLONIAL SOKOTO

The Sokoto scholars of the 19th century particular Usman dan Fodio and his son Muhammadu Bello had discussed extensively the issues connected with revenue mobilization and other fiscal matters in some of their works. The Shehu for instance criticised the system of taxation in practice in Hausaland during the pre-jihad epoch. He charged in his *Kitab al-Farq* the aristocracy of the Hausa states of over-taxation and property seizure in which the *talakawa* suffered so much.<sup>56</sup> In order to remedy the situation both Danfodio and Muhammad Bello wrote in *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah*<sup>57</sup> and *al-Gaith al Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-Adl*<sup>58</sup> respectively that there were principally two sources of revenue for the state namely: (I) *Zakat* and (ii) Taxes and Booty.

*Zakat* is paid by all Muslims annually on property that is assessed to determine the proportion to be paid for *zakat*. It is paid in cash (gold, silver, cowries etc) and in kind (agricultural produce like *gero*-millet or *dawa*-guinea corn, as well as livestock such as cattle,

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<sup>56</sup>. M. Hiskett, "Kitab al-Farq: a Work on the Habe Kingdoms attributed to Uthman dan Fodi" *BSOAS* 23, 1960, pp 550-79.

<sup>57</sup>. F.H. El-Masri, "A Critical... *Bayan op cit*."

<sup>58</sup>. O. Bello, "The Political Thought... *Al-Gaith op cit*."

sheep, goat and camels). By the time the wealth of a Muslim reaches a particular quantity, amount or value then it is obligatory that *Zakat* is paid on the property.

Before the colonial period the defunct Caliphate also used to get revenue from the booty of war in which one-fifth i.e. *humus* was reserved for the government. There were also some other taxes such as *kharaj* (land tax) *jizya* (poll tax) and tax on the caravans of non-Muslims passing through the Caliphate.<sup>59</sup> Muslims particularly in Sokoto and Gwandu were exempted from paying *kharaj*, in addition, *jizya* used to be collected from the non-Muslims in the Caliphate in lieu of the security of their lives and property and for the freedom to practice their faith.

The *ulama* used to perform vital role in the assessment of property of Muslim and in advising the rulers in the way to collect other types of revenue as well as the manner to disburse such revenues. The input of the *ulama* in the fiscal policies of the Caliphate administration was therefore very significant.

Taxation was an important political issue hence the jihad scholars endeavoured to explain every detail affecting the issue. Sultan Muhammad Bello wrote about taxation that:-

....taxation should be based on a careful assesment of the resources and needs of an individual having regard to the prevailing economic situation against the overall need of the state so as to establish an equitable balance between the purse of individual and the treasury of the state.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup>. Ibrahim Sulaiman, "Economic Philosophy & Principles of Sokoto Caliphate" in R.I. Molla et al (eds) *Frontiers and Mechanics of Islamic Economics* (Uni. Press: Sokoto) 1988 p.233.

The imposition of the colonial political order transformed the taxation system of the Caliphate and changed the role of the personnel in charge of tax affairs including the *ulama*. It has been noted that there existed certain fundamental differences between the pre-colonial and colonial taxation system, as reported by Tijjani Garba:

...the main differences between pre-colonial and colonial taxation systems resulted mainly from the varying aims of the two state systems. In general however, both pre-colonial and colonial rulers used taxation to achieve economic social and political objectives.<sup>61</sup>

The ideological orientations of the defunct Caliphate and that of the colonial state which were quite different greatly influenced the implementation of taxation policies in the two systems. One realises that while under the Caliphate the input of Muslim scholars was required in the formulation and implementation of tax policies, the secular - colonial system depended on the initiatives of the Euro-Christian colonial administrators.

Essentially, the main aim of colonial taxation as explained by Tijjani Garba was to support the “administrative system through which law and order were to be maintained and (British) economic enterprises promoted”.<sup>62</sup> Colonial taxation in colonial Northern Nigeria was geared towards the promotion export crop. Production of export crops to feed British

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<sup>61</sup>. Tijjani Garba, “Taxation in some Hausa Emirates, C.1860-1939” *Ph. Thesis*, (Birmingham, 1986 p.3.

<sup>62</sup>. *Ibid* p.211.

industries. This was done through inducing farmers to cultivate “cash crops” to earn money with which to pay taxes and buy European manufactured goods.<sup>63</sup>

Colonial taxation and political administration were two important aspects that brought clearly the claim of Lugard that the Indirect Rule was introduced to ensure continuity as absolutely false. As we showed in the previous section above the British preserved the pre-colonial administrative structures and institutions only to use them for convenience at the promotion of colonial cause. Similarly, Tijjani Garba argued that in the case of taxation and financial administration the British almost changed the pre-existing system as it was less likely to meet the economic interest of the British to the fullest.<sup>64</sup>

The only thing that indicated the so-called “continuity” in taxation was that the British made use of the emirs and other members of the aristocracy as agents of revenue mobilization as was obtained in the past. The Emirs under the new arrangement collect tax under the guidance of the Residents. The role of the *ulama* as tax assessors such as the *Zakat* as obtained under the Caliphate system was disregarded and in certain respects such roles were usurped in that when the British introduced the so-called “general tax” it subsumed even the Islamically approved *Zakat*.

It was in 1902 that Lugard first introduced the “caravan tolls” which were trade taxes collected in Northern Nigeria. According to Lugard the aim of the caravan toll was to exact “a

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<sup>63</sup> Northern Nigeria Annual Report 1904, pp 216-18, also A. Pin, *Principal and Economic History of African Territories*, (O.U.P.: Oxford) 1940; W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*(London), 1981.

<sup>64</sup> Tijjani Garba, *op cit* p.211.



just payment by those who used the roads<sup>65</sup> and to tax internal trade which the (Lugard) argued (wrongly of course) was not taxed in any other way.

The caravan tolls were severely criticised by the Governor of Lagos Colony. He wrote to the colonial office that Lugard's taxes on the internal trade was seriously undermining the trade between Lagos and Northern Nigeria. According to the Governor of Lagos Colony, his government and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria were paying large sums to the Lugard's administration in lieu of customs duties on imported goods into the Protectorate hence such items ought to be exempted from the caravan tolls charged by Lugard.<sup>66</sup> In defence of his caravan dues, Lugard contended that the tolls were necessary in order to discourage the large-scale withdrawal from "productive occupations" such as agriculture for trade by the people. The collection of tolls argued Lugard would rather expand commercial transactions instead of serving as hindrance. Furthermore by imposing tax on local manufactures according to Lugard, traders would be more willing to sell raw materials for export to Britain and Europe instead of selling them in local markets for use in the local industries. The tolls also increased the revenue of the Protectorate administration in Northern Nigeria to enable it meet its obligations in England and that the collection of the tolls speeded-up the circulation of new coins in the Protectorate.<sup>67</sup> The colonial office was not convinced by Lugard's argument in defence of the caravan tolls. It became apparent that the tolls discriminated against locally produced items like

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<sup>65</sup>. *Northern Nigeria Annual Report 1904.*

<sup>66</sup>. N.A.K. SNP 15/3/395, W. Egertonson to C.O., 3 June 1905.

<sup>67</sup>. *Annual Report 1904 op cit p.299.*

cotton cloth. Traders began to abandon travelling with native cloth and instead preferred to carry English cotton manufactures.<sup>68</sup>

By 1907 the caravan tolls were abolished and Lugard introduced new changes in the colonial taxation system in Northern Nigeria. The Native Revenue Ordinance of 1906 came into effect in the year 1907. In line with this ordinance of 1906, Residents were instructed to study the land tenure and taxation system of the Emirates with a view to assisting in the formulation of colonial policy on taxation and administration. The new policy led to the amalgamation of all "multiple taxes" into a single consolidated "general tax" payable annually in a single instalment by each tax payer.<sup>69</sup> Administrative reforms were also introduced as we discussed in the last section before this one to facilitate efficient taxation system. The divisions in each province were organised into districts.

The Residents and other colonial administrators were consulted with local chiefs such as district heads, village headmen and other community leaders over such issues like soil fertility and crop yields. In essence, the colonial officials were required under the system of tax in operation to estimate the "normal level of income" of a given community in the light of quality of soil, accessibility to markets, the number of livestock and the level of industry. These variables constituted what came to be known as the "general wealth" of a given community.<sup>70</sup> This apparently indicated that the colonial tax was not religious as for instance *Zakat* or *kharaj* of

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<sup>68</sup>. T. Garba *op cit* p.221.

<sup>69</sup>. *Ibid* p.226.

<sup>70</sup>. *Ibid* p.227.

the former Caliphate. Impliedly therefore, the role of scholars as experts in determining the scope of the former taxes was no longer required under the colonial tax system.

The general tax (*haraji*) introduced was on the understanding by Lugard that the Emirs would be compensated for the loss of revenue they suffered following the abolition of the slave trade.<sup>71</sup> The imposition of taxation on the people of the Emirates was justified by Lugard on the premise that the right by conquest which the Emirs utilised to levy taxes had now passed to the British.<sup>72</sup> The colonial taxation became another instance that brought out clearly some of the contradictions of the British Indirect Rule. Lugard's general tax as we said above was a combination of petty taxes known to the people and sanctioned by tradition. In line with this, the British came to involve themselves in the assessment, collection and disbursement of assorted taxes among which some could be considered Islamic but lumped under the general tax.

Resident Burdon who was more conscious of local feelings in Sokoto Province, wrote to Lugard explaining that some of the taxes which were subsumed under the so-called general were either purely religious such as *Zakat* or essentially traditional like the *gaisuwa* and *kudin sarauta*. As argued by Burdon, it would even amount to lowering of dignity by British officials to demand a native chief to account for and surrender a proportion to the government every petty present offered to him by his people most of whom would be his relations.<sup>73</sup> Following

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<sup>71</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana *Sokoto Province.... op cit* p.74. Also *Ibid* p.211.

<sup>72</sup>. *Annual Report Northern Nigerian, 1903.*

<sup>73</sup>. N.A.K., Sokprof 2/2/151/1904 J.A. Burdon to F. Lugard 7 March, 1904.

this submission by Resident J.A. Burdon, Lugard conceded that the Emirs were free to keep the levies from *gaisuwa* as long as that amount did not exceed two hundred and fifty pound.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, *Zakat* that had previously been incorporated into the general tax was allowed to be collected separately by the Emirs or their agents. By this decision taxes in Sokoto and other Emirates of Northern Nigeria were classified into three as follows:<sup>75</sup>

1. General tax levied on land produce and non-Fulani livestock.
2. *Jangali* - tax levied on Fulani livestock.
3. *Kudin Sarauta* - paid by newly appointed Emirs and Chiefs.

Tax assessment which became the job of the British officials, became very problematic in a number of places in the Emirates. This was because the European officials knew very little of the existing socio-economic structures in the districts and villages. This explained the reason why early tax assessment were not revised annually. This problem was further compounded because of shortage of staff. As observed by Tijjani Garba the annual revisions were important without which there could not “a just” assessment of the individual tax payer which Lugard claimed to be after. The British staff for Kano and Sokoto Emirates as reported average only three and at most four to cover an area of over 30,000 sq.km. with large populations above a million in many cases. In the case of Zaria the British staff strength was reduced to only the Resident himself between 1905 - 1906 which made effective supervision almost impossible.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>. *Ibid* Lugard's comments on Burdon's memo of 7 March, 1904.

<sup>75</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province.... op cit* p.75.

<sup>76</sup>. T. Garba *op cit* pp 227-228.

Some other factors such as fluctuation of prices of agricultural products, frequent draughts and famines also made it extremely difficult if not impossible for the tax officials to assess the means of the tax payers. The mode of payment also presented practical problems because under the pre-colonial system taxes were paid in cash and kind. But using the new British currency. It was the exchange system that presented a thorny problem to the British officials.<sup>77</sup>

In Sokoto Province according to Tibenderana at first taxes were largely paid in kind in the form of livestock and grains that were highly needed by the government troops. The cowries were also accepted until the introduction of the silver coins through public i.e. government employees who received their wages in those coins. Between 1907 - 1910 all the Emirates in Sokoto Province had been able to start paying the share of the government from the tax collected in each.<sup>78</sup>

The new colonial taxation brought along with it another important administrative development with the establishment of native treasury (Bait al-Mal). Resident Palmer first adopted it while in Katsina in 1907. The institution of *bait-al-Mal* was known for long to the Muslims. The innovations introduced by Palmer was the modern technique of accounting. An official called the *matawalli* in Katsina and *Ajiya* in Sokoto Emirate was placed in charged of paying salaries to all the indigeneous N.A. staff.

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<sup>77</sup>. *Ibid* p.229.

<sup>78</sup>. P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.110.

The establishment of native treasury was done in most of the Emirates in Northern Nigeria. The Emirs and other N.A. officials including the district heads were put on fixed salaries. The practice whereby the Emirs retain certain percentages of the tax they collected was discontinued. For instance under the Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906, the Sultan being the spiritual head of the Muslims was allowed to remit only a quarter ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) and later one-third of the amount he collected to the central government.<sup>79</sup> In addition, all other levies which the aristocracy used to take as revenue such as *gaisuwa*, *kudin sarauta* and *gado* were stopped forthwith. All monies including court fees and fines considered as revenue were paid into the native treasury. The surplus funds that remain after paying the N.A. officials, the Emir inclusive were suppose to be used to finance development projects in the Emirates.

The native treasuries in Sokoto and Gwandu Emirates were established in 1910 and that of Argungu later in 1913. The personal annual emoluments for the Sultan and the Emirs of Gwandu and Argungu were fixed at four thousand, eight hundred pound and six hundred pound respectively.<sup>80</sup> The amount fixed as salaries of Emirs and Sultan in Sokoto Province were considered "high enough to propitiate the Emirs concerned for the losses they were likely to suffer by being barred from receiving *gaisuwa*, *kudin sarauta* (etc)..."<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *Annual Report op cit.*

<sup>80</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province... op cit* p.111.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

The political, social and religious implications of the establishment of native treasuries affected a wide spectrum of the society. The aristocracy, in particular, the Sultan lost his control over the state revenue. The Sultan had no power to spend the funds in the treasury without the consent of the colonial administration. The Resident was the one to prepare the annual estimate of the Emirate(s) in his province in consultation with the respective Chiefs concerned. The chiefs therefore by now had lost all the powers they hitherto exercised in their domains both political and financial. The British while introducing the general tax in 1908, merged *zakat* with *kudin kasa* (haraji) thereby disregarded the religious nature of *Zakat* and ignored the strong complaints and criticisms of the *ulama* that the decision to incorporate *zakat* into the general tax was contrary to the *sharia* law. The colonial administration erroneously assumed that as long as *Zakat* was regarded as revenue accruing to the state as obtained in the pre-colonial period, then it was entitled to a proportion of whatever is collected hence the decision to make it part of the general tax. The *ulama* and the local rulers vehemently opposed that decision insisting that proceeds from *Zakat* should be collected separately and spent for religious purposes “such as the maintenance of mosques and the development of Qur’anic education instead of (secular) government projects such as roads and court buildings”.<sup>82</sup>

The colonial administration refused to provide or make use of the existing personnel such as the *ulama* to undertake the assessment and collection of *Zakat*. There arose some confusion in the realm of tax collection because some Muslims who wanted to pay *zakat* over and above,

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<sup>82</sup>.

*Ibid* p.113. Also N.A.K. Sokprof 2/9/576/1909 “Sokoto Provincial Report for half year ending 30 June 1909” by Res. J.A. Burdon.

*kudin kasa* or *jangali*, had to make private arrangement in that under the existing arrangement village and district heads were not asked officially to collect *Zakat* alone. The task of assessment for the payment of *zakat* became the responsibility of the scholars in their private capacities. And individual Muslims would after the assessment look around for the beneficiaries of *zakat* such as the poor and some of the scholars in the Muslim community. Although, as shown by Resident Burdon, the merger of *zakat* under the general tax looked as if *zakat* was abolished, in a number of districts Muslims insisted on paying *zakat* in addition to the general tax.<sup>83</sup> Infact, a great number of Muslims would feel guilty of violating one of the principal pillars of Islam if failed to pay *zakat* as ordained by Allah.

The taxation system introduced by the British unfortunately rather than emancipating the *talakawa* from what Lugard regard as “oppression by the Fulani Emirs” further enslaved them. Taxation in the latter part of the colonial period became rewarding to the traditional ruling class in Northern Nigeria. The colonial administration failed to check the excessive extortion of the commoners under the name of *haraji* and *jangali* by the agents of the aristocracy particularly in the rural areas. In the late 1950s, the struggle against colonial taxation was championed by the radical political party in Northern Nigeria - the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU).<sup>84</sup> It came to be regarded as anti-traditional establishments in the North because of its persistent fight against the autocratic tendencies of

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<sup>83</sup>. N.A.K., Sokprof 3/27/410/1910, “Sokoto Provincial Annual Report” by W.F. Gowers (n.d.)

<sup>84</sup>. For more on NEPU struggles See Alan Feistin, *African Revolutionary: The Life and Times of Nigeria's Aminu Kano* (Lynne Rienner Pub. London) 1987. Also Lawal Dambazau, *Gwagwarmayar NEPU da PRP* (Gaskiya: Zaria) 1982.



the Native Authorities in the Emirates. The radical politics which was started under the banner of NEPU in the First Republic (1960 - 1966), was carried over to the Second Republic (1979 - 1983) when the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) an off-shoot of NEPU succeeded in forming governments at the centres of political and economic power in Northern Nigeria - the states of Kano and Kaduna.<sup>85</sup> The first policy to be implemented by the PRP administration in Kano and Kaduna states was the abolishing of *haraji* and *jangali*. Some other states in the North follow suit.

## CONCLUSION

The new administrative system introduced by the British colonial administration was fundamentally different from what used to exist in the defunct Sokoto Caliphate. By virtue of the different orientation of the new system from that of the Caliphate system, the two were geared towards the realisation of different goals. Ideologically, the Caliphate system of administration was aimed at satisfying the spiritual requirement of the faith as well as promoting the welfare and well-being of the faithfuls who form the Muslim *umma*. The British colonial administration on the other hand, was put in place to facilitate the maximum utilization or even exploitation of human and material resources of the defunct Caliphate to provide for the promotion of the capitalist development of the colonial mother country. In this

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A concise account is contained in A.R. Mustapha, "The Relationship of NEPU/PRP Heritage to the Nigerian Revolution: A critique" in *Studies in Politics and Societies (SPS): Journal of the Nigerian Political Science Association*, 1 April 1984, pp. 9-33.

regard, the existing structures and institutions which were considered vital for the realisation of the goals of the colonialists in the defunct Caliphate were mobilised and put to use. Towards this end, the colonialists made use of the *ulama* to assist in execution of colonial policies as scribes and advisers to the traditional members of the aristocracy such as the Emirs. In some respects also, the British discarded the role of the *ulama* especially if there were other available alternatives to the realization of the socio-political interests of the British imperialists.

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# CHAPTER FIVE

## THE *ULAMA* IN THE EMIRATE JUDICIAL SERVICE

### INTRODUCTION

Since the introduction of Islam in Hausaland sometime in the 15th century, the legal system in operation in many places across the region had been the *sharia* based on the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, the latter being the traditions comprising the sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.). The 1804 Jihad strengthened to a relative degree the application of the *sharia* principles in public and private lives of the Muslims in the newly established Caliphate.

The *sharia* as implemented in the old Hausa kingdoms and later in the Caliphate was based on the detail expositions of legal principles according to the Maliki School of Thought<sup>1</sup>. The predominant legal commentaries available included such texts like *al-Mudawwana al-Kubra* of Abd al-Salam b. Sa'id Sahnun al-Tanukhi, *al-Risalah* by Abdullahi b. Abu Zayd al-Qayrawan and *al-Mukhtasar* of Khalil b. Ishaq<sup>2</sup>. Further explanations on the *Sharia* principles according to the Maliki law school were provided in some of the works of the Sokoto Jihad

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1 The Maliki School was founded by Imam Malik b. Anas. Born at Medina in 94 A.H. died in 179 A.H. (812 A.D.) He was the authour of the *Muwatta* ( the beaten path), the earliest completion of traditions. See F.H.Ruxton *Maliki Law Being asummary of French Translation of the Mukhtasar of Sidi Khalil*, London 1914 p.7

2 A. M. Kani, *The Intellectual Origin of Islamic Jihad in Nigeria* ( Al-Hoda: London 1988) pp.49

leaders of which included Muhammadu Bello's *al-Gaith al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-adl*<sup>3</sup> and Abdullahi b. Fodio's *Diya al-Hukkum*.<sup>4</sup>

Administration of justice prior to the advent of the British had been the responsibility of the Muslim intellectuals or the *Ulama* and other political leaders. The reason for this is that there exists no clear-cut separation of purely political responsibility from the religious duties of the leader in the Muslim Community (Ummah). In this regard, under the Caliphate system of the 19th century Hausaland, the Political leadership combined religious duties with temporal responsibilities. In the case of the legal/judicial duties, there was a hierarchy of courts established to dispense justice. At the apex of the court structure there was the Caliphate court based at Sokoto which entertained appeals from the Emirate courts. The Caliph could try the case in his court, refer the case back to where it emanated for retrial or transfer the case to the *Alkali* (Judge) of Sokoto for fresh trial. The next courts in the hierarchy were the Emirate Judicial Councils found in every Emirate which comprised the Emir presiding with some of the *Ulama* to try cases. The Emir's Judicial Council served as the court of appeal in the Emirate to entertain appeals from the lower courts. The jurisdiction of the council covered both civil and criminal cases. Next to the Emir's council in the court structure were the courts of *Babban Alkali* (Alkalin Gari in Sokoto) that is the chief Justice of the Emirate. These courts hear appeals of cases tried in the lower courts which were at the bottom of the court structure.

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<sup>3</sup> O. Bello "The Political Thought of Muhammad Bello C.1781 -1837 AS Revealed in his Arabic Writing more especially *Al-Gaith al-wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-Adl*" Ph.D. thesis, London 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Abdullahi Fodio, *Diya'ul Hukkam*, trans. (Hausa) by Halliru Binji, (Gaskiya : Zaria) n. d.

The lowest courts were found at the big towns outside the capital of the Emirate to adjudicate in civil and criminal matters in the places of their locations and the surrounding settlements.<sup>5</sup>

An important feature of the precolonial judicial system in the Caliphate, was the issue of arbitration (Sulh) which normally took place outside the established court system. So in places where there existed no *alkali* courts, Muslim scholars and in some instances the *jakadu* or representatives of the aristocracy at the countryside, could reconcile parties in dispute.<sup>6</sup> The legal system of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate though based on the *sharia*, still recognised and accommodated some customary practices in the Caliphate society. This was provided by conventions in order to safeguard the interests and aspirations of the non-Muslims in the emirates. This principle is known as *urf* (customs/traditional practices) and provided the option to the non-Muslims to be tried under the *sharia* or traditional laws and conventions<sup>7</sup>. The imposition of colonial rule which followed the collapse of the Caliphate system, ushered in a new system of legal/judicial practice in all the Emirates and other parts that formed the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria as we discuss below.

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<sup>5</sup> T.M. Naniya “ the Impact of the British conquest on the Interpretation and Application of the *Sharia*” in *PAIDEUMA* No. 40, 1994 p.164.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See A.I.Omer, “The Role of *Urf* in the Development of Islamic Law” in *Al-Bayan: Journal of Islamic Research*, Vol.1, No.1 1992 pp.17-28.

### THE ULAMA UNDER THE COLONIAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

It was as early as 1900 when the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) under the command of Lugard took over the administration of the territory North of the Niger (later Northern Protectorate), that the foundation of a new judicial/legal system was laid. Lugard, asserted that all courts to dispense justice in the Muslim Emirates must be issued with warrants by the Protectorate Administration. By the time the British occupied Sokoto (March 1903), three of those courts were given warrants officially and were at Sokoto, Jega and Gwandu. The officials recognised to administere justice in the courts included the *alkali* (the judge), *Mufti* (court scribe) and some few other assistants<sup>8</sup>.

The Protectorate Courts Proclamation of 1900 under which Lurgard started his sweeping changes in the administration of justice, was aimed at using some of the pre-colonial structures and personnel to dispense justice as determined by the British. The court system in the Muslim Emirates was adopted but with fundamental alterations to conform with the colonial principles of Britain. In this case, Lugard conceded to the fact that, the scholars that had been manning the courts prior to the coming of the British, could be utilised under the colonial judicial system. The most important point was to make such judges (*alkalai*) aware of the conditions under which they should operate. The *ulama* from whom the *alkalis* under the defunct Caliphate were recruited, persisted in the performance of that role of the administration of justice throughout the Muslim Emirates.

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<sup>8</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province under British Rule 1903-1939* (A.B.U. Press: Zaria), 1988 p.69.

The provisions made under the 1900 Native Courts Proclamation created entirely new conditions different from what obtained under the old Caliphate system. The Residents were empowered to appoint the *alkalis* and other court officials to serve in the native courts. Such powers which were formally accorded the Emirs and the Caliph alone. The Emirs were deprived of the power not only to appoint *alkalai* or determine the jurisdiction of the *alkalai* courts, but also to review the judgements of the courts which used to be under the Emirs. Among the varying powers of the Emirs which were usurped under the colonial judicial system, included the determination of all cases of whatever type, retrial of cases or order for a new trial and also the freedom to alter the judgement passed by an *alkali*.

Lugard's policies of redesigning the defunct Caliphate's judicial system was informed by a number of factors. First of all, the new colonial state was built on a secular foundation which was not ready to accommodate some of the principles of Islam from where the *sharia* as a legal system was derived. Secondly, the spirit and content of the *sharia* as a legal system were likely to be detrimental to the political and economic interests of the British which was to subjugate the Muslim populations politically and socially in order to exploit the human and material resources. And the last factor was to undermine the ideological power of Islam as a strong ideological weapon at the disposal of the Muslims in the former Caliphate for a persistent struggle against the colonial state. The latter factor was realised by Lugard by restricting the practice of the Islamic faith to the performance of rituals which was made an individual affair as opposed to a state affair.

As part of the grand design to undermine the *sharia*, the colonial administration under the 1900 proclamation established a new court structure diametrically opposed to the court

system obtained in the Caliphate, the latter which was explained above. The new colonial judicial system comprised three levels of courts - a Supreme Court, Provincial Courts and the Native Courts<sup>9</sup>. The role of the *ulama* as far as the Emirates were concerned was limited to the third level of the courts at the bottom of the hierarchy. As explained by Lugard further, because of “distance, delays (and) hardships on litigants”<sup>10</sup>, the Supreme Court which apparently was the highest court of justice was excluded from exercising any jurisdiction in the Emirates of the Northern Protectorate.

The Provincial court was presided over by the Resident of a province and its membership consisted of the District Officers (D.Os) and their assistants (A.D.Os) as well as other colonial officers appointed by the Governor “as provincial Justices of the Peace”<sup>11</sup>. The jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts covered cases political, civil and criminal which included “violations of colonial legislation with respect to slavery, liquor, firearms, impersonation and the like. It also heard appeals from the Emir’s Judicial Council”<sup>12</sup>. The Provincial Court was established also to apply native law and customs including *sharia*. The court evidently, encountered some difficulties in discharging its statutory functions because the colonial officials serving in the courts, majority were ignorant of the native law and customs particularly the principles of *sharia*. It was reported that at one time, Resident Burdon had to

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<sup>9</sup> F. Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officer on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913 -18*. (London, 1970), p.85.

<sup>10</sup> Mimeo, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* ( Frank Cass: London ), 1968 p.541

<sup>11</sup> T. M. Naniya *op cit* p.166

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*. Also M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, (Frank Cass: London), 1965 p.55.



stop involving himself in court cases outside Sokoto town because he did not have adequate knowledge of native law and customs<sup>13</sup>.

In 1906 the Native Courts Proclamation was enacted which empowered the Resident to establish three grades of native courts "A", "B" and "C" with varying powers to be determined at the discretion of the Resident. In the "A" category were placed the court of *Babban Alkali* (Chief Alkali/Judge) and the Emir's Judicial Council with powers to hear civil and criminal cases. But the court of *Babban Alkali* was not allowed to entertain cases involving land ownership, boundary disputes and murder. The "B" category were the *alkali* courts in the district headquarters with jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases in which the maximum award did "not exceed two years imprisonment, twenty-four strokes and/or a fine of fifty pound. The "C" category were the courts that were established in the predominantly non-Muslim areas" in Northern Nigeria.<sup>14</sup>

In Sokoto Province as shown by Tibenderana, the Emirs' Judicial Councils of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates were to exercise Grade "A" powers concurrently with the Chief *Alkali's* courts in their towns. All the *alkali* courts contrary to their provisions under the *sharia*, "were obliged to admit testimony by slaves and non-Muslims on the same basis as testimony by Muslims"<sup>15</sup>. Majority of the *alkalai* who remained in the judicial service were

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<sup>13</sup> N.A.K. , Sokprof 2/1/23/1903 "Sokoto Provincial Report for first quarter ending 31st March, 1903" by Resident Burdon, 30th April, 1903

<sup>14</sup> A.E.Speed,(ed) *Laws of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria* (Stevens & Sons:London)1910 p.598.

<sup>15</sup> F. Lugard ,*Polical Memo...op.cit* p.135.

compelled to abide by this provision on testimony because according to Schacht “to have done otherwise would have meant many suits would not have been heard”.<sup>16</sup>

The provisions under the 1906 proclamation granted enormous powers to the Resident such that they could increase or reduce the powers given to any native court anytime they deem fit. In this case, *alkali* courts that never cooperated and refused to act according to the British concept of “natural justice and humanity”, had their powers curtailed or even the *alkali* dismissed like what happened to the *alkalai* of Jega and Gwandu in 1905 which we shall discuss in due course. Under the colonial judicial system also, the details of every trial were to be recorded in Arabic by the court scribe (Mufti) who served as adviser to the *alkali* during the court session. The recorded court sessions were forwarded to the Resident on monthly basis so that the Resident could where he personally found necessary, review the judgements by the *alkali* court.

The introduction of court fees was another new development that happened in the judicial system in Northern Nigeria under British rule. As reported by Lugard, there was strong opposition at the introduction of courts fees by *alkalai* and *ulama* in Kano and Sokoto which they regarded as another unnecessary interference with the way of life of the Muslims as ordained by Islam.<sup>17</sup> The court fees included *Kudin kara* paid by litigants, *Ushra* i.e fithes which was a 10% of a recovered debt to be forfeited by a person as a court fee, likewise compensation paid for personal injury the victim must give up 10% of the sum as court fees. Such monies were used to form the emolument of the *alkali* and the court officials. But with

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted in P. K. Tibenderana *op.cit...*p.95

<sup>17</sup>F. D. Lugard, Political Memo...*op.cit* p.599

the introduction of the N.A. treasuries, the court fees became part of the N.A. revenue and paid into the treasury from which court employees like other N.A. officials were paid fixed salaries.

The colonial administration in the Northern Protectorate, removed the most important component of the *sharia* that is the *hudud* penalties which were applied on serious offences, as prescribed by both the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. Some of the *hudud* punishments included for theft is amputation of the right hand at the wrist, illicit sexual relations, which carried a penalty of a hundred strokes for bachelors and stoning (*rajm*) for married couples; slanderous accusations of promiscuity and the consumption of alcohol, both offences punishable by 80 strokes; and murder and apostasy, both of which carry the death penalty.

The changes in the content and spirit of the *sharia* which started with the expunging of the *hudud* penalties was part of the grand design to displace the *sharia* legal system which as asserted by Lugard, after all the "delays" the English legal system was to encroach more into the Muslim areas.<sup>18</sup> The retention and implementation of the *sharia* law was considered a temporary exercise pending the time it would "gradually be destroyed" and finally replaced by a "hybrid based on English law"<sup>19</sup>, and that was actually done under the legal reforms in the Northern Region in the 1950s when the criminal code was introduced.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the new criminal code introduced by the colonialist, it was translated into Arabic and copies of the Arabic version of the Criminal Code

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<sup>18</sup> Mimeo *Polical Memo....op.cit* .

<sup>19</sup> *I bid*. See also S. Kumo, "Organisation and Procedure of Shari'a Courts in Northern Nigeria" *Ph.D Thesis*, (London 1972) and A. H. Yadudu "Islamic Law and Law Reform Discourse in Nigeria : A Comparative Study and Another Viewpoint" *Ph.D Dissertation* (Harvard, Massachusetts) 1985.

were made available to the *alkalis*.<sup>20</sup> The colonial officers such as the Residents, D.Os were also introduced to the study of the *sharia* principles so that they could effectively supervise the *alkalis*. In this connection, some of the texts on Muslim law were translated into English for the use of the colonial officials - some of the texts were the *Risala* of Abu Zayd al-Qayrawan translated as *First Steps in Muslim Jurisprudence*; a summary translation of Khalil B. Ishaq's *al-Mukhtasar* by F.H. Ruxton, Person's *Jurisprudence Musulmane* (Maliki Law); Hamilton's translation of the *Hidaya*, Zayd's *Bukuratal-Sa'd* and Seignette's *Code Musulman*.<sup>21</sup>

The relationship between the *alkalis* and the British colonial officials was based on what Tibenderana called "contemptuous attitude towards native court personnel"<sup>22</sup>. There were many instances when conflict developed between the *alkalis* and the colonial officers because of excessive interference by the latter in Judicial proceedings and judgements. The *alkalis* were on a number of occasions compelled to tow the anti-*shari'a* position adopted under the colonial judicial system. It was the insistence of the colonial regime that the *Alkalai* must comply with the colonial ordinances and many of the serving *Alkalai* were learned Muslim scholars (*ulama*).

As rightly observed by Tijjani Naniya, the colonial administration thought of curtailing the influence of the *ulama* by incorporating them into the colonial system through appointment

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<sup>20</sup>Northern Nigeria : *Annual Reports 1900 -1911* p.412.

<sup>21</sup> T. M. Naniya, *op.cit* p.167.

<sup>22</sup>P. K. Tibenderana *Op.cit* p. 100

to serve as judges and court officials<sup>23</sup>. Unfortunately for the colonial state, some of these Muslim scholars despite the fact that they agreed to serve under the colonial system, but did so only to enable them undermine the system from within, hence defied all colonial orders and rejected colonial laws. There were reports of a number of *Alkalai* who were on a collision course with the colonial administrators for insisting to apply strictly the *sharia* principles in their judgements in place of the colonial laws. For instance in Kano Emirate, the *Babban Alkali* Sulaimanu resigned his appointment rather than to serve under an infidel rule. Similarly, another *Babban Alkali* of Kano called Muhammadu Aminu who was appointed in 1919, openly flouted a colonial law and recognised one girl as a slave regardless of the provision of the colonial law which stated that any slave was a free person after 31 March 1901.<sup>24</sup>

In Sokoto Province in 1905, the *Alkalis* of Jega and Gwandu were regarded as recalcitrant and unco-operative by the colonial regime, and both of them were ultimately dismissed. The British officer in charge of Gwandu Division accused the two judges of trying “to thwart his effort in all judicial reforms”<sup>25</sup>. The *Alkali* of Gwandu in particular was charged of refusing to try one Dan Gima who was accused of hiding two Satiru spies thereby aiding them to escape arrest. In addition, the *Alkalin* Gwandu had failed to submit his monthly reports for the crucial months of February and March, 1906. On the other hand, *Alkalin* Jega was found “guilty” of insisting to apply *Sharia* principles in his court contrary to the British colonial Policy - which

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<sup>23</sup>T. M. Naniya “The Dilemma of the *Ulama* in a Colonial Society :TheCase Study of Kano Emirate” in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 4:2(1993) p.155.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>25</sup> N.A.K .,Sokprof 2/2/275/1905, “Sokoto Provincial Report for the Months of July and August,1905” by Resident Burdon .

prohibited the application of *hudud* punishments. The British also alleged that *Alkalin* Argungu was incompetent and that he was “very old and childish” which warranted his removal.<sup>26</sup> In 1914, the British colonial officials in Sokoto could not condone the attitude of *Alkalin* Sokoto and therefore the Acting Resident wrote that, the *alkali* “was the most unsatisfactory”<sup>27</sup> among the other *alkalis* in the province.

A lot of the political functions which the *alkali* courts were forced to perform were meant primarily to camouflage British political and judicial decisions as the actions of the indigenous *ulama* serving as *alkalai*.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps there was no other societal institution in colonial Northern Nigeria under which the services of the *ulama* were employed by the colonial state than the *alkalai* courts. In order to make sure that the courts serve the functions they were assigned under colonialism, the British subjected them to strict control and supervision. Lugard emphasized to the Residents the importance of close supervision of the courts, which should not be subordinated to other administrative work except touring of the provinces. In one such occasion he informed Resident Burdon that:

Since the Sokoto courts have been given very large powers, and the tendency seems to be to transfer to them all possible cases....a strict supervision becomes even more than usually imperative.<sup>29</sup>

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- <sup>26</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 2/2/268/1903, “Sokoto Provincial Report for the Months February and March 1906” by Resident Burdon.
- <sup>27</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 10/476p/1914 “Sokoto Provincial Report for half Year Ending 30 June 1914” by C. Malcolm.
- <sup>28</sup> M. M. Tukur “The Imposition of British colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States, 1887-1914”, *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria 1979 p. 477.
- <sup>29</sup> N.A.K. Sokprof 29/1906, “ Sokoto Provincial Report for the first quarter ending 31 March 1906” by Resident Burdon.

The supervision of the courts should take precedence over other administrative work as pointed out by Lugard, that:

I look upon this administrative work (courts supervision) as of more importance, and more of the work of the Resident, than the Historical Research which you say has occupied so much of your time.<sup>30</sup>

Lugard made the point further when he explicitly stressed that:

the practical needs of administration (is seemingly) more represented by a close supervision of the Native Courts than by almost any other form of work, except touring (with the objects it is undertaken for)<sup>31</sup>

Evidently, conflicts between the *alkalai* and the colonial officials persisted for a very long time in different Emirates across the Northern Provinces. Principally, as observed by Mahmud Tukur, the *alkali* courts called also native courts were constituted by the British in order to use the *alkalai* to give effect to the colonial policy of domination and control.<sup>32</sup> There were a number of instances that demonstrated practically the desire of the British to use the *alkali* courts manned by the *ulama* to promote the political desires of the colonial state. In Sokoto Emirate for instance, the trial of the anti-colonial activists such as the Satiru “rebels”

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<sup>30</sup> M.M. Tukur *op cit* p.481.

<sup>31</sup> N .A. K. Sokprof 26/1906 *op cit*

<sup>32</sup> M. M. Tukur *op cit* p.481

was ordered to be done by *Alkalin* Sokoto, Mallam Al-Mustapha (also known as Alkali Modibbo) under the close supervision of the Resident.

As reported by Burdon, the handling of the case of the Satiru activists by the court of *Alkalin* Sokoto was to avoid the delays in trials before a British court and most importantly to gain tremendous political advantage through “the open condemnation of the false prophet by the acknowledge head of his religion...”<sup>33</sup>. Resident Burdon reportedly, forced Alkali Al-Mustapha to sentence the Satiru leaders to death for killing the three British officers. The *alkali* refused insisting that he could not kill a Muslim for killing non-Muslims. The *alkali* only agreed to sentence the Satiru activists to death when he was informed (to satisfy his conscience), that the Satiru fighters had also killed fellow Muslims when they attacked the surrounding villages of Satiru<sup>34</sup>. Another instance that showed the British desire to use the *alkali* courts for political reasons was at Jega when the *alkali* was ordered to try one *Inmai*, the village headman of Jandutsi. The people of the village stoned a Dakarkari man and his wife, some few days later the woman died. After the trial, *alkalin* Jega fined Inami 200,000 cowries, a fine considered too light by the Acting Resident. The *alkali* was ordered to retry the case and fine the convict 1,000,000 cowries otherwise the case be taken out of his court. The *alkali* objected to the request. It was the Acting Resident who intervened and gave the award of 1,000,000 as compensation to the Dakarkari man.

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<sup>33</sup> N.A.K. Sokprof 29/1906, “ Sokoto Provincial Report for September and October, 1905” Lugard’s Comments on

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.



The modes of control and supervision of the *alkali* courts by the British brought out clearly the problems of the judicial personnel in the discharge of their duties and also some constraints which served to limit the extent of the British ability to supervise the courts. Essentially, the British exercised control over the *alkalai* in the first instance because they arrogated to themselves the powers of appointment and dismissal of *alkalai*. More control was exercised through the receipt of the monthly reports from the courts and the physical inspection of court sessions.

It was under the second situation the *alkalai* encountered problems when the colonial officers presented themselves in the native courts to witness trials. A number of *alkalai* found the presence of white officials in the courts uncomfortable as that according to Tibenderana instilled a kind of “fear<sup>35</sup>” in the minds of the *alkalai*. Some of them might be worried about losing their jobs for failing to meet the British standard and compliance with colonial view of “fair justice”. Apparently, some *alkalai* under this situation, often compromised and resorted to seeking guidance and approval from colonial officers. The *alkalai* as men of learning even sought the opinion of the colonial officers on how to decide on cases which ought to be settled within the Islamic framework. In this example, the dilemma of *Alkalin* Yabo was reported in 1907 in which he could not decide on what ought to be the responsibility of the slave to his master when he decided to redeem her in order to become his concubine. The British officer advised the *alkali* to decide all the cases not according to *sharia* principles. The slave girl for

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<sup>35</sup>P. K. Tibenderana *Sokoto Province op cit* p. 104

instance was not considered a slave by the Resident but a free person who ought to be given a Redemption Certificate and to decide on her own the next line of action to take.<sup>36</sup>

The Emirs who also used to hear some cases in their courts i.e. the Emir's Judicial Council. The Councils were often very apprehensive and worried because of the tight control and strict supervision of their proceedings by the colonial officers. It was reported in Sokoto in 1909 that, at one time litigants had to narrate the details of their complaints to the Resident which he recorded in his minor case book. There after, the Resident assigned the case to the *Alkalin Gari* in Sokoto or to the Sultan's Council for hearing. In either cases, the Sultan's Council or the Court of *Alkalin Gari* had to inform the Resident of the details of the proceedings and the verdict.<sup>37</sup>

In some Emirates, the Emir's Council had been performing the judicial function quite well before the coming of the British. The sweeping changes introduced after the imposition of colonial rule deprived some of those councils of their judicial powers. In some instances, the British officers accused the councils of being autocratic just to provide the reasons for their replacement. In Kano Emirate for instance, it was Resident Cargill who scrapped the council and usurped its judicial duty. In the provincial report of 1908, Resident Festing reported the abolishing of the council and he gave details that:

When we originally took over Kano an Emir's court was found to exist apart from the *Alkali's* court. Dr. Cargill's aim was to form this into a council which with the Emir

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<sup>36</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 2/9/185/1908, "Sokoto Provincial Report for half year ending 31 June 1908" by E. J. Stanley.

<sup>37</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 2/2/576/1909, "Sokoto Provincial Report for half year ending 31 June 1908" by Resident Burdon.

at the head could deal with Executive matters and assist on administration.... However the Emir seems to have been determined to retain the power of the court in his hands alone as his brother Alieu (sic) had done before him.<sup>38</sup>

The Emir's court as shown in the reports had been turned into an instrument of oppression as clearly stated that:

One has only to look back into reports by Captain Phillips and others to see that the Emir's court was simply a means of paying off old scores and over-rule the *Alkali's* awards. It soon became patent therefore that not only did it serve no good purpose whatsoever but that it was dangerous.<sup>39</sup>

According to the Resident, such an autocratic institution had outlived its usefulness especially with the introduction of a new court structure under British rule, the report indicated that:

...an autocratic court under the former Emir Alieu (sic) before British occupation and one run on the same lines under Government protection were two very different things. For this reason Dr. Cargill strongly urged the abolition of this court and early in the year its powers were suspended.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> K.H.B.A., S.N.P. 7/472 "Kano Province Annual Report No. 38 for the year ending 31 December 1908" by Resident A. Festing.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*

Much earlier in 1907, the Emir's Judicial Council in Kano was severely criticised on the ground that it was dominated by the non-scholarly influence of the palace slaves. Consequently, after it was scrapped all appeal cases which were ordinarily taken to the Emir's Court were transferred to the Court of *Babban Alkali* because of his knowledge and judicial training which would presumably facilitate effective administration of justice. It was in 1909 that Resident C.L. Temple reverted to the old arrangement and reconstituted the Emir's Judicial Council as a segment of the native court system.<sup>41</sup>

Evidently, the type of changes experienced in the organization and reorganization in the court system in Sokoto Emirate as it affected the Sultan's court requires an indepth and separate research. In the course of this study, we have not come across any documentary evidence of the suspension of the Sultan's Court and its reinstatement subsequently as it occurred in Kano. However, with the enactment of the 1933 Native Courts Ordinance some sweeping changes were effected in the Emirate court system which affected the Sultan's Court as shall discuss below.

Meanwhile, some of the constraints that limited the extent of the control of the courts by the British included the physical barriers of distance and linguistic. The location of some of the courts very far away from the provincial headquarters made it almost impossible to get

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<sup>41</sup> J. W. Chamberlain "The Development of Islamic Education in Kano City with Emphasis on Legal Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries" *Ph.D Thesis* (Northwestern University , Columbia) 1975 p. 179. Also T. M. Naniya , *The Transformation of the Administration of Justice in Kano Emirate, 1903 -1966" Ph.D Thesis* , (Bayero University Kano) 1990 p.144.

monthly reports from the *alkalai*. In this regard, Lugard conceded to the Residents to take quarterly reports which they then passed on to the High Commissioner.<sup>42</sup>

The courts prior to the coming of the British had been keeping their records of proceedings in Arabic and often times in Hausa. For the Residents to read and understand the court records, such documents must be translated into English. This constituted a serious problem of control and supervision of the *alkali* courts. At one time, Resident Burdon complained that the courts in Sokoto province numbered up to 200, hence a lot of time and personnel were needed to know what transpired in these courts. As reported by Burdon, “the translating and tabulating of (the court) reports would take the entire time of a whiteman, (an) interpreter and, (a) *Malam* to get through”<sup>43</sup>. Burdon suggested to Lugard that, the district *alkalai* could be made to make their submissions to the Sultan or the Chief Alkali so that the most important cases were to be reported to the Residents. Lugard rejected the suggestion, and emphasized to Burdon that some Residents and their “Arabic writer and a clerk or interpreter were able to adequately handle the necessary translation”<sup>44</sup>. As such according to Lugard, a Resident could only supervised the courts effectively if he went through the cases. This supervision became even more necessary in Sokoto Province because the courts had been given large powers and therefore the likelihood of the courts trying many cases. Burdon was advised to make use of the few available staff to do the “strict supervision” of the courts in his province. The fact that Lugard had failed or refused to recognise the difficult situation of

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<sup>42</sup> M. M. Tukur *op cit* pp.484 - 485

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in *Ibid* p. 486

<sup>44</sup> N. A. K. Sokprof No 754/1906 ..... *op cit*

Burdon, made the latter to pretend doing the job as ordered.. Apparently, the job of supervision of *alkali* courts as far as Resident Burdon was concerned, was “a sheer impossibility”. He claimed that the serious limitation which impede the execution of his job had not vanished. As reported by M.M. Tukur, ultimately the most probable action taken by Burdon was “simply stopped arguing with Lugard, did only what was possible for him to do..., and went on fooling Lugard that he had all the “native” courts in the Sultanate under “strict supervision”<sup>45</sup>.

We tried to show elsewhere in this section the difficulty that was experienced by some of *ulama* working as *alkalai* and the conflicts that developed between them and the colonial officers in the administration of justice. The examples of *Alkalin* Sokoto Malam Al-Mustapha, *Alkalin* Jega and *Alkalin* Gwandu could easily be recalled. There were also similar problems that occurred in Kano. Undoubtedly, there was hardly a single Emirate where the Muslim scholars appointed as *alkalai* did not encounter the restraint imposed on the implementation of the *sharia* under colonial rule. Essentially the friction that developed between the *alkalai* and the colonial officers arose out of the conflict of laws and procedures which emerged because of basic contradiction between the English law and the *sharia*. In an attempt to make the *alkalai* to adopt to the new colonial situation, the *alkalai* being members of the learned class (the *ulama*) resisted all moves to circumscribe the performance of their traditional roles as upholders of the Islamic principles in the Emirates. On the other hand, the colonial administrators used all the powers at their disposal to coerce the *alkalai* to adopt to the new

judicial system based on the English law even if that meant the flagrant violation of the sacred principles of the *sharia*.

In the 1920s, the colonial administration took more steps to further entrench the English law in the Muslim Emirates of Northern Nigeria. As shown by Fika, an Assistant District Officer in charge of Judicial services was appointed to oversee the activities of the Native Courts<sup>46</sup>. As explained by Tijjani Naniya also the issues that were of paramount importance to the British included “the conduct of *alkalai* and their staff, the maintenance of records and receipt books, fines and *ushra* (fithes), and the upkeep of courthouses and goals”.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the appointment of the A.D.O. specially for Judicial services meant intensified supervision of the *alkalai* courts to curtail the application of *sharia* even more. Evidently, interference in the court proceedings of the *alkalai* by the Residents was on the increase during the period under discussion. For instance, the Resident of Zaria Province at one time reportedly coerced “an *alkali* to restore the inheritance which had been denied to a Christian convert because of his conversion”<sup>48</sup> and warned the *alkali* not make a distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims regardless of the nature of the case whatsoever in the future. Similarly, in Katsina province a colonial officer ordered an *alkali* to reverse the sentence of two years’ imprisonment and flogging passed on a man convicted of adultery.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> A. M. Fika *The Kano Civil war and British Over - Rule 1882 - 1940* (Uni. Press: Ibadan) 1978 p. 220

<sup>47</sup> T.M. Naniya “The Impact of the British .....*op cit*.p.167

<sup>48</sup> E.P.T. Crompton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* (London 1979 ) p.59 quoted in *Ibid* p.167

<sup>49</sup> M. Perham, *Native Administration* ..... *op cit* p. 23

As observed by M.M. Tukur, the British idea of “punitive and specified imprisonment” was never acceptable to many *alkalai* hence the British used force by way of threats and intimidation to make the *alkalai* apply the notion in their judgements<sup>50</sup>. In Sokoto province, the case of *Alkalin* Jega was reported in which the *alkali* tried to circumvent the specified period of imprisonment passed by his own court. Two men were sent by the Resident to be tried at the native court for extortion. They were sentenced to three months imprisonment but only to be released after spending 25 days in jail. It was at the instance of a Jega aristocrat, the *Dangaladima* that the convicts were released before completing their terms. On being asked about the issue by the Resident, the *alkali* averred that the men had completed their three months, though the final verdict lay with the Resident. Later the *Dangaladima* was ordered to surrender the prisoners to return to jail. The *Alkali* was seriously warned and as it turned out the Gwandu Resident recommended the dismissal of the *Alkali* which was approved by Burdon<sup>51</sup>.

Essentially, the British emphasized on imprisonment because that in a way helped to procure labour for the execution of colonial projects. Infact, Resident G.N. Barclay made the point that “imprisonment of a farm or domestic slave means the loss of his services to the master during the term of imprisonment as all prisoners have to be employed on municipal works alone”<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> M. M. Tukur *op cit* p.497.

<sup>51</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 3151905 , “Sokoto Provincial Report for the month of May and June 1905” by Resident Burdon.

<sup>52</sup> M. M. Tukur *op cit* p.499.



Meanwhile, the problem of conflict of laws and procedures between the *sharia* and the common law was to persist for quite sometime. For over four decades of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, it was apparent that the Muslim judicial personnel, in particular the *alkalai* were not ready to throw away the *sharia* to adopt the common law. The conflict of the *sharia* and common law rather than being minimised was reinforced under the 1933 Reforms introduced by Governor Cameron. By the time he assumed office as Governor of Nigeria, Cameroon was determined to effect sweeping changes in the N.A. system of Northern Nigeria which should include judicial reforms. The conception with which Cameroon came was that the Emirate administrations in the North were impeding the progress of the region and thwarting its move towards modernity. It was therefore decided as reported by Heussler that:

The necessary infusion of European influence was being resisted by excessive concern for supposed African devotion to Islam and to tradition generally. This held up development in the Region and kept....(its rulers) ineffective, corrupt and insensitive to the needs of its own people, especially the non-Moslems and non-Northerners.<sup>53</sup>

The Cameron's judicial reforms introduced new ordinances one of which was the Native Courts ordinance of 1933. The central objective of the ordinances was the integration of the native (*alkali*) courts with the British courts most especially as regards appeal cases. The ordinance created more channels of appeal within the native court system. For instance, according to the 1933 ordinance, appeals against the Chief *Alkali's* judgement as a court of first instance lay to the High Court, whereas appeals against the Chief *Alkali's* judgement as

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<sup>53</sup>

R. Heussler, *The British in Northern Nigeria* (O.U.P., London) 1968 p.66

an appellate court for district *alkali* courts lay to the Emirs Judicial Council<sup>54</sup>. Most significantly, the 1933 ordinance could be said to have finally eroded the judicial powers of the Emirs and the learned *alkalai*, because the ordinance provided for appeals on cases decided or judged according to the *sharia* to be taken to the unIslamic Magistrate Courts, the Supreme Court and the newly created West African Court of Appeal. The appellate powers of the colonial courts over the Muslim native courts covered all civil and criminal cases except those to do with matters of personal status such as marriage and divorce, guardianship, succession and administration of estates<sup>55</sup>. This new system of appeals and court system created under the 1933 ordinance, compounded the problems of conflict of laws between the *sharia* and the English law.

In this regard, the observation by P.K. Tibenderana that the 1933 ordinance had restored some judicial powers of the Emirs and *Alkalai* and renewed the confidence of the Muslim subjects in the judicial process is far from being correct<sup>56</sup>. The 1933 reforms as would be demonstrated below even opened new chances for some Muslims to escape from receiving the right punishment under the *sharia* principles passed by the Muslim courts.

The criminal code was amended in 1933 which ousted any other provision of principle that might have existed under the *sharia*. In section four of the code it was stated that “no

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<sup>54</sup> N. A. K. Sokprof 3/1/ C.309 , Conf. No 23/1933/62 Resident to SNP, 6 July 1934.

<sup>55</sup> See S. Kumo “ Sharia Under Colonialism - Northern Nigeria” in Nura Alkali *et al* (eds ) *Islam in Africa* . Proceedings of the Islam in Africa Conference. (Spectrum Books: Ibadan), 1993 p.11

<sup>56</sup> P. K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Provice*.....*op cit* p. 150

person shall be liable to be tried or punished in *any court for an offence* except under the express provisions of the code or some other ordinances .....<sup>57</sup>. The former provision exempted the native (alkali) courts and hence the original working which stated that “no person shall be liable to be tried or punished in any court *other than a native* tribunal”, was completely expunged from the section. In 1947 a very serious and fundamental conflict arose in the case *Tsofo Gubba Vs Gwandu N.A.*

The Emir’s Judicial Council at Gwandu Emirate of Sokoto Province sentenced Tsofo Guba to death having convicted him of murder by stabbing someone to death. The accused was said to have caught his wife *flagrante delicto*<sup>58</sup> with the deceased. As provided under the rules of the *sharia* the accused after the trial was sentenced accordingly which prior to the 1933 amendment the punishment was only to be executed. The appellate court overturned the judgement of the Emir’s Council. Anderson reports that the court ruled according to section 10 (2) of the Native Courts Ordinance of 1933 that:

Where a native court exercises its jurisdiction in relation to an act which constitutes an offence both against the criminal code... and against native law and custom... A native court may... impose a fine or imprisonment or may inflict any punishment authorised by native law or custom provided it does not involve mutilation or torture and is not repugnant to natural justice and humanity.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> S. Kumo “ Sharia.....*op cit* p. 11

<sup>58</sup> Ibid

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. *Flagrante delicto* meaning in the commission of the offence. See Roger Bird, *Osborn’s Law Dictionary* (7th Edition) , Sweet & Maxwell : London p.149.

Earlier, the Supreme Court which first heard Guba's appeal had endorsed the decision of the Emir of Gwandu's court because the judgement based on the available facts was right under the *sharia*. However, the court observed had Guba been tried under the criminal code he would have been convicted of manslaughter as he would have received the defence of provocation. The Supreme Court decided not to interfere with the decision of the native court which it felt was right according to native law (sharia) which the Emir's court applied<sup>60</sup>. Having felt dissatisfied by the decision of the Supreme Court, Guba went to the West African Court of Appeal which as reported by Kumo was the highest court in British West Africa and the court decided according to the provision of the criminal code because:

.....the native court was bound to follow the code rather than native law: i.e., it would apply pure native law only in cases which were not within any statutory definition<sup>61</sup>.

In the final analysis, Guba's offence was defined as manslaughter punishable with imprisonment and not murder as decided by the native court. In that situation, the court further ruled that it had no authority to substitute the conviction from murder to manslaughter and pass the appropriate prison sentence. Guba's conviction was quashed and his punishment set aside.

The Cameron's judicial reforms of 1933 as they affected the native (sharia) courts in Northern Nigeria produced far-reaching repercussions. The long term implications of the reforms on the implementation of some aspects of *sharia* principles and the performance of the *ulama* as judicial officers in the Muslims Emirates of the North had actually been

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<sup>60</sup> J. N. D. Anderson *Islamic Law in Africa*, (London 1970) p. 181.

<sup>61</sup> S. Kumo, *Sharia*.....*op cit* p.12

underplayed in some writings. A very erroneous impression created in such works is that of over simplification the issue that “native courts can be said to have attained a stable position in their modern form (because of the reforms) with the Emirs once again at the apex of *alkalis*’ courts”<sup>62</sup>. However, as we showed above the introduction of the British appellate courts evidently served to consolidate the place of the English law in the judicial system of the British colonies. In particular, the process as we saw in the Guba case only facilitated the further strangulation of the *sharia* legal system and undermine the position of the *ulama* as legal experts and juris-consults in the different Emirates in Northern Nigeria.

The point that the reforms restored the position of the Emirs “as final arbiters in cases involving their people<sup>63</sup>” was apparently invalidated in theory and practically. In this connection, the court structure put in place under the 1933 reforms integrated the existing native courts with British courts in which the former were subordinated to the latter. In addition, by virtue of the new ordinances that came with the reforms of the powers and functions of the native courts were rendered less effective because the appeal system allowed for the intervention of “non sharia” courts in the *sharia* proceedings of the *alkali* courts and Emirs Judicial Councils. The *Alkalai* and Emirs were at one time frustrated by the persistent ousting of the *sharia* principles to the extent that they threatened to stop trying cases especially the capital ones.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province* ..... *op cit*

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> A. M. Ladan , “Duality of the Jurisdiction of the Area Courts” *Seminar onShari’a*, Bayero University Kano, 1982 .

Much earlier, in the 1920s the colonial regime was apparently not satisfied by the performance of the *alkalai*. The great concern of the colonial administration was most especially about the non-compliance of the *ulama* in keeping records and enforcing colonial ordinances as we demonstrated in detail above in many parts of Northern Nigeria. The strategy adopted by the colonial regime to influence the orientation of the traditional *ulama* serving as *alkalai* was by taking over of the training of all individuals to be appointed as *alkalai*. The overwhelming view in the colonial circle was that, the traditional Islamic School system in operation in the Emirates was apparently bringing out products who were extremely against the colonial system. In addition, products of this traditional school system had been reinforcing anti-colonial sentiments among the Muslim subjects in the Emirates. The potentials for anti-colonial uprising such as the Satiru type was not on the decline but obviously on the increase if not checked.

In line with the above thinking among the colonialist, it was decided that the *ulama* to serve as judges would henceforth receive both Islamic and Western (secular) education. The new set of "*ulama*" would according to this line of argument, be compatible with colonial order and therefore ready tools susceptible to manipulation to achieve colonial objectives. This new experiment was started in the late 1920s with the establishment of the Shahuci Judicial School in 1928 in Kano Emirate.<sup>65</sup> In Sokoto Province, a similar school known as the Khadi

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<sup>65</sup> J. W. Chamberlain *op.cit* p.182 .Also A. B. Sulaiman "The Role of Shahuchi and the School for Arabic Studies in the Development of Legal Education to 1967" M.A. (History) Bayero University Kano 1990 , Chapter IV pp.84-103.

School was opened in the early part of the 1930s.<sup>66</sup> Essentially, as mentioned, the schools were to provide training for prospective personnel to work in the native courts.

The Sokoto Khadi School was started by Malam Ubandoma Abubakar at the request of Sultan Hassan Dan Muazu. The initiative was however that of Resident Carrow who had to use the influence of the Sultan to get the co-operation of Malam Ubandoma.<sup>67</sup> The first intake of the school were sixty students and teaching was started by Malam Ubandoma on condition that *boko* (Western Education/Subjects) would not be taught in the school. The Sultan gave the *Malam* the assurance that only Islamic subjects would form the curriculum of the Khadi School. However, the guarantee offered by the Sultan could not be sustained by the Resident because that contradicted the fundamental philosophy of the school which was to operate a dual curriculum. The Ubandoma was placed on a salary of ten pound, while the other *malams* who assisted were given three pound (£3.00) every month.<sup>68</sup>

At the initial stage, instruction was given in branches of Islamic knowledge such as Qur'an, *tawhid* and *fiqh*. Later, it was decided that *boko* subjects such as the teaching of Hausa in Roman scripts and Arithmetic should be started. At this stage, Malam Ubandoma decided to withdraw his service, since the colonial regime had reneged on its earlier promise not to include *boko* subjects in the school curriculum. Malam Ubandoma remained defiant as not even a special visit to his residence by Resident Carrow in company of the Sultan could make the *Malam* to resume teaching at the Khadi school. The Resident even threatened the

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<sup>66</sup> Alkali (Mallam) Sidi Suyudi Ubandoma , 65years Interviewed on 26 December 1996 .

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid* .

<sup>68</sup> Mallam Muhammadu Boyi (Islamic Scholar) 70years Interviewed on 25 February 1997.

Ubandoma to refund the backlog of salaries he had been receiving. The *Malam* was not frightened by the threat of the colonial officer. He agreed to pay back the money he received only if the colonial administration would compensate him for the knowledge he had disseminated to the students.<sup>69</sup>

The Khadi School continued to operate serving as a training centre for judicial personnel until the early 1960s when the Nizamiyya school was opened in Sokoto which took over the functions of the Khadi School. Meanwhile, after the departure of Malam Ubandoma Abubakar, the Khadi school like its Kano counterpart the Shahuci Judicial School was run almost along Western models. The school was organised into classes and the curriculum was a mixture of traditional/Islamic with modern/Western subjects.

The Khadi School since its establishment up to the time it folded up had been serving as a training institution for the numerous *alkalai* in Sokoto Province since the colonial period up to the present. Prominent individuals who headed the school after Malam Ubandoma Abubakar included Alkali Yahaya Nawawi a one time *Babban Alkalin Gari* of Sokoto and the *Waziri* of Sokoto Dr. Junaidu dan Muhammadu Buhari. Waziri Junaidu headed the school in 1942, later becoming a juris-consult to the Sultan's Judicial Council in 1946. He served in the exalted position of *Waziri* (vizier) from 1948 until his death in 1997. Many products of the Khadi School are still serving as *alkalai*, *Imams*, Islamic teachers and academics. Some of them include: Alkali Sidi Suyuti, the present *Ubandoma* and an *alkali* of *sharia* court in Sokoto, the present Grand Khadi of Sokoto State Alhaji Abdullahi Maccido Ahmed, the Grand

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<sup>69</sup>

Oral information---- Mallams Suyudi and Mallam Boyi . *Ibid*.



Khadi of Zamfara Justice Abdulnasir Alhassan Mafara, late Malam Habibu Alhassan and Dr. Muhammad Habibu Muhammad, the last two members of the academic staff of Usmanu Dan Fodio University, Sokoto.

The Khadi type schools became successful experiments in many emirates of Northern Nigeria because graduates of these schools adopted easily to the colonial situation. The new set of *alkalai* unlike their predecessors became co-operative in enforcing colonial laws and ordinances. The colonial administration wanted to open such schools to serve the entire Northern Provinces. It was in line with this that in 1934 a modern *sharia* school was established in Kano.<sup>70</sup> The school was named Kano Law School but was to transmute its name to School for Arabic Studies(S.A.S.) later in 1947. Fundamentally, the Kano Law School was to produce new *ulama* not “the old type of *Malam* who has had no education in the generally accepted sense of the term but has learnt his law in (the) old-fashioned Koran School”<sup>71</sup>.

The course at Kano Law School was for four years based on the mix-curriculum in which some of the subjects were Qur’an and its exegesis, theology (tawhid), *ahadith*, *sira* or biography of the Prophet (S.A. W.), Arabic grammar, and Arithmetic. *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) was assigned a special place in the curriculum of the school. The main reference texts were the commentaries on *al-Mukhtasar* by al-Khirshi, al-Hattab, and Dasuki and the commentaries on *Risala*, *Kifayat al-Talib*, and *al-Nafarawi*<sup>72</sup>. Teachers for the Law School were recruited

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<sup>70</sup> K.H.B.A./Kanprof. 1185 Opening of Kano Law School 1934 - 42.

<sup>71</sup> M.I. Mukhtar, “The Impact of British Colonial Domination on the Social and Economic Structures of the Society of Kano, 1903 - 1950” (M.A. History) A.B.U. Zaria, 1983 p. 233.

<sup>72</sup> KHBA/Kanprof 2618 Kano Law School.

locally and from abroad. The foreign teachers were from the colonial Sudan<sup>73</sup> where the secular influence of Egypt was gaining ground. The idea was for this secular minded teachers from Sudan to impart the secular values in the minds of their students with the ultimate objective of undermining the influence of *sharia* and the traditional *ulama* in colonial Northern Nigeria.

The Kano Law School admitted its students from all the Muslim Emirates. Candidates eligible for admission included graduates of the Middle schools, as well as students who attended the junior judicial institutions in the Emirates such as the Khadi School at Sokoto and the Shahuci Judicial School at Kano. In 1934 the break-down of the intake into the Kano Law School according to provinces was as follows<sup>74</sup>:

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<sup>73</sup> KHBA/Kanprof 1904, vol. I Sudanese Teachers. These pioneer Sudanese teachers were Bashir al-Rayah, Muhammad Salih Suwar al-Duhab and al-Nur al-Tingari.

<sup>74</sup> KHBA/Kanprof 1185, vol. II Kano Law School.

| S/NO. | PROVINCE | NUMBER OF STUDENTS |
|-------|----------|--------------------|
| 1.    | Sokoto   | 5                  |
| 2.    | Katsina  | 6                  |
| 3.    | Borno    | 6                  |
| 4.    | Kano     | 11                 |
| 5.    | Bauchi   | 4                  |
| 6.    | Niger    | 3                  |
| 7.    | Zaira    | 3                  |
| 8.    | Ilorin   | 2                  |
| 9.    | Jos      | 1                  |

After graduation, products were appointed in various capacities to serve in their respective Emirates as *Babban Alkali* (Chief Judge), *Mufti* (H. Muhti = court scribe), Arabic teacher, Visiting Teacher, *Wali* (the Inspector of native courts) in Sokoto and jurist-consult to the Emirs court.

In the Mid - 1950s, a higher training was instituted to expose the *alkalai* to the substance of English common law. It was in 1956 that some *alkalai* from the Emirates were sent to the newly established Institute of Administration in Zaria to attend a six-month course in certain aspects of the English law. The course covered areas such as the criminal code, criminal procedure, evidence law and Native Authority bye-laws. The *alkalai* who attended the course were expected to appreciate the nature of the English law and its relevance to the modern society which supposedly the *sharia*, principles could not provide. Despite the subtle strategies adopted by the colonial regime to undermine the influence of the *sharia* through reorientating judicial officers, not much had been achieved. Some of the *alkalai* despite their exposure to the common law as observed by Naniya remained sceptical, insisting that the

*sharia* was meant for all time...<sup>75</sup> The failure to transform the attitude of the *alkalai* towards the *sharia* made the colonial regime to initiate the reforms of the *sharia* legal code.

The reforms produced far-reaching changes in the application of *sharia* in Northern Nigeria so that we had what became known as the “Anglo-Mohammedan Law” which as described by Sulaiman Kumo was “a hybridization that eventually produced neither fish nor fowl”<sup>76</sup>. It was in the late 1950s when Nigeria was getting ready for political independence from Britain, that the Colonial Office exerted pressure on the Northern Region Government to effect some changes in the judicial system. The Minorities Commission set up in 1957 by the Colonial Office had reported that the non-Muslim minorities in the North had expressed their fears of being subjected to the jurisdiction of the *sharia* and the *Alkali* courts. In addition, the political opponents of the Regional Government particularly NEPU supporters were very critical of the *Alkalai* in the Emirates for the rampant abuses of the judicial process which necessitated the calls for sweeping changes in the *sharia*/native courts<sup>77</sup>.

The colonial administration in the light of some of the above reasons, made the extensive reforms of the *sharia* a precondition before political independence is granted. A former colonial officer in Nigeria stated this view in his book as he wrote that:

Looking further a head when independence came, what sort of an image would Northern Nigeria present to the world at large? No country whose legal and judicial systems did not conform with the internationally accepted standards would

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<sup>75</sup> T.M. Naniya “The Transformation ... *Op. Cit*, 316 - 28.

<sup>76</sup> S. Kumo, “Sharia Under Colonialism ... *Op. Cit*, p. 14.

<sup>77</sup> See J. Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria* (Hudahuda; Zaria) 1986 pp. 205 - 213.

hope either to be respected or to prosper. Progress and expansion would be very largely dependent on large scale foreign investment, and what foreign firm would hazard its capital and its nationals in a country whose law and courts of justice were suspect.<sup>78</sup>

Under the pretext of efforts to attract foreign investment to Northern Nigeria, the colonial regime engineered the introduction of a new legal code in which most of the *sharia* principles dealing with criminal offences were eliminated. The *sharia* was shown to be detrimental to some key concepts of modern economic system such as interest and usury. Unfortunately, this challenge against the *sharia* launched by the colonialists was reinforced by the Northern politicians and the “new breed” *ulama* who had undergone their training under the British educational system. The modern politicians and the new class of *ulama* succumbed to the British pressure to undermine the *sharia*. For instance, the first Premier of Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello in a speech at the Parliament almost endorsed economic reasons advanced by the British as to why the *sharia* must be phased out in Northern Nigeria when he said:

....Honourable members will be aware that some features of the legal and judicial systems of the Region have provoked criticisms not only in Nigeria, but in the United Kingdom and other parts of the world. It was borne on us that these legal and judicial reforms would have to be carried out if the self-governing Region was to fulfil its role in the Federation of Nigeria and command respect amongst the nations of the world.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> A. Bello, *My Life* Cambridge University Press, 1962 p. 217.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

Clearly the words of the Premier above indicated that the reforms of the *sharia* came at the instance of the colonial masters and not out of the desire or aspirations of the Muslims in the North who essentially were the ones subjected to the rule of the *sharia*. At another instance, political and economic issues that influenced the *sharia* reforms were stated clearly, thus:

Honourable members will appreciate that our future as a Region will largely depend upon the confidence which the world at large places in the probity of our institutions and especially in the courts and the system of law which they administer. If there is any lack of confidence the result will inevitable be that we shall fail to obtain foreign capital and investment which we need to expand our economy.<sup>80</sup>

At another place, the words of the colonial overlords were spoken through the premier to justify the reforms especially against the reasons of some perceived domination of the minorities by the Muslims, he said:

This region comprises a great diversity of peoples .... about seven out of ten are Moslems. Among the non-Moslems, there is a substantial number of Christians, and in addition, there are many ethnic minorities who rightly or wrongly, have felt apprehension lest, in the future, they would be overwhelmed by the Moslem majority. Finally, there are the commercial and industrial interests, mainly financed by capital brought into this country from abroad, which we are doing our best to encourage and foster.<sup>81</sup>

In undertaking the task of the reforms of the *sharia*, a committee which comprised legal experts was appointed in 1958. The most interesting feature of the committee was the inclusion of renowned Muslim jurists from Northern Nigeria. The underlying idea was for the Northern

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217

*ulama* on the committee to bless the exercise and make it acceptable in the eyes of the Muslim populace in Northern Nigeria. The committee was headed by Professor J.N.D. Anderson of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and members included the Chief Justice of Sudan, Sayyed Muhammad Ahmad Abu Ranat and the Chairman of the Pakistan Law Commission, Justice Muhammad Sharif. Other members were the *Waziri* of Sokoto M. Junaidu, the *Waziri* of Borno, Shettima Kassim, the *Wali* of Borno Ngileruma, a Provincial Court Judge, Mr. Peter Achimugu, and the Chief *Alkali* of Bida, Malam Musa. The rest were *Alkalin* Kano, Malam Muhammadu Sanusi, Malam Halliru Binji, *Alkalin* Katsina, Mallam Muhammadu Dodo, Malam Jibir Dauda, *Alkali* Baba Kura and the last but not the least Mr. Sam Richardson who served as the Secretary of the Committee.<sup>82</sup> The report of the panel was by September, 1959 deliberated upon by the legislative houses of Northern Region and a new Penal Code was enacted. The Penal Code was an amalgam of the *sharia*, customary law and the English common and criminal law. According to Sir Ahmadu Bello, the *Sardauna*, the new code “will be almost identical with those which have been in force for years in the (colonial) Sudan and Pakistan...”<sup>83</sup> Fundamentally, the code left only personal matters between Muslims under *sharia* while criminal matters were put under criminal procedure code of the new code.

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<sup>82</sup> See Northern House of Assembly Debates (2nd Legislature, 3rd session - 3rd Meeting) 13th August, 1959 p. 55.

<sup>83</sup> A. Bello, *My Life Op. Cit* p. 217.

## CONCLUSION

The *sharia* legal system which had been in operation in the Sokoto Caliphate was transformed with the imposition of colonial rule. The *sharia* was made subservient to the common law of Britain. Some elements of the *sharia* particularly the *hudud* punishments which contradicted the fundamentals of the English law were expunged from the colonial legal system.

The *ulama* who had served as legal experts under the Caliphate system persisted in the discharge of their traditional role. By virtue of their orientation as Muslim scholars, some of the *ulama* serving as *alkalai* in the colonial court system, resisted the implementation of the colonial ordinances. The colonial state as we showed, took over the training of the *ulama* to make them conform with the expectation of the colonial administration.

By the time the agitation for political independence was started in late 1950s by the Northern Region politicians, drastic changes were effected in the *sharia*. The reform of the *sharia* was more or less made a necessary condition for the political independence of the Northern Region. The outcome of the *sharia* reform of the 1950s produced an adulterated version of the *sharia* which came into effect by October, 1960.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITION IN SOKOTO EMIRATE 1907 TO 1966

#### A. INTRODUCTION

In the introductory chapter of this study we tried to discuss at a relative length of history of intellectual tradition Hausaland right from the 15<sup>th</sup> century when Islam was brought to the region and the spread of intellectualism within the area. In this chapter the discussion will centre on the issues of continuity and change in the system over the years. Furthermore, we intend to analyse the impact of colonialism on the Islamic School system and how that led to the emergence of a new intellectual culture which had been shaped by the new system of education introduced by the British colonizers. Although our area of study is the Sokoto Emirate examples and case studies could often be cited from other Emirates of Northern Nigeria and some parts of Islamic Africa outside Nigeria.

#### AN OVERVIEW OF THE TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the religion of Islam, learning and scholarship occupy a very important place. This apparently explains the reason for the many instructions to the Muslims to seek for knowledge and disseminate same to others. Teaching and learning in Islam is considered an act of *ibada* (worship) to be pursued by the the faithfuls.<sup>1</sup> Muslims have an old tradition of learning and

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<sup>1</sup> "The Holy Qur'an is the repository of ultimate knowledge and wisdom". See Jibril Aminu, Guest Speaker Address" *Seminar on Islam and Science*, Sokoto Jan. 1994. The relevant verses that extol the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom are *Al-Qur'an*: Chapters 35 (Fatir): 28;2 (Al-

scholarship dating back to the time of Prophet (S.A.W.) This had led to the development of a system of education that had been transmitted to different generations of Muslims from the classical period of Islam to the present time.

Fundamentally, the Islamic School System is built on two types of schools namely the Qur'anic and *Ilm* Schools. In Hausaland the intellectual culture which had emerged since the 15<sup>th</sup> century was based on the Islamic schools system. The Qur'anic school known as *Makarantar allo* in Hausaland represents the primary stage while the *Ilm* school called *Makarantar Ilmi* is a higher stage in Islamic learning. Historically, the Qur'anic schools had been in existence in several parts of the Muslim world. In the Sudan for instance, the Qur'anic schools known as the *Khalwa* started to be established during the period of the Funji Sultanate (1504 - 1821). The Funj rulers as shown by Yusuf Hassan created the hospitals condition which attracted missionary scholars from places like Egypt, the Hijaz and the Maghrib. Many of these scholars were *sufis* and expert jurists, in Sudanese Arabic called *Faki* (Pl. Fuqara).<sup>2</sup>

By virtue of their important social position these scholars established *Masjid* (mosques) (Massid in Sudanese Arabic) for worship and educational activities. The *Khalwa* were however in the first instance meant to serve as a place of seclusion for meditation by the adherents of the *Sufi tarigas*. Gradually the *Khalwa* assumed the double role of serving as a

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Baqarah): 269;39 (Az-Zumar); 9 & 21;13 (Ar-Ra'ad): 19; 25 (Al-Furqan): 63. For some of the Prophetic sayings on the virtues of seeking for knowledge and scholarship in general See Ahmad Shalaby *History of Muslim Education* (Beirut, 1954) p. 162, also A.M. Kani "Aspects of Moral Education in Sokoto Caliphate" in O.A. Nduka & E. O. Iheoma (eds) *New perspective in Moral Education*, (Evans Brothers: Ibadan) 1983 p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Yusuf F. Hassan "Interaction between Traditional and Western Education in the Sudan: An attempt Towards a synthesis" in G.N. Brown & M. Hiskett (eds) *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa* (George Allen & Unwin; London) 1975 p. 118.

centre for meditation and education. The *Sufi* scholars utilised the *Khalwa* for “teaching the beginnings of reading and writing, learning the Koran, the principles of *fiqh* and for the initiation of new followers in religious orders”.<sup>3</sup> The *Khalwa* thus became centres of learning the first stage in Islamic education dealing primarily with the Qur’an. Similarly, like in other parts of the Muslim world there existed a secondary level of education in the *Massids* that served as centres of higher learning. The foundation of intellectual activity in Islam is in the study of the Qur’an. The primary objective of the study of the Qur’an is learning to recite by rote. In order to memorise the entire text of the holy Qur’an, the learning starts at an early age. In many parts of Hausaland and other parts of Islamic Africa, Muslim children are sent to the Qur’anic school as from the age of five or even from the age of three among the Jakhanke in Senegal and the Gambia.<sup>4</sup> The Qur’an is divided into sixty parts called *hizb* to aid and hasten memorization. Successful young pupils of the Qur’anic school often accomplished the memorization of the Qur’an between the ages of twelve and fifteen. This had been the case with the children admitted into the *makarantar allo* in Hausaland as well as pupils who attended the *Khalwa* in the Sudan.<sup>5</sup>

The importance attached to the study of the Qur’an by the Muslims is apparently informed by a Prophetic saying which enjoins Muslims to teach their children how to read the

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> L. Sanneh “*The Islamic Education* of an African Child: Stresses and Tensions” in G.N. Brown & M. Hiskett (eds) *Op. Cit* p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> Yusuf F. Hassan, *Op. Cit* p. 118 and M. Hiskett “Islamic Education in the Traditional and State System in Northern Nigeria” in G.N. Brown & M. Hiskett (eds) *Op. Cit* p. 134.

holy Qur'an right from an early age.<sup>6</sup> In Hausaland the teaching is done by the *Malam* (from Arabic - alim) who in many places operate and own the schools. The *Makarantun allo* had been established in many cities, towns and even the remotest part of Hausaland. There seem to exist wide similarities in what is to be taught to the beginners in the Qur'anic school in different parts of Africa. In the case of the West African sub-region, in Hausaland and some other parts of Western *bilad al-Sudan* the introductory teaching deals with Arabic alphabet, the vowel sounds and writing.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter the pupil starts to learn the shortest *sura* (chapter) one after the other committing each to memory until the entire Qur'an is memorised. The early Muslim scholars such as *al-Ghazali* and *Ibn Khaldun* in particular had profound influence on the education system in Muslim territories which apparently accounted for the similar curriculum that obtained in the Muslim world.<sup>8</sup> However, the view of *Ibn Khaldun* as regards the method of instructions in the Qur'anic school was that there must be an emphasis on the teaching of Arabic language in the schools in the school as obtained in the Qur'anic school was that there must be an emphasis on the teaching of Arabic language in the schools as obtained in the Qur'anic schools in Spain. According to *Ibn Khaldun* if pupils learnt the Qur'an by heart they might not necessarily understand Arabic and speak fluently. Hence the learner should be taught the meaning of the spoken and written word.<sup>9</sup> In many parts of Hausaland

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<sup>6</sup> The Hadith is reported by Bukhari narrated by Sa'id Ibn Jubair. See M.M. Khan, *Sahih al-Bukhari* vol. VI, Ahadith 554-555 (Darul Fikr) n.d., pp. 506 - 507.

<sup>7</sup> L. Sanneh, *Op. Cit.* P. 170, M. Hiskett *Op. Cit.* and Yusuf F. Hassan *Op. Cit.* In G.N. Brown & M. Hiskett (eds) *Op. Cit.* Mimeo "Islamic Education; Continuity and change" in Mark Bray et al (eds) *Education and Society in Africa* (Edward Arnold; London) 1986 pp. 79-100.

<sup>8</sup> Mark Bray et al (eds) *Op. Cit.* p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, Translated by F. Rosenthal (Routledge & Kegan Paul; London) 1967 p. 423.

where Arabic is not the indigeneous language the method of instruction is geared towards making the pupils grounded in the Qur'an. Aspects of Arabic grammar are learnt at the higher '*Ilm* schools by students who opted to pursue higher Islamic education. The Qur'anic schools therefore in our area of study like in other parts of West Africa such as in places like Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast (Cote de Voire) and Ghana where scholars had conducted researches on Islamic learning, it has been shown that the schools have been providing a little background in Arabic. The argument is that the partial knowledge of the Arabic is an eye opener to further studies in branches of Islamic learning.<sup>10</sup> In essence, the Qur'anic school pupils after graduation would have acquired the basic knowledge required for further studies in grammar, syntax and books on jurisprudence which in Hausaland are taught at the *Ilm* schools.

The Qur'anic schools had clearly been of immense importance to the Hausa society for several years despite the intellectual limitations of those educational institutions. Evidently, the schools in a number of places around the vast territory of *bilad Sudan* have been serving as the bedrock of the intellectual culture that flourished in the respective places. Yusuf Hassan puts it clearly in the case of the *Khalwa* in the Sudan as he wrote that:

Although intellectually limited as an educational institute, the *Khalwa fulfilled* adequately the basic needs of a traditional Muslim Community, and the method of mechanical memorization introduced the students to a style of learning prevalent in higher institutes.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See for instance I. Wilks, "Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan" in J. Goody (ed) *Literacy in Traditional Society* (Cambridge University Press; London) 1968 pp. 162 - 79.

<sup>11</sup> Yusuf F. Hassan *Op. Cit* p. 119.

The proprietors of the Qur'anic schools in Hausaland had been the *Malams*. The *Malam* occupies an important social position in the Hausa society. By virtue of his learning, individual members of the community respect him. The Qur'anic *Malam* apart from teaching the Muslim pupils how to read and write, also makes charms and prays to individual members of the community who are in problems. It is through such extra services that the *Malam* earns some income for his up keep. The character of the *Malam* in Hausaland is very much identical to that of the *faki* in the Sudan who was described by Yusuf Hassan in the following words:

Although the social status of the *faki* as the religious leader of the village community was responsible, his general education and intellectual attainments were probably low. As a custodian of Islamic tradition he offered little beyond teaching the young to recite the Koran correctly. The meaning of that text and its grammatical construction did not arouse his curiosity.<sup>12</sup>

The *Ilm* schools which as we pointed out provided the higher educational training to Muslim students served as the second stage in the intellectual development of a Muslim. Graduates of the *Ilm* schools are considered *ulama* (intellectuals) who could impart knowledge to others. An individual *alim* (Malam in Hausa) awards the *ijaza* which serves as a diploma with the authority from the intellectual mentor to the graduand to also engage in scholarship activities. In the past, only students who graduated from the *Ilm* school were allowed to wear a turban in some parts of Islamic Africa.<sup>13</sup> It was from the group of the *Ilm* school graduates that important Muslim officials such as Imams, Qadis (judges), scribes and advisers to Muslim rulers were appointed and this had remained so up to the time of imposition of colonial

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Mark Bray et al (eds) *Op. Cit* p. 84.

domination. We tried to analyse the changing role of the Muslim intellectuals under colonial domination in the previous chapters of this study. Meanwhile, we shall examine the type of school setting, the curriculum and other aspects relevant to the educational system and intellectual culture as it has been existing on Hausaland with specific reference to the Qur'anic school.

### **THE SETTING AND OPERATION OF THE MAKARANTAR ALLO IN HAUSALAND**

It is important at this stage to point out that the *Makarantar allo* had for a very long period of time remained a common institution in different parts of Hausaland. In essence, the most important features of the school are observable in every part of the region. Our task here therefore shall be to point out the little variations noticed in our area of study which perhaps do not exist in other areas of the wider region of Hausaland.

The *Makarantar allo* which we reported elsewhere in this chapter is established by the *Malam* and provides free education to the Muslim children. The *Malam* is not paid salary. Surprisingly, the well - established Qur'anic schools in Sokoto city and the countryside are not getting grants from government to pay the teachers.<sup>14</sup> The *Malam* used to depend on the goodwill of members of the community particularly the neighbourhood where the school is located. The Muslim beneficiaries of the services of the *Makarantar allo* send *sadaqah*<sup>15</sup> to the teacher in cash and in kind to complement his earnings. In addition, wealthy members of

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<sup>14</sup> Field data available Mal. Yahaya Al-Amin 3rd June, 1997.

<sup>15</sup> It means charitable gifts in cash or in kind or both.

the society give *zakah*<sup>16</sup> to the *Malam* which could also be in cash or in kind. Both *sadaqah* and *zakar* are irregular hence had never been a steady source of income to the *Malam*.

The most regular income for the teacher from the pupils, even this in relative terms had been *the kudin laraba* (Wednesday stipend). It is not levy and is not considered as school fees but a voluntary donation for the upkeep of the *Malam*, his family and perhaps the school. The amount for *kudin laraba* is unspecified but in the past in Sokoto as reported by Sambo Junaidu the Wednesday stipend used to be "half a penny for a junior pupil and a penny for a more senior or equivalent cowries when they were (used as) the currency before the advent of modern coins"<sup>17</sup>. The amount if one were to convert into naira and kobo is just half a kobo and one kobo which has no economic value at present.

Often times rich parents used to send gifts of money or grains to assist the *Malam*. The Qur'anic school teachers in the past were satisfied with the very little gifts they get from the parents of their children above in present times does not have a value. The explanation could be found in the socio-economic historical circumstances under which the teachers were operating. If one were to go back into the history of scholarship in Hausaland the social responsibility of Muslim/Islamic teachers was regarded as an act of *ibadat* to get the pleasure of Allah. There was a strong attachment to the values of Islam by the Muslim scholars to disseminate knowledge to all, free of charge. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Sokoto Jihad leaders promoted education in the Caliphal society without expecting reward from the public.

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<sup>16</sup> It means alms tax paid by Muslims annually from their wealth including livestock and some grains.

<sup>17</sup> S.W. Junaidu, "The Sakkwato Legacy of Arabic Scholarship in verse between 1800 - 1890" *Ph. D Thesis* (London 1985 p. 33).



Evidently many of the Sokoto scholars were reportedly engaged in one trade or another to earn a living so as not to depend on their students.<sup>18</sup> However, the incapsulation of the economy of the Caliphate into the world capitalist economy apparently started to upset the equilibrium which had been existing in the Caliphate society.

The ubiquity of commodity production engendered through trade with the Europeans had a pervasive effect on the institutions of the Caliphate society.<sup>19</sup> The change of taste among the populace which came about because of the availability of European manufactures contributed in eroding some of the cherished indigenous values. Consumerism which is a salient feature of capitalism started to gradually eat deeper and deeper into the fabric of the Hausa society. Ultimately, every one wants to get money not necessarily to accumulate but to obtain a particular consumer item that had become essential under the modern/capitalist social setting imposed on the society of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate. In essence, as time passed by even the Muslim scholars were not left out in the struggle to get money to provide for the essentials of life. So by the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century one could speak of the subordination of the cherished values of promoting Islamic learning to the desire to satisfy material requirement. This explains the contemporary trend in which some Qur'anic *Malams* enter into clientage relations with some wealthy individuals in the society. The *Malams* provide special service such as teaching the children of the rich in their private residences and/or offering special prayer for the protection and success of their clients.

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<sup>18</sup> See O. Bello, "Labor Policy of Sokoto Caliphate" and I. Sulaiman, "Economic Philosophy and Principles of Sokoto Caliphate" in R.I. Molla et al (eds). *Frontiers and Mechanics of Islamic Economics* (University Press; Sokoto) 1988 pp. 224 - 241.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Shenton, *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*, (University Press; Toronto) 1986.

Meanwhile, it has been shown that levying of fees in the Qur'anic school is permissible according to Abdullah b. Fodio. In this regard Abdullahi wrote in verse that:

His teaching (of another) for a fee has been made lawful,  
Authenticated in the view of Iman Malik.  
The prohibition is also absolute in the view of Ibn Thabit  
And permissible by some in accordance with a suitable  
recompense.  
What Malik says is sound, His tradition was agreed upon and  
explicit.<sup>20</sup>

This lack of consensus in charging of fees in Islamic schools is reflected in the writings of Muslim scholars. In the account Ibn Sahnun, a Tunisian Muslim intellectual the schools in his area were engaged in charging fees by the 19<sup>th</sup> century A.D. On the other hand, Al-Ghazali (1058 - 1111 A.D.) an Iranian (Persian) scholar argued against the payment of fees to teachers who teach religious subjects. Al-Ghazali regarded the teaching of Islamic religion as an act of *ibadat* (worship) incumbent upon the believer. However, he showed that fees could be charged for the teaching of subjects not purely religious such as medicine and mathematics.<sup>21</sup> It should be clear by now that the *Makarantar allo* in Hausaland must have been influenced by the *fatwa* in Abdullahi b. Fodio's work upon which many scholars in our area of study must have depended.

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<sup>20</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio *Al-Hisn al-Rasin fi 'Ilm al-Sarf* (Beirut) n.d. in S.W. Junaidu, *Op. Cit* pp. 34 - 35.

<sup>21</sup> A.L. Tibawi, *Islamic Education* (Luzoc: London) 2nd edi. 1979 p. 41.

The session of the *Makaantar allo* is conducted five days a week from Saturdays to Wednesdays. In the urban centres of Hausaland the time for starting the school is normally after breakfast at about 7.00 a.m. to last up to midmorning around 9.30 a.m. The pupils then dispersed only to resume for the afternoon lesson after the mid-noon prayers (Zuhr) around 3.p.m. There is sometime a break for the late afternoon prayers (Asr) around 4 p.m. after which the lessons continued till sun-set. The above time applies mainly to pupils staying with their parents in the town. However in the case of pupils sent from far away places and staying in the *Malam's* house under his care such pupils are known as *almajirai* (sing. = almajiri) coined from Arabic word *al-Muhajir*,<sup>22</sup> the school operates a slightly different timing for them. The *almajirai* pupils were subjected to a more rigorous training and discipline under the Qur'anic school system. This is because the *almajirai* - pupils unlike the resident pupils presumeably plan to make a career in scholarship or at least to commit the Qur'an to memory before deciding to take up any trade or occupation. The *almajirai* - pupils were individually and collectively sent by their respective parents primarily to learn the Qur'an hence the *Malam* obliges to give them intensive training in learning and character.

The school session for the *almajirai* pupils commences just after the early morning (down) prayers (Subh) to last up to the time for breakfast. Thereafter the pupils go on short recess within which they go round to "scavenge" for food and attend to some domestic chores

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<sup>22</sup> M.T. Usman & M.I. Sa'id, "Persistence of Bara and Almajiranci" in Northern Nigeria in G.A. Gusau and M.L.A. Bashar (eds) *Reading in Islamic Sociology* (forthcoming); Dahiru Yahaya "The Koranic Educational System and the Begger Institution; The problems of a colonised society in Transition" *Sunday Triumph, Op. C.it*, Oct, November 1984.

around the neighbourhood in return for *lada* (gift).<sup>23</sup> After the short recess, the pupils return and lessons continue until mid-day during which the *almajirai* pupils are allowed again to go on long break and look for lunch then rest. The afternoon section corresponds with what we explain above in the case of the resident pupils. As for the *almajirai* pupils the last segment of their studies comes up after dinner when the night (Isha'i) prayers must have been observed. The night session lasts up to around 9.30 - 10 p.m. after which the pupils retire to sleep.

An important feature of the night session for Qur'anic school is the fire to provide light for the purpose of reading the wooden slates (*allo*) by the *almajirai*. This indicates that the Qur'anic schools that operate night sessions are mainly found in the countryside where the modern system of lighting such as electricity or bush lamp is hard to come by. Apparently, before the introduction of electricity and the bush lamp courtesy of the colonialist in every part of Hausaland cities, towns and villages, the "camp fire" was the only available means of providing light for the night sessions at *Makarantar allo*. This evidence is clearly expressed in the account of a 19<sup>th</sup> century Hausa chronicler, Iman Umaru who reported that Wednesday was specifically set aside for the purpose of collecting cornstalk (*Karan Makaranta*) to provide the camp fire. Imam Umaru stated in the following words that:

Wednesday (is) devoted for collection of firewoods known as "Wednesday wood" for the domestic use of the *Malam*. Failure to participate attracts fine of 20 - 40 cowries paid by parents to the teacher.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The *Lada* could be in cash i.e. a token amount which the *Almajirai* saved against a rainy day. It could also be the left-over food from the house the *almajirai* were engaged.

<sup>24</sup> D.E. Ferguson, "Nineteenth Century Hausaland; Being Description by Imam Umoru of the Land, Economy and Society of his people" *Ph.D. Thesis* (California, L.A.) 1973 p. 263.

The days for the Qur'anic school and the timing discussed above are also contained in the work of Abdulahi b. Fodio, he wrote:

Its day are Saturday to Wednesday. After the morning prayer at *Duha*

Then from *Zuhr* to after *Asr* Remaining with them patiently until then.

Your keeping with them at night is not necessary, Except as a custom or on a standing agreement.<sup>25</sup>

As regards the time for the break to release the pupils Abdullahi Fodio said:

He (the Malam) releases them in the late evening of the day,

For refreshment and after broad daylight for breakfast.

Its also the case before *Zuhr* for food.

And all these according to the changing of the clock.<sup>26</sup>

All the *Makarantun allo* observe two main holidays in the year in addition to the weekly free days of Thursdays and Fridays. The special holidays are during the Muslim festivals of *Id al-fitr*<sup>27</sup> known in Hausa as *Karama Sallah* or *Sallar Azumi* and during *Id*

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<sup>25</sup> Abdulahi b. Fodio, *Al-Hisn... Op. Cit* p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>27</sup> *Id el-fitr* is celebrated upon sighting the Lunar month of *Shawwal* (10th month in the Islamic Calendar) which is at the expiration of the month of *Ramadan* that brings to an end the Muslim fasting.

*al-adha* (also called *Id al-Kabr*)<sup>28</sup> in Hausa *Babbar Sallah* or *Sallar Layya*. Abdullahi Fodio reports about these holidays in his book where he states that:

There is no objection in three (days) rest, On the *Id-fitr* and five (days) on *Id al-adha*.<sup>29</sup>

It had been the practice in parts of Hausaland for the Qur'anic school pupils especially the resident pupils to take gifts of money, cloth and agricultural produce to the *Malam*. This was meant to assist the *Malam* celebrate the festival very well especially with donations from his students. In terms of getting material benefit one could assert that the *Malam* in the urban centre acquires more than his counterpart in the rural area. This perhaps is because the cities such as Sokoto all over Hausaland are centres of population as such Qur'anic school pupils numerically outnumbered those in the villages. However, the *Malam* in the villages not only acquires material donation from the parents of his pupils but the pupils supply labour on his farm and in the execution of domestic chores for family of the *Malam*.

In some cases the *almajirai* - pupils who attend the Qur'anic schools located out of the city establish or construct make shift structures made of corn-stalk in the vicinity of the town or village to serve as *Tsangaya* (a sort of transit camp). The neighbouring settlements near which the *tsangaya* is located serve as sources of food, water and other needs to the pupils. However, it should be noted that these type of schols are owned by *Malams* who in many cases are itinerant hence keep moving from one place to another with their pupils. This practice of

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<sup>28</sup> *Id-al-Kabr* comes up when the pilgrimage rites at Makka are accomplished on the 10th of *Dhul-hijjah*. Muslims on pilgrimage and others not at the holy land celebrate and offer sacrifice by slaughtering animals like rams, goats, camel and cattle.

<sup>29</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio *Al-Hisn ... Op. Cit.* P. 39.

itinerancy in Qur'anic studies is still very common in many parts of Hausaland. The attempt by governments at different parts of Northern Nigerian to get such *Malams* and their pupils settled in one place have not yielded any positive result. They are some observed socio-economic factors that seem to make these types of temporary schools to survive for such a long period. The schools serve a very important social function in the fulfilment of the spiritual ambition of many Muslim parents who would want see their children well grounded in the study of the Qur'an. Furthermore, by virtue of the fact that the *Malam* derives some economic advantages through the supply of free labour by the *almajirai* - pupils and the receipt of material gifts from the larger community makes the *Malam* to resist any move from any quarter aimed at bringing to an end the transit Qur'anic school system.<sup>30</sup>

The practice of travelling in search of knowledge had been an old intellectual tradition among Muslims all over the world. After the death of the Prophet (S.A.W.) Muslim scholars undertook extensive tours across Muslim lands in the Arabian peninsula and even beyond in the collection of the recorded sayings and deeds of the Prophet (S.A.W.). For several centuries Muslim scholars in Africa had traversed different places in search of authorities on particular aspects of knowledge.<sup>31</sup> According to Ibn Khaldun (1332 - 1406) a scholar improved his knowledge by travelling to far away places to meet the learned individuals, he added that "habits acquired through contact with a teacher are more strongly and firmly rooted than those

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Mal. Yahaya Al-Amin 45 years (Arabic/Islamic Studies Lecturer), C.I.S., U.D.U. Sokoto; 3/6/97.

<sup>31</sup> The Prophet (S.A.W) ordained Muslims to travel to the furthest territory in search of knowledge. At the time he cited the example of China considered very far from the area of Hijaz. The *hadith* transmitted by Ibn al-Bar See Uthman b. Abi Bakar, *Bughyatil Muslimin* (Al-Manar; Tunis) n.d. p. 103.

acquired through study and lectures".<sup>32</sup> The leader of the Sokoto Jihad Movement, Usman Dan Fodio (1754 - 1817) reportedly went to Agades in modern Republic of Niger where he studied under a Tuereg *Malam* Shaikh Jibril b. Umar. Dan Fodio acquired some influences to launch a jihad in Hausaland through his contact with Malam Jibril.<sup>33</sup>

Over the centuries travelling for the sake of scholarship had been firmly entrenched in the intellectual culture among the Muslim Hausas. The transit Qur'anic school system must have probably developed out of this intellectual practice. Infact, different centres in Hausaland and Borno have been associated with specialization in a particular branch of Islamic knowledge. For anyone who aspired to be an intellectual had to travel to any of the centres to specialise in the field of knowledge one opted to pursue. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century according to Paden in each of these centres there were leading intellectuals as he wrote:

Advanced leading *Malams* in the various urban centres in the North have tended to specialise in particular aspects of Muslim knowledge, Kano has been noted for *Malams* trained in law; Sokoto for *Malams* trained in Mysticism; Zaria and Katsina for *Malams* trained in Koranic exegesis.<sup>34</sup>

The fame acquired by Borno in the field of Qur'anic studies is very much recognised up to today in the Eastern part of Hausaland around the areas of Katsina, Kano, and Zaria. It has been an old practice especially in Kano for Qur'anic school pupils in most cases the

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<sup>32</sup> Ibn Khaldun *Op. Cit* p. 426.

<sup>33</sup> A.M. Kani; *The Intellectual Origin of Islamic Jihad in Nigeria* (Al-Hoda; London) 1988; M. Hiskett *The Sword of Truth; The Life and Times of Shehu Usman dan Fodio* (Oxford University Press; London) p. 23.

<sup>34</sup> J.N. Paden, "The Influence of Religious Elites on Political Culture and Community Integration in Kano, Nigeria". Vol. 1, *Ph.D. Thesis* (University of California, L.A.) 1963 p. 201.



*almajirai* category to be sent to Borno to accomplish the memorization of the holy Qur'an and the common saying in the Kano society is “*an kai shi gabas*” or “*ya tafi gabas*”<sup>35</sup> In the case of Sokoto Emirate most probably because of a number of factors that might include logistic and political, the culture of going to “*gabas* had not been a famous intellectual practice in the area. Nevertheless, the transit Qur'anic school system which involves moving around had been restricted within the region of the Rima Basin covering the area of Zamfara, Kebbi, present Sokoto.<sup>36</sup>

#### The Issue of Discipline At Makarantar Allo.

The *Malam* at the Qur'anic school in both the urban centres and the countryside is responsible for the intellectual training and the moral upbringing of the pupils under his care. The task of character moulding assigned to the *Malam* is an important function of the Qur'anic school in which many Muslim parents developed absolute confidence. The role of the Qur'anic school in this regard is recognised by many writers on Islamic education. For instance Sanneh in his work reports that his personal experience as a Qur'anic school pupil at one time when incurred the wrath of his teacher for failing to wash his *allo* (wooden slate) properly for the writing of a new portion of the Qur'an having memorised the old material. Sanneh reported his encounter with the teacher thus:

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<sup>35</sup> Meaning “he (the pupil) had been sent to the east (*gabas*)” or “he has gone to the east”. The east referring to the direction of Borno including “Fulata-Borno” i.e. the area around Misau, Azare, Katagun I am not aware of any scholarly research on the phenomenon of going to *Gabas* as an intellectual practice very predominant in Kano Emirate.

<sup>36</sup> The Qur'anic School pupils from Sokoto do not go to Borno because it is too far. Oral information, Yahaya Al-Amin *Op. Cit.*, 3/6/97.

.... he (teacher) asked if I had washed my slate. When I answered "Yes", he asked me to bring it to him. I brought the wooden slate to him, but the Arabic characters were still faintly visible on it. That was not really my fault because the ink we used for writing was manufactured by ourselves and we obtained it by scraping the undersides of cooking pots... The harder material was difficult to remove once it had dried on the wooden slates, and this is what happened in my case. I had scrubbed the stubborn surface with my strength but had not realised that the wet surface concealed the faint characters which I must admit, were clearly visible after I had dried the slate.<sup>37</sup>

On realising what the teacher interpreted as a shoddy job executed by his pupil, the teacher became furious and according to Sanneh:

He pulled my ears and I crawled on the ground towards him... With my ears firmly in his hand he could balance me on either side of him as he pleased. He swayed me to the right at arm's length, when I tried to recover my balance, he closed in with a powerful left-hand swpie. Then he grabbed me by the ears again, pinched me tightly and shook me firmly as if to test his grasp on the substance of power.<sup>38</sup>

Apparently, it is because of the use of such physical assaults on children by the Qur'anic school *Malams* that some of the teachers are often considered too harsh in trying to maintain discipline. It is a very common habit among Muslim parents to condone the harsh treatment of their children by the Qur'anic school *Malams*. In the case of Sanneh his father reportedly supported all the actions of the teacher because Sanneh's father "felt that one of the Chief purposes of the Qur'anic school was to instil discipline and respect. Such an attitude,,

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<sup>37</sup> L. Sanneh, "The Islamic Education *Op. Cit.*, pp. 179 - 80.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

one might add, is not uncommon".<sup>39</sup> This is very much true of the *Makarantun allo* of Hausaland where the *Malams* strive to inculcate the virtues of honesty, obedience, sympathy, and consistency in saying the five daily prayers.<sup>40</sup> Truancy is an offence that could attract severe punishment ranging from corporal punishment to detention of pupils in the *Malam's* house.

According to Abdullahi Fodio the *Malams* should send a few pupils to search for a truant boy and force him to school. The search party would look around in different parts of the neighbourhood with the co-operation and assistance of the parents of the truant pupil.<sup>41</sup> The moment the truant is sighted the parents should hand the boy over to the search party. The *Malam* administers some lashes when the boy is brought to school. If the habit persists the parents would gladly suggest to the *Malam* to detain the boy for some days. In situations of chronic truancy, Sambo Junaidu wrote that:

.... they (the boy's parents) surrender him up to the teacher and request him not to release the child until he completes the reading of the Qur'an which may take about a year or long. The pupil will then be tied by the feet and remains in the teacher's house - which is also the school - for as long as the teacher is satisfied that the child is reformed or has completed his reading of the Qur'an.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Mark Bray (ed), *Op. Cit* p. 86.

<sup>40</sup> G.O. Gbadamosi, "The Establishment of Western Education Among Muslims in Nigeria 1896 - 1926" in *J.H.S.N.*, 4,1, (Dec., 1967), p. 92.

<sup>41</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Al-Hisn ... Op. Cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>42</sup> S.W. Junaidu "The Sakkwato... *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.

During the period of detention the parents would be responsible for the feeding of their child. In addition, the parents were to ensure that the boy's cloths were changed if need be while he was being detained. However, the boy loses certain privileges and luxuries which ordinarily he enjoys while at home with his parents. For instance, the boy could be made to sleep on a mat rather than on bed or mattress and such sleeping quarters might be the "classroom" or the place where the pupils use for their studies.<sup>43</sup>

The use of corporal punishment which is widely practiced at the *Makarantar allo* has been criticised by many educationists particularly the psychologists. It has been observed that beating has a very bad influence on the child. A child grows up to become a bully and also makes him to stay away from school because he loses interests.<sup>44</sup> Among the Muslim educators the infliction of severe punishment is not completely accepted. Al-Ghazali for example, advocates the use of advice rather than reproof to effect a change in moral lapses among students. The Islamic teacher according Al-Ghazali is a spiritual mentor who ought to employ soft methods in character training.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, the great Muslim intellectual, Ibn Khaldun said that "severe punishment in the course of instruction does harm to the student, especially to little children. It makes them oppressed and causes them to lose energy. It makes them lazy and induces them to lie and be insincere".<sup>46</sup> *Ibn Khaldun* did not reject corporal punishment

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Sylvia T. Marshall, *Educational Psychology for the teacher in Africa*. (Edward Arnold; London) 1984. Pp. 78 - 80.

<sup>45</sup> A.L. Tibawi, *Islamic Education... Op. Cit* p. 40.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *Op. Cit.*, p. 425.

absolutely but advised that if it became necessary for the teacher to beat them, it must not be more than three times.<sup>47</sup> The view of Abdullahi b. Fodio concerning the beating of erring pupils is that it must be moderated between the two extremes, he wrote in verse that:

Beating them is acceptable and preferably, The middle course  
which is admissible and desirable.<sup>48</sup>

At some other instances, the teacher could employ alternative means to enforce discipline among the students such as to instigate the teasing of the offender by other pupils for a short moment in order to deliberately ridicule him. Some other measures adopted included rebuking of the offending child or even hardstaring by the *Malam* to make the boy behave well. Every punishment is graduated taking into consideration the gravity of the offence, the age of the offender and if possible the temperament of the affected student.<sup>49</sup>

The biological and psychological variables which are of paramount importance that must be considered by the *Malam* before administering corporal punishment in the school, have been highlighted by Abdullahi Fodio in his work where he says:

The correct (course) is (that) men vary in circumstances,  
Whosoever is one who follows an example without a beating  
is not to be beaten (though other than he be beaten),  
Each one of them is punished in accordance with his deserts.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Al-Hisn ... Op. Cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>49</sup> S.W. Junaidu, "*The Sakkwato... Op. Cit.*", p. 38 and A.B. Sulaiman, "The Role of Shahuci and S.A.S. Kano in the Development of Legal Education in Northern Nigeria to 1967" *M.A. History*, B.U.K. 1990 p. 39.

<sup>50</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Al-Hisn... Op. Cit.*, pp. 38 - 39.

Some of the offences that deserved punishment had also been identified by Abdullahi Fodio and they included refusal to observe the daily prayers, telling lies, use of vulgar or abusive language, association with bad company, truancy and bad handling of the wooden slate (*allo*) such that it is damaged or broken as well as many other common observable misbehaviour among school pupils. In this regard, Abdullahi Fodio said that, the child could be caned under his foot as is contained in the verse below:

He is beaten on his clothed back, Or under his foot with a tender whip.

He is punished for (refusing) to pray or (telling a lie),

Or for (damaging) the slate or for abuse and also for running away.

From the school or recalcitrance to parent, Or for indulging into some foul, like deciet.<sup>51</sup>

### **THE CURRICULUM OF THE MAKARANTAR ALLO**

The *allo* which is the wooden slate use for teaching the pupils and with which the Qur'anic school in Hausaland is identified, plays an important function in the teaching process of Hausa Muslim child.

The Muslim parents in our area of study encourage the young children, at times even toddlers to follow their senior brothers and sisters to the school. At about the age of five, the child had already formed the habit of going to school. It is at this stage that he learns to read

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

the *Fatiha*<sup>52</sup> through joining the chorus of memories.<sup>53</sup> The small child is later provided with a small wooden slate by his parents or the teacher on which according to Sambo Junaidu “*Faslun Faslun, Babun Babun* is written in Arabic. The reading and memorization of this *Faslun Faslun* gives the child some pleasure as it sounds like a nursery rhyme in modern schools.<sup>54</sup> This practice further sharpens the child’s ability to memorize. After this exercise, the teacher writes the *Bism Allah al-Rahman al-Rahim*.<sup>55</sup>

The small child is taught the *Bism-Allah* orally after which the *Surat al-Fatiha* is taught to him one verse after the other. It is the *Malam* who points while the child does not even know what he reads. When the *Malam* felt that the child could memorise *Surat al-Fatiha* satisfactorily then the last ten *Suras*<sup>56</sup> of the Qur’an would be taught to the pupil in the same way. This marks the end of the first part in stage one dealing essentially with oral recitation. The second part in stage one concerns learning of the Arabic alphabets by the child. There are

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<sup>52</sup> It is the first and opening chapter of the holy Qur’an.

<sup>53</sup> Sylvia T. Marshall, *Educational Psychology... Op. Cit.*

<sup>54</sup> The full text of the rhyme is;

|                         |  | Translation:       |           |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>Faslun Faslun</i>    |  | Section            | Section   |
| <i>Babun Babun</i>      |  | Chapter            | Chapter   |
| <i>Iya ho Iya ho</i>    |  | Hello Mum          | Hello Mum |
| <i>Taka Sannu</i>       |  | Footstep           | Slowly    |
| <i>Taka Sannu</i>       |  | Footstep           | Slowly    |
| <i>Kar ki Tsere min</i> |  | Do not Overtake me |           |
| <i>Kar ki Tsere min</i> |  | Do not Overtake me |           |

See S.W. Junaidu, “The Sakkwato Legacy... *Op. Cit.*, note no. 6 p. 43.

<sup>55</sup> It is the opening *ayat* (verse) of all the chapters in the Qur’an except one called *Surat al-Taubah* also called *Al-Bara’ah*, the 9th chapter.

<sup>56</sup> The last ten Suras are; *105th Al-Fil, 106 Al-Quraish, 107th Al-Ma’un, 108th Al-Kauthar, 109th Al-Kafirun, 110th Al-Nasr, 111th Al-Lahab 112th Al-Ikhlās, 113 Al-Falaq and 114th Al-Nas.*

a total of twenty-eight alphabets in Arabic and interestingly the child in the previous oral lesson had memorised Qur'anic words and sentences formed from these alphabets only that he could not recognise them.<sup>57</sup>

In order to start the lesson on the teaching of the alphabets the *Malam* advised the parents to buy a bigger slate for their children. The opening verse *Bism Allah* is written together with few lines from *Surat al-Fatiha*. The child is taught the name of every letter line by line. It is only when the *Malam* is sure that the child masters the lesson that some more portions are added. Gradually the child is expected to cover the last ten short suras including the *Fatiha* vocalising and identifying each letter.

The Arabic letters had been given Hausa names for easy pronunciation and recognition. In the past as shown by Sambo Junaidu, in Sokoto town, many of the schools use the Fulfulde names for the characters despite the predominance of Hausa language.<sup>58</sup> Over the years the trend had changed as most of the pupils now learn the names of the letters in Hausa.<sup>59</sup> In teaching the characters which made up the *Bism Allah* the verse is split.<sup>60</sup> The pupil is taught to learn to vocalise and recognise all the Arabic characters which make up the words and sentences in the last ten *suras*. By the time this course is over, the child would have hopefully been able to recognise every letter in the Qur'an.

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<sup>57</sup> See appendix for the Arabic alphabets, transliteration and their names in Hausa.

<sup>58</sup> S.W. Junaidu "*The Sakkwato Legacy... Op. Cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Yahay Al-Amin *Op. Cit.*, 3/6/97.

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix I & II.



Further lessons on the Arabic characters which the pupil should learn is to vocalise the letters with a vowel assigned to each. The methods involved are two, and the *Malam* has the option to adopt the most suitable which perhaps may be easier depending upon the intelligence of the child. The essence of this course is to enable the child to read Arabic words preparatory to reading the *suras* in the holy Qur'an. The significance of the lesson at this stage is that it is geared towards enhancing literacy ability of the pupil at a relatively higher level.

The first option the *Malam* could use in teaching this lesson is by writing some of the ten short *suras* on the *allo* to give the child enough practice in reading the alphabets with *wasali* (vowels). This method is some time very difficult especially for the very young pupils. However, the other alternative method is for the *Malam* to teach each of the alphabets how it is pronounced with the four different vowels i.e. *fataha* ( - ) which appears on top of the letter; *Kasra* ( - ) written at the bottom of the alphabets; *rufu's* ( , ) also is written on top of the letter and the last is *Yamala* ( s ) which in many cases is in front of the letter. The letters with the first three vowels look like this:<sup>61</sup>

As the child learns to vocalise the consonants with *wasali* (vowels), the *Malam* often encourages him to write some of them on the ground/sand. This introduces him to the practice of handwriting of the alphabets. By the time the pupil masters this last introductory stage then he is considered to be beginning to be literate, in Hausa it is said "*ya san baki da wasali*" literally meaning he understands letters and is able to read them. From here the *Malam* introduces the boy to the reading of the Qur'an towards memorization. At this stage the child

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See Appendix III.

points correctly at what he is taught by the *Malam*. The last ten short *suras* would be taught to the child beginning with *Surat al-Nas* up to *Surat al-Fil*.<sup>62</sup> For this modest achievement by the child a sort of “thanks-giving” feast is prepared by the parents to be taken to the school and serve as *sadaka* to the pupils, the teacher’s family and other individuals who might be around during the ceremony. Similarly, depending upon the financial position of the parents of the pupil, the food prepared is often distributed in the neighbourhood for other members of the community so that they could bless the child and pray for his success at the *Makarantar allo*. This kind of feast is also given when the child reaches certain *suras* which are considered very important in the Qur’an, and some of them are *Surat al-Ya Sin*<sup>63</sup> and *Surat al-Mulk*.<sup>64</sup> In a number of cases the portions attained by the child in his recitation which could warrant celebrating are determined not only by the *Sura* in question but the place corresponds with a particular *hizb*.<sup>65</sup> In this regard the child after reaching *Surat al-Fil* pursues his recitation further studying every *sura* in piece-meal until he attains the first *hizb* in his study which falls on *Surat al-A’ala*.<sup>66</sup> Chronologically according to the arrangement of *hizb* in the Qur’an all the *suras* from *al-A’ala* to *al-Nas*<sup>67</sup> make the sixtieth (60<sup>th</sup>) *hizb* in the Qur’an. However, the

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<sup>62</sup> S.W. Junaidi, “The *Sakkwato Legacy... Op. Cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>63</sup> It is the 36th Sura of the Qur’an. The full meaning of *Ya Sin* is left to the knowledge of Allah. They are 29 Suras in the Qur’an with abbreviated letters prefixed to them. The abbreviated letters are called *Al-Muqatta’at*. There are in all 14 letters that appear in various combinations. See *The Holy Qur’an: English translation and commentary* by Y.A. Ali (King Fahd printing Complex) Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah, pp. 134 (1410 A.H.).

<sup>64</sup> Literally meaning “the Kingdom” or “Sovereignty” it is the 67th *Sura* of the Holy Qur’an.

<sup>65</sup> See footnote No. 4 above.

<sup>66</sup> *Surat al-<sup>c</sup>A’ala*. It is the 87th *sura* in the Holly Qur’an.

<sup>67</sup> See Footnote No. 56 and *ibid*.

fact that Qur'anic school pupils traditionally begin their recitation from below means that the last *hizb* of the Qur'an is the first to be attained in the Qur'anic studies method at the *Makarantar allo*.

The celebration of whatever little achievement by the child in the study of the Qur'an is not only common among the Hausa-Fulani of our area of study. This trend almost cut across parts of the *Bilad al-Sudan*. Among the various Muslim communities of Western Sudan, the tradition had been in practice for quite a long time as explained by Sanneh as he reports that:

Teacher could in fact boast of a fair number, and occasionally be had a chance to receive public honours for the many bright boys he had helped to set on the right course. One of such occasion presented itself. A number of his pupils had finished reciting up to the thirty-sixth *sura* of the Koran, *Ya Sin*. This was considered to be an advanced stage of proficiency and was traditionally celebrated by the community on the school premises and occasionally at the mosque on a Friday.<sup>68</sup>

The stage of writing by the child comes after reaching the *Surat al- A'la*. Thereafter the child is expected to write all subsequent *suras* by himself while the teacher only corrects the mistakes committed by the child. The child is instructed to prepare his own ink, buy the ink, buy the ink pot, and learns to make his pen with (*sille*) the tip part of guinea corn stalk. The ink is prepared with *Zige*, a charcoal like substance and *karo* (Arabic gum). The two ingredients are boiled together to get the ink which when prepared well, looks a thickly sparkling black fluid. In writing each *sura* the pupil writes only few verses he can conveniently memorise within few days. The two sides of the slate are used in writing the verses of the sura (s). It is the *Malam* who teaches the pupil how to read every fresh writing and subsequently the boy

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<sup>68</sup>

L. Sanneh "The Islamic Education.... *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.

recites repeatedly until the verses are satisfactorily memorised. The process continues like this as the child grows in his intellectual capacity the number of verses he writes are increased gradually.

The verses that are memorised by the student sometimes may even reach a *Thumun* which is one-eighth of a *hizb*.<sup>69</sup> By the time the child reaches the thirtieth *hizb* which falls within *Surat al-Kahf*<sup>70</sup> there may be a celebration. Food is prepared and distributed as *Sadaka* in the neighbourhood where the child lives. The food may be *tuwo* which is made of rice or guinea corn served with palatable soup and meat. For the well-to-do among parents there may be a sacrifice of livestock eaten in the Hausa - Muslim community such as ram, sheep, goat and even cow. The ceremony is climaxed according to Sambo Junaidu when:-

The teacher asks the child to surrender his slate to him and will draw a kind of rectangular pattern designed to represent what the child believes to be the two abodes, paradise and hell. Over this rectangular patten the *Fatiha* would be written, and below the rectangular design, a few first verses of *Surat Maryam*.<sup>71</sup>

The decorated slate is taken round the neighbourhood for the relatives and well-wishers of the young man to see the extent of his performance. People give gifts and alms or *sadaka* in cash or in kind such as perfumes and grains. The "slate show" is often to be taken to public places in the town such as the market for some other people to see and bless the young student. So some people who cannot afford to give money or material gift pray for the student to

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<sup>69</sup> See Footnote No. 4 above.

<sup>70</sup> *Surat al-Kahf* the 18th Sura

<sup>71</sup> S.W. Junaid, "*The Sakkwato Legacy..*" *Op. Cit.*, p. 28. *Surat Maryam* is the 19th Sura in the Qur'an.

acquire knowledge that would be “na tsoron Allah” that is fear of God. Whatever is collected from show exercise is taken to the *Malam* who takes a portion of the proceeds and leave the rest for the young students to share among themselves.

The student later resumes his studies and endeavours to complete the recitation and memorization of the Qur’an. This is achieved when the student reaches and completes his recitation of *Surat al-Baqarah*.<sup>72</sup> The grand celebration is done at this stage and in some places across Hausaland it is postponed until the time the young man is going to get married when dual celebration takes place. The graduation ceremony (*saukar karatu*) of the *Makarantar allo* is a very important historic occasion in the intellectual life of a Hausa - Muslim. In Sokoto area which equally applies to many parts of Hausaland, the ceremony involves the sacrifice of a ram, provision of food and the supply of new clothes to the graduand. The new garments comprises “a pair of trousers, ankle-length shirt with its long and wide sleeves, and a flowing robe and a white turban with a pair of shoes or slippers”.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, the graduation being a grand intellectual occasion attracts some other *Malams* from far and near to come and witness the performance of the young man. In addition, the parents of the student in company of other relatives and well-wishers would all troop to the *Malam’s* house where supposedly the school is located to share in the joy and happiness of the day. Characteristically, the graduation ceremony of the *Makarantar allo* in Hausaland shares a lot with the convocation ceremony of a modern University.

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<sup>72</sup> *Surat al-Baqarah* is the 2nd in the Qur’an.

<sup>73</sup> S.W. Junaidu “*The Sakkwato Legacy... Op. Cit.*, p. 30.

The graduating student is invited to come forward in front of the gathering to recite the Qur'anic verses on his slate. Much the slate had been beautifully decorated with earlier *Bison-Allah*, *Surat al-Tatiha* and some few verses from *Surat al-Baqarah*. There is also the well designed rectangular pattern similar to what was done at the previous occasion when the student reached the thirtieth *hizb* as we discussed above. The young man would appear in his new clothes and come in front of his *Malam* to start the recitation. The *Malam* would take portions of the Qur'an and join in the recitation so that the whole Qur'an is recited. Some prayers are offered for the blessing of the young student and the success and prosperity of other students as well as the whole Muslim community. Food is finally served and everyone departs for respective destinations.

The intellectual life of the graduate is expected to advance higher. In this case the graduate is expected to start *tishi* which is the repetition of the Qur'anic recitation with a view to improving upon his memorization. This is also done under the guidance of the *Malam*. Some Qur'anic school graduates would prefer to be under a different *Malam* at this stage hence would often travel elsewhere to find a new teacher under whom they could study. In either case such young men are given special treatment by the *Malam* anywhere they find themselves. In fact, their services are engaged in assisting to teach the young pupils on behalf of the senior *Malam*. The pursuit of further Qur'anic studies with view to perfecting memorization which may involve travelling from one place to another meeting different *Malams* by the young graduate is known as *Gardanci* while the young scholar is called *Gardi*. The *Gardanci* system is not determined by age but very much influenced by some social factors. For instance it is left to the discretion of the individual to decide when to graduate from the *Gardanci* system

so that one gets settled in one place and perhaps to establish a family. By then the *gardi* may even decide to establish his *Makarantar allo*. The attainment of an excellent proficiency in memorization of the Qur'an exalts the position of the *gardi* to the much cherished intellectual status of *Alaramma*. The *Alaramma* status is very much respected among Qur'anic scholars in Hausaland and it remains an aspired position among the Qur'anic school students. The highest position of intellectual achievement in the *Makarantar allo* that perhaps one could equate with a professor in a modern university is the *Gwain*. The *Gwani* is the one that could write the entire verses of the Qur'an off-head. In most cases Qur'anic scholars that are considered *Gwanaye* (plu) have already opted to make a career in the field of Qur'anic scholarship.

Meanwhile, the Qur'anic school graduates who decided to terminate their studies after the first *sauka* (graduation) took to a particular trade or occupation. On the other hand some who are interested in further studies could proceed to the *Ilm* school. The *Ilm* school is the next level in Islamic education which is more or less like a higher institution.

### **THE ILM SCHOOLS (*Makarantun Ilmi*)**

The *ilmi* schools known as *Makarantun ilmi* (sing.) is like a higher institution in the intellectual training a Muslim pursues. In the area of our study and other parts of the Hausa region, the *Ilmi* school is also called *Makarantar Zaure* because lessons in the school are conducted in the hall-way (*zaure*) of the compound of the *Malam*. Essentially, in terms of the set-up, the *Makarantar ilmi* or *Makarantar Zaure* shares certain features with the *Makarantar allo* or the Qur'anic school. The type of scholarship in practice at the *ilmi* school

is known in Hausa as *ilimin zaure* named after the venue where the teaching and learning take place. The *Malams* who own such *Ilmi* schools traditionally charge no fees for the knowledge they dispense. Hence, the *Malam* in the *Ilmi* school like his counterpart at the Qur'anic school receives no salary. Both of them depend on the goodwill of their community for material provisions. It has been shown by different scholars that in terms of quality of teachers, the *Ilmi* school gets relatively the best and most qualified. In terms of intellectual training and attainment, the *Ilmi* school *Malam* surpasses the Qur'anic *Malam*. This explains why in terms of social esteem the society accorded higher respect to the *Ilmi* school *Malam*.<sup>74</sup> The intellectual qualification of many of the *Ilmi* school *Malam* covered profound training in wide areas of Islamic knowledge. This is not the case with majority of the Qur'anic school *Malams* who are mainly grounded in the studies of the Qur'an.

The higher intellectual fame of the teachers who teach at these higher Islamic institutes is a common feature of the scholarship at this level in some other places in Islamic Africa such as in the Sudan.<sup>75</sup> The *Massids* as the *Makarantun Ilmi* are known in the Sudanese Arabic are centres of advanced studies. To some extent by virtue of the wide range of scholarly activities some writers equate the *ilmi* schools with the contemporary famous universities in the world. In this regard, Yusuf Fadl Hassan describes the *Massids* in the Sudan in the following words below:

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<sup>74</sup> See for instance G.O. Gbadamosti "The Establishment of Western Education among Muslims in Nigeria 1896-1926" in *JHSN*, 4, 1, December, 1967 p. 91; E.D. Meyers *Education in the Perspective of History* (Longmans: London) 1963 p. 1199; M. Hiskett "Islamic Education" *Op. Cit.*, pp. 41 - 42 and A.B. Sulaiman "*The Role of ... Op. Cit.*", p. 42.

<sup>75</sup> Yusuf F. Hassan *Op. Cit.*, p. 119.



The range of studies in the *Massids* differed widely from one to (sic) another. Their specialization and fame reflected the interest of the scholars who taught there. The important *Massids* were probably a miniature of al-Azhar University in content and Quality.<sup>76</sup>

In some places around Hausaland, the *Ilmi* school and the Qur'anic schools are combined in the same place. In this type of situation the *Malam* who operate the schools admit both the Qur'anic school pupils and the higher students. The most senior Qur'anic students conduct the lessons for the young pupils while the senior *Malam* teaches the *Ilmi* students. In Sokoto city where the two types of schools are found in great numbers operate the two curricular i.e. that of the Qur'anic studies and that of the *Ilmi* scholarship. This for instance applied to the school of Malam Ubandoma at Sirriddawa as well as the school at Gidan Kanawa all in the area of the city. At the Gidan Ubandoma School, the Senior *Malam* attends to the numerous students mostly the elderly who come for consultation on intellectual matters in the field of Islam. It is one of the elderly sons of the *Malam* who gives lesson on some *fiqh* texts and Qur'anic recitation especially to the adult students.<sup>77</sup> There are also some of the schools in the houses of the *Malams* that concentrate only on the teaching of advanced studies in the different branches of Islamic knowledge. In Sokoto city and the surrounding places, a number of these *Ilmi* schools trace their origin back to the time of Usman dan Fodio (1754 - 1817). Some of the old schools which are still in operation include the one at Waziri Junaidu's

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Mal. Muhammad Boyi Kofar Atiku, Sokoto (70 years) 25th February, 1997.

house started by Dan Fodio's daughter Nana Asma'u.<sup>78</sup> The great body of intellectual works of Nana Asma'u are found in the personal library of the late proprietor of the school.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, works by many other scholars of the Caliphate are found at the special library of the school at Gidadawa area of Sokoto city.

The big area of Sabon Birnin in the city has many of the *Ilmi* schools located in different parts. The Sabon Birnin area was inhabited by the many *ulama* who accompanied Shehu from Sifawa when he finally moved to Sokoto around 1808. The city then expanded with the establishment of new settlements by the Shehu's lieutenants hence the area became known as *Sabon Birni* that is is the New City.<sup>80</sup> Overtime, the residences of the immigrant scholars became well established schools. Within Sabon Birni area, such schools are located in different sections in Siriddawa there are the schools at the houses of the present *Sarkin Malamai* Alhaji Buhari Siriddawa, that of Malam Ubadanoma and another at Gidan Kanawa. Similarly at *Gidan Liman* of Shehu's mosque. The school at *Gidan Liman* was started from the time of Shehu by one Malam Amadu. The family had been producing the *Imams* for the Shehu's mosque over the years. In the line of succession included Liman Alu, Liman Labdo then Liman Aminu down to the incumbent Liman Malam Shehu. The present *Liman* is an expert in Arabic language who wrote several poems of *Wa'azu* and *Madih* (admintion and praises of the

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<sup>78</sup> Interview with Dr. Sambo Wali Junaidu Director, Centre for Islamic Studies (C.I.S) U.D.U. Sokoto. Until his death in January, 1997 the late Waziri Junaidu had persisted in teaching the students mostly adults and the elderly, personnaly despite his ill-health.

<sup>79</sup> For more on Nana's contribution in the intellectual Field, See Jean Boyd, *The Caliph's Sister: Nana Asma'u 1793 - 1865*. (Frank Cass; London) 1989.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Mal. Abdullahi A. Shehu Sokoto, Lecturer, Department of Islamic Studies, U.D.U. Sokoto, 1st April, 1997. Also Saleh Abubakar "Birnin Shehu....."

Prophet and the Saints). In addition, the family at Gidan Liman of Shehu Mosque were reputed to be experts in Qur'anic exigency.<sup>81</sup>

Essentially, the area of specialization of the various *ulama* and/or the *Ilmi* schools in Sokoto city seemed to overlap. The most important point however was the fact that the schools were not in decline even with the imposition of colonial rule. Scholarship at higher Islamic studies level just like the Qur'anic Schools were flourishing as shown by the long list of the schools and the *ulama* who operated them. The list of the schools and the scholars is quite inexhaustive but we can present some of them here. A lot of them lived during and even beyond the reign of Sultan Abubakar III (1938 - 1988).<sup>82</sup>

1. Mal. Yahya dan Waziri Halilu of Gidadawa in Sokoto. He was a specialist of *tafsir*, Hadith, Arabic grammar, *Fiqh* and well conversant with Jihad books of the Sokoto Caliphate.
2. Mal. Basharu dan Wali (Umaru) grandson of Gidado a specialist in Qur'anic studies and Arabic grammar.
3. Mal. Ibrahim dan Basharu Gidadawa expert in *Tafsir*, Hadith and conversant with the books of Sokoto Jihad leaders.
4. Mal. Maccido dan Mal. Yahaya, a one time Waziri and an *Alkali*.
5. Mal. Lema dan Waziri Buhari. He was a senior brother to the late Waziri (Dr.) Junaidu. Mal. Lema was a specialist in Arabic grammar.

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<sup>81</sup> See M. Habibu Muhammad, "The Biography of Malam Shehu na Liman and His Poetry" M.A. (Arabic) B.U.K. Also oral interview Mal. Muhammad Boyi, Kofar Atiku, Sokoto 29/12/96.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Malam Muhammad Boyi *Op. Cit.*

6. Mal. Abdulkadir (Liman Maccido) father to the present *Liman* of *Masallacin* Bello (Liman Akwara). His field included Qur'anic studies, *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) and Arabic grammar. He was one of those who possesses deep knowledge of Islamic studies.
7. Mal. Auwalu of Kofar Rini (also known as Auwalu na Ranganda). He came and settled in the city from the area of Gwadabawa, north of Sokoto. He specialised in various books of *Fiqh*.
8. Mal. Basharu of Kofar Taramniyya, who reportedly refused to pray for the British army during World War II when requested by the colonial Resident. But only obliged at the intervention of the Sultan during which he asserted that he was praying for the Sultan to be a just leader. He was an expert of *Fiqh* and used to teach a lot of people Arabic language.
9. Mal. Shehu Dange of Karaye in Sokoto City, he was said to have died during the reign of Sultan Hassan dan Mu'azu (1924 - 1938). He was a jurist of Islamic law.
10. Mal. Dalhatu dan Mal. Shehu Dange succeeded his father in scholarship and specialised in the Arabic language and jurisprudence.
11. Mal. Nata'ala of Gidan Kanawa, the most prominent from the scholar - family of Gidan Kanawa. He was learned in Hadith, Arabic grammar and *Fiqh*.
12. Mal. Amadu also of Gidan Kanawa. One of the few *ulama* who wrote books during the period of our study. The three outstanding books were dealing with issues of conflict in moon-sighting during Ramadan and explanations about the performance of some Islamic rituals.
13. Mal. Boyi of Rijirar Zaure in Sokoto city. An expert on *Fiqh*, Arabic language and very familiar with issues discussed by the jihad scholars.

14. Mal. Arzika Mai Siridda, a scholar engaged in teaching *tafsir*, Hadith and Arabic grammar at the same specialised in making saddles for horses hence his name “Mai Siridda”. He lived at Siriddawa in the city of Sokoto.
15. Mal. Ibrahim Maigandi, he was the father of the present *Sarkin Mallammai* of Sokoto, Alhaji Buhari Siriddawa. An expert in Islamic jurisprudence taught books like *Ashmawi*, *Risalah* and *Al-Akhadari*. He also used to teach the books of the Sokoto Jihad leaders.
16. Mal. Hussainin of Rijiyar Inna, he was an expert in Qur’an, *Fiqh* and conversant with the books of the Sokoto Jihadists.
17. Mal. Alu, the son of Mal. Hussaini above. He still operates the school of his father teaching *Fiqh* books.
18. Mal. Buhari of Takalmawa (Unguwar Mallamai). He died in the 1980s. He used to be an expert in *Hadith*, *Fiqh* and Arabic grammar.
19. Mal. Amadu also of Takalmawa, he died few years before Mal. Buhari above. He was a specialist in Hadith and Arabic language.
20. Alkali Ma’anuraje (Alkalin Waziri). He was a scholar of high repute who used to be the *Malam* for the *Waziri* of Sokoto household. Essentially, he was in-charge of distributing the estates and/or property of the *Waziri* family. He was like a jurist-consult to the family of the *Waziri*.

The scholar-family and Islamic institutions were quite numerous in Sokoto and the environs. However, the position of Sokoto as the seat of the defunct Caliphate made it a centre of scholarship and administration. This was the reason why many of the *ulama* and the schools were found in the city.

From the list we presented above it was apparent that the nature of the scholarship in our area of study was based on read-teach pattern. The tradition of scholarship in Sokoto during our period of study lacked the intensive research - authorship and analysis character which featured prominently during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Evidently, during the colonial period though the tradition of learning and teaching persisted that was not accompanied or supplemented by the writing of new materials. To a large extent the *ulama* during the period under discussion over-relied on the books of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Jihad scholars and the numerous books authored in the Arab lands of the Maghrib and Middle East. The culture of writing books declined considerably as from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century or even much earlier as far back as the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were a number of political and social factors that contributed to the situation.

The period of colonial rule for instance ushered in a new political dispensation that was not committed to the promotion of Islamic scholarship. In the process, many *ulama* immigrated from the area of the defunct Caliphate with the intention of going to the Holy land of Mecca. Although as observed by M.M. Tukur that , the “universal” imposition of European colonialism on the Western Sudan actually meant that the Emirates both received and lost *Malams* through migration into and out of them, it would seem that on balance it made a net loss of that group as a result of the imposition.”<sup>83</sup> The area of of our study suffered adversely by the loss of the potentialities of the scholars in that such movements by the *ulama* engendered “demographic commotion” with the attendant loss of scholarly manpower.

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<sup>83</sup> M.M. Tukur “The Imposition of Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States, 1887 - 1914” *Ph.D. Thesis* A.B.U. Zaria, 1979 pp. 886 - 87.

Socially, the common attitude of many of the *ulama* to accept uncritically what their mentors - the Jihad scholars and their forebears had written on so many issues had grossly annihilated the zeal to write among potential authors. The tradition had been established over the years among the *ulama* that views, opinions and interpretations of the founding fathers of the defunct Caliphate and their contemporaries could sufficiently cater for the present and future social conditions in our area of study. This positions negates the dynamism inherent in Islam and portrays Islamic injunctions (wrongly of course) as static. Overtime however some of the *ulama* such as Waziri (Dr.) Junaidu had written on a variety of subjects of interest to Islam, and the Muslims as see later on.

#### **THE NATURE OF SCHOLARSHIP AT THE *ILM* SCHOOLS**

The primary responsibility of *Ilm* school was to provide the opportunity for Muslims with appreciable background in Islamic education to pursue advanced studies. It was assumed that students who wanted to enrol in the *Ilm* school were grown up individuals. In this connection, students had to look out for the teacher. A student would determine the areas of Islamic knowledge he wanted to pursue. *Ilm* studies involved subjects like Arabic Grammar Literature, and poetry, study of the *Hadith* (Prophetic tradition); *Tafsir* of the Qur'an (Qur'anic exegeses), Islamic law and jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) and biographies of holy men, the history of the Prophet, S.A.W. (Sira).

The *Ilm* school as we showed elsewhere above endeavoured to promote their fame and social prestige. This could be explained in view of the fact that the schools prided themselves on continuity by being able to preserve the traditional methods and curricular. The ultimate

goal of scholarship at this level is to produce a specialist in a particular branch of Islamic knowledge. In the past the *ijaza* awarded to the graduates of the *Ilm* institution served as a testimony of the authority from which the graduate obtained his training. The *ijaza* gave the details of the learned genealogy through which the graduate was linked to his *Malam*, the teachers of the *Malam* up to the distant past in the line of intellectual training. Usmanu dan Fodio was given such an *ijaza* by his teacher Mallam Jibril b. Umar.

The prestige of the *Malam* at the *Ilm* school used to be enhanced and therefore that also applied to the status of the school because of the hereditary and charismatic background of learning and scholarship. In some cases the reputation of the *Malam's* family and the school had been built over time because of specialization in certain branch of knowledge or even a particular texts.<sup>84</sup> As a higher training institute, the teacher at the *Ilm* school enjoyed great respect from the students such a relationship as observed by Hiskett was always “friendly but dignified”.<sup>85</sup> The method of teaching at the *Ilm* school had always been individual in which the student could choose his preferred text. The students come with variety of books and the *Malam* considered versatile in the fields attended to the students one by one. A student may be studying just one book or more up to three at a time. The teaching involved reading and commentary on small portions from the texts.

The rate of progress in the study as it concerned individual students depended on the student's personal ability. For some of the students who devoted much time to the study, one might finish within about three years for most of the texts. Some of the texts included *Fiqh*

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<sup>84</sup> Interview, Mal. Muhammad Boyi (70 years) of Kofar Atiku, Sokoto, 29th December, 1996.

<sup>85</sup> M. Hiskett, “The Islamic Education *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.



books *al-Akhdari*<sup>86</sup> and *al-Ashmawi*<sup>87</sup> up to the more advanced books like the *Risalah* of *Abi Zayd*.<sup>88</sup> *Mukhtasar* of Khalil b. Ishaq.<sup>89</sup>

The question and answer session had been part of the teaching process during which the *Mallam* could expantiate on important points. Evidently discussions were not allowed to degenerate into arguments. There were no cases of disagreement between the *Malam* and students manifested during lessons. The scholarship as practiced in many of the *Ilm* schools allowed no room for criticism. This had made the system to attract some critical comments from some quarters. The scholarship was seen as unchanging which failed to accommodate new ideas that could facilitate the advancement of knowledge.<sup>90</sup>

At this point, it is very vital to stress that criticisms about the practice of scholarship amongst Muslims does not presuppose that the observed shortcomings are inherently Islamic. Islam is a dynamic social system that adopts itself to all social millieu. This view is very much supported by the fact that in contemporary modern period, Islam is recognised as an alternative socio-economic and political system that is capable of bringing social progress. The great achievement in the field of science by Muslims in the past as well as contemporary break through in the field of technology in places where Islam is regarded as the ideology such as in

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<sup>86</sup> The author is Abd al-Rahman b. Sidi b. Muhammad al-Saghir al-Algeri.

<sup>87</sup> Abd al-Bari al-Rafi al-<sup>c</sup>Ashmawi.

<sup>88</sup> Abu Muhammad Abd Allah b. Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani.

<sup>89</sup> Khalil b. Ishaq al-Jundi.

<sup>90</sup> See for instance G.V. Ardo and M.I. Junaidu "Education in the Sokoto Caliphate; Continuity and Change" in A.M. Kani & K.A. Gandhi (ed) ***State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*** (University Press; Sokoto) 1990 pp. 294 - 295 for a sample of such views with specific reference to the scholarship in the defunct Caliphate during the last Century.

Iran, disproves the argument that Islam had been conservative, anti-development, and anti-modernity.<sup>91</sup>

Islamic scholarship ought to be responsive to the yearnings of the Muslim society. Islamic precepts are therefore subject to interpretation in order to provide answers to the challenges facing the Muslim community because of the ever changing nature of social life. In this regard, the conservative mode of doing scholarship in the *Ilm* school in the past must have been influenced by the *ulama* who stick to dogmas rather seek for fresh solutions or answers required under new social situation. It could be recalled that it was in an attempt to find answers to challenges posed by the situation at the fall of Sokoto that Waziri Muhammad Buhari consulted with the *ulama* before they reached a consensus (*ijma'i*) to compromise and work with the British because of public interest (*istislah*)

Learned Muslims at every point in social life are expected to give fatwa (learned opinion) on obscure social issues to make the muslim community move forward., As part of the training at the *Ilm* school, individual students wishing to specialise in Islamic Law and Jurisprudence were taught among others the principles of *Qiyas*<sup>92</sup> and *Ijtihad*.<sup>93</sup> Islamic law grew over time through the processes of *Qiyas* and *Ijtihad* so that new opinions warranted by the dynamic nature of social life keep on emerging. In this case, one could assert that Islam

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<sup>91</sup> See B.R. Turner, *Weber and Islam*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London) 1974 and F. Engels "Defence of Progressive Imperialism in Algeria" in L.S. Fever (ed) *Marx and Engels; Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy* (Funtana Collins; London) 1969.

<sup>92</sup> *Kiyas* (Al-Qiyas) like *al-Ijma'* (consensus of opinion) is an analogical deduction. The two are the secondary sources of *Sharia*. See A.I. Doi *Basis of Sharia; Islamic Law* (Gaskiya: Zaria, Nigeria) 1980 pp. 90 - 120.

<sup>93</sup> *Ijtihad*: Means an independent judgement of a Muslim jurist based on the injunctions of Qur'an and *Sunnah* of the Prophet.

had an inbuilt mechanism to make it move with changing times and therefore adaptable to every social situation. It is the extent to which such inbuilt devices are employed and utilised by the *ulama* that portrays the resilient and progressive nature of Islam.

The rate at which the interpretive provisions in Islam are used by the *ulama* could determine the social relevance of the Islamic knowledge they process. However, it is very significant to remember that, the level of awareness among the learned of their social responsibility influences the type of knowledge they disseminate as well as the interpretations that they give. As we showed in a previous chapter of this study the colonial state in the 1930s took over the training of the *ulama* that were to serve in the law courts. The colonial state wanted to make sure that it controlled the type of knowledge the prospective *alkalai* were to acquire. The aim was to produce an *ulama* that could compromise and comply with colonial ordinances in their judgements.

At this junction, one would wish to state that, despite the seemingly “authoritarian” nature of the scholarship at some *Ilm* schools and which impliedly allowed for very little or no initiative, the student is at liberty to opt out and look for an alternative *Malam* if dissatisfied. The Europeans were so fast to realise the social significance of the *Ilmi* schools when they came. In addition, the British colonialists were able to understand the social prestige which the *Ilmi* school *Malams* were enjoying in the society. In this connection, the colonial administrators decided to take over some of the ‘*Ilmi*’ schools in some Emirates. This happened in Sokoto when the school at Gidan Ubandoma was proposed to provide training for the colonial personnel. In Kano Emirate, the Madabo School which had been in operation since

the pre-colonial times provided or served as the nucleus of the Shahuji Judicial institue.<sup>94</sup> In subsequent discussion we shall discuss the fate of Islamic scholarship under colonial control.

### **The Role of the Women Scholars in Colonial Sokoto (The Legacy)**

There is enough evidence which shows that the intellectual activities in our areas of study and other parts of Hausaland had been some men dominated affairs: This trend had persisted even before the 19th century all through to the contemporary time. The Shehu, had cause in the 18th century to criticize the *malams* in Hausaland for not educating their wives and daughters. The central theme of *Nur al -Bab* written by the Shehu is principally on the education of women. The Shehu at one time had to provide a strong defence against charges of allowing men and women to mix in the process of his teaching and preaching<sup>95</sup>.

Before colonial period, our area of study was blessed with women scholars. Quite a number of them were from the Shehu's household or those of his disciples and students. Some of the scholarly daughters of Dan Fodio were engaged in the teaching and learning activities that involved exclusively the women folk. The most notable among the women scholars was Nama Asma'u, the wife of Waziri Gidado Dan Lema. Contemporary researchers have concentrated mainly on Asma'u because she contributed more than the rest intellectually

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<sup>94</sup> J.W. Chamberlain, "The Development of Islamic Education in Kano with emphasis on legal education in the 19th and 20th Centuries" *Ph.D. Thesis*, North Western University Columbia 1975.

<sup>95</sup> See Usman Dan Fodio, *Nur-al-Bab* for more or the views on the author on women education. Also see *Kitab-al-Farq* by the same author for the defence against the criticisms by the *ulama* for the allege mixing of different sexes.

particularly in the literary field<sup>96</sup>. As part of the intellectual legacy Asmau had left behind is the system of teaching the women at the *Hubbaren Shehu*. This tradition has persisted to the present through the chain of *Modiblos* (Fulani-learned) based at the *Hubbaren Shehu* in Sokoto<sup>97</sup>.

There is evidently no much changes in the system of education initiated by Asma'u in the early 1840s. The Asmawian classes as shown by Jean Boyd were and indeed, are still open to all women hence "their organisational structure remains recognisably intact to this day..."<sup>98</sup>. This research was able to observe a high level of continuity in the intellectual tradition left behind by Asma'u. Principally, the basic feature of this system known as the *Yan-taru* has remained to a large extent the same. The major activities of the *Yan-taru* being "the annual visits to sokoto... the singing of songs, the bringing of alms, the *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis) in

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<sup>96</sup> See Jean Boyd, *The Caliph's Sister: Nana Asma'u 1793-1865 Teacher, Poet and Islamic Leader* (Frank Cass: London) 1989. Perhaps as far as contemporary researches are available to discover the next woman scholar after Nana Asma'u was one Maryam, a grand-daughter of Dan Fodio through his only concubine Mariya. Maryam (alias) Tamodi married Emir of Kano, Ibrahim Dabo and after his death, she got married to the *Wazirin* Sokoto, Abdulkadir B. Gidado the eldest son of Nana Asma'u. It was Tamodi who later "skillfully organised and successfully administered" the education system for women started by Asma'u. This information has been confirmed by oral data (Modibbo Hafsatu (75 years) and others, Group interview at *Hubbaren Shehu*, Sokoto on 2nd August, 1998. See Ibid. Also see Jean Boyd's article "We Teach Girls, that it is Wrong to Carry Babies on their Backs! or How Inappropriate Policies Damaged Girls' Education in Colonial Era" in I.A. Tsiga & A.U. Adamu (eds), *Islamic and the History of Learning in Katsina* (Spectrum Books: Ibadan) 1997 p.106. This represents the latest works on Intellectual History in Northern Nigeria. The article in this work also over-contrasted on the role of the male scholars. Jean Boyd's article is only one that treats women education out of the 22 chapters in the book.

<sup>97</sup> It is gender-free title especially as from the 20th century when there emerged some women engaged in scholarly activities. I am grateful to Dr. Ibrahim Jumare for drawing my attention to his point and in providing additional input for this section of the study.

<sup>98</sup> Jean Boyd "The Caliph's... *op cit* p.74.

the *Hubbare* (the tomb of the Shehu), the *Jajis*, the sense of belonging to a supra-domestic organisation, the identity with Islam”<sup>99</sup>.

It was Asma’u who started to extend the classes to the rural areas so that overtime agents were appointed called the *jajis* to facilitate the inclusion of a wide spectrum of the women folk. It was also observed in the course of this research that a kind of strong network had emerged which covered most of the parts of metropolitan Sokoto. One of the *Modibbos* at the *Hubbaren Shehu* informed the researcher that presently women come from far areas of the caliphate annually to Sokoto on a kind of pilgrimage. The *Hubbare* has become a centre of social, religious and intellectual activities attracting women from as far as Kano, Bauchi, Gombe and many other distant places of the defunct caliphate<sup>100</sup>.

Admittedly, as it occurred with the male intellectuals there was a decline in scholarly attainment among the women folk in the 20th century. There is no evidence to suggest that another woman scholar has contributed as much as what Nana did in the literacy field. The tempo of the intellectual tradition among the women had remained the learning and teaching pattern at the expense of authorship. The latter pattern as we established in the course of this study was vigorously pursued in the caliphate up to the second half of the 19th century. This we tried to argue vigorously in this chapter above as well as in chapter two. One may even buttress the point further as regards the degeneration or decline in scholarly activities by adding

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid* p.77.

<sup>100</sup> Modibbo Hafsatu *op cit*.

the words of Jean Boyd who writes that “Asma’u’s thrust towards the education of women seems to have lost momentum”<sup>101</sup>.

An important development that is happening to the Asmawian legacy is the “modernization process”. The contemporary efforts by the government to promote women education is gradually finding expression in the classes at the *Hubbare*. The Sokoto state sometime in 1998 erected modern classrooms to be used for the teaching religion instruction to women. Modibbo Hafsatu was however, never hesitant to show her reluctance when the researcher asked her if she would agree to hand-over her classes to the government. There is no evidence that was seen documented in the course of this study to suggest a prior request to the government to tender the assistance it gave. Apparently, because of a number of factors - ideological, social and political, the *Hubbare* classes are likely to remain for quite a long time out of the control of what is seen as a secular institution. This explains why Modibbo Hafsatu and her other Modibbo assistants consider themselves as spiritual leaders engage in the service of Islam with the hope of earning reward and the pleasure of Allah. The *Modibbos*, the *Jajis* like their male counterparts, the *Malams* of the *Makarantun allo* and *Makarantun ilmi* have been maintaining an independent living away from the government. Both the men and women scholars rely on the goodwill of the community for their material needs.

The political implication of government involment in the *Hubbare* classes would mean loss of autonomy in all respects. That would also mean a new orientation to conform with secular principles of the government and that would produce adverse implication such as loss

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<sup>101</sup> Jean Boyd “The Caliph’s... *op cit* at the last chapter

of prestige, respect and public support to the Shehu's household. The extent to which the *yan-taru* system in general and the Islamic education classes at *Hubbare* will remain unaffected by modern changes happening in the larger society is certainly difficult to speculate. Undoubtedly, the present campaign for the education of women, the Girl child education and a lot of other catch - phrases under the various movements for Gender Equality is fundamentally in contrast with the philosophy and orientation of the Asmawian System of Education for the women. Therefore, for the Asmawian legacy to adapt to the contemporary scheme that would involve compromises between the old and the new as we tried to show in other spheres of the history of our area of study.

#### **THE FATE OF ISLAMIC SCHOLARSHIP UNDER COLONIAL RULE IN MUSLIM EMIRATES OF NORTHERN NIGERIA.**

Some of the educational policies pursued by the colonial state in Northern Nigeria and how such policies affected Islamic scholarship in this region is what concerns us in this section. It is important from the on set to remember that, it was with the imposition of colonial rule that Western Education called *boko* in Hausa was started in Northern Nigeria particularly in the Muslim Emirates. In Sokoto Province, it was Resident Burdon who started a school in 1907, which was primarily meant to serve the sons of the local aristocracy.<sup>102</sup> Western education was however well established as early as the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century in Southern Nigeria. There were a number of Christian Missionary groups that had been active in the education enterprise. The

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<sup>102</sup> C.F. A.T. Adamu "Colonial Capitalism and Crafts in Northern Nigeria: State and Articulation in Sokoto Province 1903 - 1960" *Ph.D. Thesis* (Stanford University) 1985; P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province Under Colonial Rule* (A.B.U. Press, Zaria)



educational efforts of the Christian Evangelists had yielded some fruits in terms of mass conversion in some parts of Southern Nigeria.<sup>103</sup>

Education generally was seemingly accorded low priority in Northern Nigeria at the initial period of colonial rule. This was even more evident in the establishment of schools.<sup>104</sup> The Educational Policy of the British in colonial Northern Nigeria was informed by a number of factors which were very vital to the short term and long term interests of the imperial mother country. For instance the adoption of a secular philosophy by the colonial regime implied non-interference in matters considered primarily religious. Lugard it could be recalled had earlier pledged not meddle in religious affairs in the North.<sup>105</sup> Colonial education therefore in Northern Nigeria particularly during the early years sought to encourage rudimentary literacy and the indoctrination of ethical and civic duties and responsibility. Religious instructions were assigned a back-seat in the scheme of things under the colonial education system.

Islamic education and scholarship in particular got no formal acceptance in the colonial setting. This was despite the fact that, Lugard had recognised its existence and the immense contribution the system had been making to the development of specialised manpower for

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<sup>103</sup> On Missionary activities in Nigeria See E.A. Ayandele *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria* (Longmans; Ibadan) 1966; and Mimeo "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria" in E.A. Ayandele *Nigerian Historical Studies* (Frank Cass: London) 1976 and B.B. Fafunwa *History of Education in Nigeria* (London 1974).

<sup>104</sup> The Lugard administration in the early years (1903 - 06) could establish no schools except the so-called Freed Slaves Home at Zungeru for the teaching of some rudimentary aspects of literacy and certain trades to the "inmates". See M.M. Tukur "The Imposition of Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States, 1887 - 1914" *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria 1979, p. 821.

<sup>105</sup> See F. Lugard's address in Sokoto at the formal installation of Sultan Attahiru II. A copy provided at the appendix section.

judicial and administrative personnel in the Emirates.<sup>106</sup> The colonial officials as far back as 1900 were fascinated by the existence of a formal school system in the Muslim Emirates of Northern Nigeria. During that period, Lugard proposed a synthesis of Islamic education with Western - type education. Such plans had for long period remained only at the proposal level until around the 1930s when some elements of Islamic education were incorporated into the colonial curriculum.<sup>107</sup>

British attitude towards Islamic education and scholarship in Northern Nigeria was influenced greatly by the European conception about Islam. The European colonizers came to recognize Islam as an ideology for anti-colonial protests because of what happened in parts of the Muslim world since 19<sup>th</sup> century. The British in particular had a bitter experience in the Sudan because of the violent anti-imperialist resistance mounted by the Mahdists. In addition, at the time the colonial state had consolidated its hold on Northern Nigeria, the Satiru riot broke out in 1906 which threatened the survival of colonial system in the region. This and some other reasons, undoubtedly made the British to develop hostile attitude towards Islam and its institutions. Islamic education in the early period in Northern Nigeria was therefore kept at arms - length by the colonial administration. The practitioners of Islamic learning even after

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<sup>106</sup> A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria : A Documentary Record* (Frank Cass: London) 1968, p. 60.

<sup>107</sup> J.P. Hubard "Government and Islamic Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900 - 1904" in G.N. Brown and M. Hiskett (eds), *Conflict.. Op.Cit.*, p. 153. N.A.K., SNP 17/4/37318/vol. 1, Director of Education, Nigeria to Ass. Director of Education Northern Provinces, C/DE/16/158, 4 Sept. 1939.

the collapse of the Caliphate system persisted in the discharge of their traditional role as custodians of Islamic intellectualism free from government control.<sup>108</sup>

Meanwhile, the colonial regime in Northern Nigeria apparently out of political consideration more than anything else had barred the Christian Missionaries from establishing schools in the Muslim Emirates. The official explanation for the prevention of the Christian Missionaries from establishing schools was to allay the fears of the Muslim rulers in the North of possible proselytization by the Christians in the Emirates. The policy of discouraging Missionary education in the Muslim North initiated by Lugard<sup>109</sup> was sustained by his successor, Percy Girouard essentially on political grounds which favoured the colonial regime.

The neglect of Islamic education and scholarship and the prevention of Missionary endeavour in education should be seen within the wider context of the imperial ambition of Britain in Northern Nigeria. One must not lose sight of the issue that as far as the colonial state was concerned it was the imperialist interest that was paramount. In this situation as it happened in the first decade of colonialism in Northern Nigeria, the colonial regime made use of local sentiments among the ruling class supposedly for its own security. That is, the prevention of any uprising among the populace which was likely to be engendered by the mere presence of the Christian Missionaries. It was through this measure that the colonial state was

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<sup>108</sup> Interview with Mal. Shehu na Liman, Imam of Shehu Mosque, Sokoto City, 77 years, 17th July, 1995. Also M.M. Tukur, *The Imposition... Op. Cit.*, p. 886.

<sup>109</sup> It was primarily out of personal friendship that Lugard acquiesced to the Missionary's participation in education in the North at the initial stage. The goodwill shown by Lugard by Reverend (Dr.) Miller and even for the former to push for the approval of a blue print for Missionary education in the North by the Colonial Office in London. See D.R. Doyan, "Educational Policy Formulations in Northern Nigeria 1960 - 1969", *Ph.D. Thesis* (Wisconsin) 1977.

able to safeguard its interests (peace and security) and enhance the status of the local aristocracy in the eyes of the subjects as a short term plan.

In the long term plan the colonial regime pursued a policy that was aimed at discouraging elaborate literacy be it Islamic or Western. Historical facts abound to prove that the colonialists were not “comfortable” with any form of literary education which according to some colonial officials only produced “nationalist demagogues”. This had occurred in some British colonies such as in Egypt and India.<sup>110</sup> This argument is clearly stated in the case of Northern Nigeria by Hubbard who wrote that:

The standard view (among British officials) held that Christian Missionaries, had uncritically copied Western methods. Products of schools so designed supposedly became “denationalised”, that is by adopting Western values and customs, they lost touch with their own society. According to this view, an inability to equal European accomplishments produced frustration and eventually the motivation to criticise and oppose the colonial regime. Because of this and similar opinions, *British officials in the North were wary of formal education in general.*<sup>111</sup> (emphasis mine).

The type of crisis the British had to face which mostly had nationalist undertones in some places such as the Indian Great Revolt of 1857 and even in British West Africa such as in Ghana (Gold Coast), Lagos and Sierra Leone were engineered by the newly westernised elites from among the colonial subjects. As from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it dawned

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<sup>110</sup> A Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism competition and Collaboration in the Late 19th Century*, (Cambridge University Press, London) 1968; R.L. Tignor *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt 1882 - 1914*, (Princeton Univesity Press, Princeton) 1966.

<sup>111</sup> J.P. Hubbard, “Government... *Op. Cit.*, p. 155.

on the British that they had to reassess the purpose and goals of educational enterprises in their colonies. It came to be recognised in the colonial circle that technical and literary education ought/should be emphasized at the expense of elaborate literacy. In essence “native subjects” were to be taught more through their hands than through their “heads”. In Northern Nigeria, the Lugardian village schools for instance was to place more emphasis at teaching manual skills rather theoretical aspects in the sciences.

British colonial policy on education sought to obstruct every possible avenue of creating awareness among the colonial populace. By the closing years of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the main thrust of this policy was put well in place in a number of British possessions. In this regard, a proposal for the establishment of a higher institution of learning in Lagos in 1906, was rejected because of the political implications as argued against the proposal by British political administrators and colonial educationists. In 1909 the proposal for the Lagos King’s College was endorsed only after having been drastically modified to suit the condition set by the colonial office in London. When the scheme was approved it never met the yearnings of the Lagos citizenry and as rightly observed by Ogunlade the plan for King’s College when it finally arrived was at variance with expectation of even the colonial administration in Lagos. The Colonial Office, in the words of Ogunlade:

....saw Nigeria simply as a unit of production, a vast estate which must be made productive by turning out skilled labourers, not intellectuals and agitators who would hasten the collapse of colonial control over the colony. *The irony of course was that the agencies of economic exploitation, the European firms in Lagos, were crying out for clerks, while the metropolitan vision*

*was of a nation of manual labourers and lower technical personnel.*<sup>112</sup> (emphasis mine).

Meanwhile, the colonial education policy for Northern Nigeria which was drawn up by Mr. (Sir) Hanns Vischer (Dan Hausa)<sup>113</sup> came into effect in 1907. The major philosophy of Vischer plan was to avoid the mistake of “denationalisation” in the North as it happened in other British colonies. In the light of this Vischer proposed that the colonial regime should “adopt Western education to local condition”. It was advocated that the colonial administration should strive and “use education to preserve and then, perhaps, improve local institutions rather than destroy them”.<sup>114</sup>

Mr. Vischer was later appointed the first Director of Education for Northern Nigeria. It was under his proposal that a school at Nassarawa just outside Kano City was started in 1910 to train the *Malams* who were to start teaching as the school expanded. The school consisted of an elementary school, a primary school and a technical vocational school.<sup>115</sup> It was the Nassarawa experiment that opened the flood gate for the establishment of more elementary and primary schools in the Muslim Emirates with request coming from some of the Emirs for the establishment of similar schools in their respective domains.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> F.O. Ogunlade “Education and Politics in Colonial Nigeria: The case of King’s College, Lagos 1906 - 1911” in *JHSN*, 4, 2, (June 1974) p. 340.

<sup>113</sup> For details on the biography of Han Vischer and his Missionary and Administrative Career See S.F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900 - 191 with Special Reference to the Works of Hans Vischer*. (University Press: Ibadan, 1966).

<sup>114</sup> J.P. Hubard, “Government.. *Op. Cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>115</sup> See B.B. Fafunwa, *History... Op. Cit.*

<sup>116</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, “The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910 - 1946” in *JAH*, 24 (1983), pp. 517 - 534.

The formal schooling along Western mode started by Vischer put away the indigenous Islamic scholarship to the background. The curriculum for the Nassarawa school provided no place for the traditional Islamic subjects which had been in practice in the numerous Muslim schools all over the North. The subjects provided in the curriculum of the Vischer school were the teaching of reading and writing of Hausa in Roman characters, gardening, simple Arithmetic and Local Geography. The intention was for the gradual discouragement of the teaching and learning of Arabic for its eventual abolition. Efforts by the British at the “annihilation” of Arabic being the intellectual medium was intensified from all directions. One scholar observed that two drastic measures were taken to displace Arabic namely:<sup>117</sup>

(i) Arabic language desisted to be the official language. English replaced it as the official language of the administration. It was now the language of the master which would, henceforth, be encouraged.

(ii) New alphabet - the Roman alphabet was similarly introduced to replace the Arabic one being widely used by the Muslims. Efforts were soon made to write many Nigerian languages using the new alphabet.

It may be of interest to note that it was at the initiative of Vischer that many of the anti-Arabic policies were taken by the colonial administration. At one time while serving as Assistant Resident in Borno, Vischer suggested to the Resident that Muslims in the North should be discouraged from learning Arabic and even having long contact with Arabs while on pilgrimage because that would “enable them learn enough Arabic

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<sup>117</sup> S.A.S. Galadanci, “Islamic Education in Africa: Past Influence and Contemporary Challenges” in Nur Alkali et al (eds) *Islam in Africa, Proceedings of the Islam in Africa Conference* (Spectrum: Ibadan) 1993 p. 102.

to understand the fanatical propaganda from Egypt".<sup>118</sup> This position was adopted and the colonial regime applied it as part of the grand strategy to discourage elaborate and comprehensive literary education so as not to create awareness among the colonised Muslim populations in Northern Nigeria.

The anti-Arabic stance was surreptitiously incorporated in the colonial education scheme for Northern Nigeria. Under the guise of running schools along "native lines" for the inculcation of respect for indigenous values, colonial education discarded Islamic studies and promoted the teaching of civic responsibilities such as patriotism and loyalty to the colonial order. The colonial administration also reinforced such anti-Arabic and anti-Islamic measures under the cover of secularism. The contradiction within the system however remained, in that the secular regime employed the services of the Islamic institutions to protect and foster the economic and political interests of the colonial state whenever the circumstance called for that.

Notwithstanding the colonialist subversive policies against Islamic education and scholarship, the traditional society remained tenaciously attached to their old surviving system. The traditional *ulama* for instance for a very long time stayed aloof from the newly introduced system of education of the West. In Sokoto, the *ulama* for a very long period refused to work for the British as teachers. It was a common view in Sokoto that it was *kafirci* (infidelity) to take salaries hence many who opted to work

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<sup>118</sup> N.A.K., S.N.P. 7/8/1907, H. Vischer to Resident of Borno December 1906 and enclosed Vischer's notes on his journey from Tripoli to Borno, 1906.



with the whiteman found it extremely difficult to even get a wife.<sup>119</sup> Muslim scholars and even some local rulers expressed their hatred of the British openly by refusing to shake hands with the *nasara* because he was an infidel. Under extreme circumstance when the *Malam* had to shake, he stretched out his hand covered by the flank of his gown. After the hand-shake the *Malam* would wash his hand with clean water.<sup>120</sup> Malam Abubakar Ubandoma at one time when Resident Carrow went to his residence in company of the Sultan to persuade the *Malam* to resume his teaching at the Kadi school, was reportedly hesitant to shake hand with the Resident but for the presence of the Sultan.<sup>121</sup>

Individuals who agreed to work under the colonial administration particularly teachers had to dress like the local *Malam* in order to get accepted by the community. Classroom teachers therefore because of social pressure used to wear the flowing gown (babbar riga), turban (rawani), a long red cap (dara) and a pair of wide trousers (buje) in order to look like the traditional *ulama*.<sup>122</sup> The elites in our area of study who had acquired Western education refused to wear European dresses such as the necktie, shirt, or the suit and pair of European trousers. Students were made to appear in native

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- <sup>119</sup> Interview with Alhaji Abubakar Anka I, a Retired teacher and Headmaster, (62 years) 26th December, 1996. Also S.W. Junaidu "Resistance to Western Culture in the Sakkwato Caliphate; A Lesson to Generations Yet Unborn". In A.M. Kani & K. A. Gandhi (eds) *State and Society ... Op. Cit.*, p. 239.
- <sup>120</sup> S.W. Junaidu *Ibid.*
- <sup>121</sup> Interview with Mal. Abdurrahman (Sidi Suyuti), Alkali of Sharia Court and the Present Ubandoma; Kofar Rini (65 years). 26th December 1996.
- <sup>122</sup> Interview, Abubakar Anka I, *Op. Cit.* Also S.W. Junaidu "Resistance.... *Op. Cit.*, p. 239.

dresses to show to the society that the Western school never intended to erode the cherished indigeneous values.<sup>123</sup> It was regarded an immoral act for a school boy or even an educated adult to appear publicly with stocking.<sup>124</sup>

The wearing of a flowing gown by the “native” teachers while teaching in the class became a disturbing menace to education inspectors in Sokoto because the *Malams* virtually covered the blackboard from the view of the pupils. The British officials in the 1930s during the reign of Sultan Hassan Dan Mu’azu insisted and sought the co-operation of the Sultan that the *Malams* must discard the *Babbar Riga* while in the class. A long *Kaftan* was therefore introduced to replace the *Babbar Riga*. In addition, the education officials recommended the use of ‘*Yar Shara*, a wide sleeveless gown reaching to the knee-cap with a pair of short nicker for physical training exercise (P.T.) The ‘*Yar shara*’ was given the name of ‘*Yar Bola*’ after the name of Captain Bowler.<sup>125</sup>

The colonial administrators had apparently understood the extent to which the Muslims had regard for Islamic learning and scholarship. This undobutedly explained the point why such colonial officials utilised the agency of the traditional establishment in particular the Sultan and his councillors in the case of Sokoto to get the scholars or the *ulama* to perform some special functions for the colonial state. In chapters four and five, we tried to highlight most of the administrative, judicial and educational duties

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<sup>123</sup> See A. Bello *My Life*, (Cambridge University Press, London) 1962.

<sup>124</sup> Interview, Abubakar Anka I, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

of the *ulama*. In addition, some of them were called upon to offer prayers for ease and success in times of emergencies. In one of such occasions a Sokoto *Malam* by name Mal. Basharu Kofar Taramniyya was requested to pray for the success or victory of the imperial forces of Britain during World War I. The scholar having realised the futility of the imperialist war especially to the Muslims in his area, blatantly refused to pray for the English army.<sup>126</sup>

Evidently, a great number of the Islamic *Malams* especially those that were not part of the Sokoto aristocracy avoided close relations with the colonial state. Such *ulama* refused to send their children to the Western schools and continued to campaign against Western education. The rejection of the Western schools in our area of study was intensified when it became known to many people that the missionaries were involved in the education enterprise hence Western education would eventually lead to the conversion of a Muslim child to Christianity. It was even reported by some scholars that in many of the Muslim Emirates in the North, the Emirs, district and village heads refused to send their "promising" sons to the *boko* schools. The aristocracy in the Muslim north according to this view rather sent the sons of their slaves and retainers to the Western schools.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Interview with Mal. Muhammad Boyi (Islamic Teacher) 70 years, Kofar Atiku Sokoto, 25/2/97.

<sup>127</sup> A. Ozigi & L. Ocho, *Education in Northern Nigeria* (London, 1981) pp. 40 m- 41, R.W. Hull, "The Administration of Northern Nigeria 1887 - 1944". *Ph.D. Thesis* (Columbia University, 1968), pp. 351 - 3, Dr. R. Boyan "Educational Policy Formulation in the North of Nigeria 1900 - 1969" Ph.D. Thesis, (Wisconsin 1979) pp. 110 - 122 and R. Heussler, *The British in Northern Nigeria* (London, 1968) p. 189.

However, later researches in the area of Western education seemed to indicate that, there had been an exaggeration in some of the views expressed about the attitude of the Muslim Emirs in the North towards Western education.<sup>128</sup> It has been recognised that at the early period when Western education was started in the North with the opening of the Nassarawa school by Vischer in 1910, there were some among the majority of the Emirs who did not send their own sons to the school in Kano. This was evident in view of the fact that only one out of the Emirs holding office in 1952 namely the Emir of Agaie, Aliyu (1935 - 1953) from the old Niger Province went or attended the chiefs' sons' school at Nassarawa near Kano in 1910.<sup>129</sup>

It was explained that the reluctance of the chiefs to send their sons to the *boko* school at the early period was not because they did not realise the necessity of Western education, nor that they feared that their sons would be vulnerable to Christianity, but because they did not wish to risk their sons' lives by making them undertake a hazardous and dangerous journey to Kano".<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, it has been shown the problems of logistics aggravated the situation in that the most readily available means of transportation was horseback or trekking. It certainly would require utmost courage from any parent be he an Emir or a commoner from whatever religious faith to condone his son to undertake such a journey.

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<sup>128</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, "The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education, 1910 - 1946" in *JAH*, 24 (1983) pp. 517 - 18.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 522 - 523.

<sup>130</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province Under Colonial Rule 1903 - 1939* (A.B.U. Press: Zaria). 1988.

The fact that Muslim Emirs appreciated Western education was supported by the high enrolment of the sons of the nobility at the school started by Resident Burdon at Sokoto in 1905. The school reportedly recorded an intake of 36 pupils in 1907 despite the obvious infrastructural constraints at the initial take up in 1905.<sup>131</sup> Similarly, in some other Emirates, the Emirs were fast in realising the political and social significance of Western education when it was introduced. Some of the Emirs understood that prospective future laid with Emirs who acquired Western Education. In this regard, such Emirs with foresight sent their sons to the N.A. schools without being coaxed into doing so. In some cases, Emirs would even try to block the admissions of the sons of their political rivals. It was reported from Zaria Province by the Superintendent of Education in 1919, that the Emir Aliyu wanted his sons and those of his proteges to be admitted into the elementary school to the exclusion of the children of his opponent from the rival dynasties.<sup>132</sup> The Superintendent of Education indicated in a report that:

No one understands the advantages at the (Zaria elementary) school better than the Emir of Zaria Aliyu who has induced thirty-four parents and guardians to send their boys to school during the year.... He wishes his own sons and proteges to have the benefits of liberal education (but) he does not want the sons of rich traders, sons of men belonging to dynasties other than his own or sons of men whom for various reasons

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<sup>131</sup> P.K. Tibenrana, *"The Emirs... Op. Cit.*, p. 521

<sup>132</sup> There are four ruling houses making up the dynasties of Zaria namely the Mallawa, Katsinawa, Barnawa and Sullubawa. Emir Aliyu came from the Mallawa dynasty founded by Mal. Musa, the first Emir of Zaria (1804 - 21). See M.G. Smith *Government in Zazzau* (Oxford University Press: London) 1960.

he does not like, to have the same attainment as the sons of his own men.<sup>133</sup>

Fundamentally, British colonial education policy in Northern Nigeria favoured the admission of the sons of the aristocracy. Hence the Emirs who wanted their sons admitted would find it easy. The British education policy as stated in Lugard's Political Memoranda inter alia provided for:<sup>134</sup>

- (a) Literary training for posts in which a good knowledge of English and accountancy is necessary. It was to be confined to sons of rulers - future Emirs and N.A. staff.
- (b) The training of mechanics and artisans who could handle power driven equipment.
- (c) The teaching of crafts and agriculture and the very elementary school suitable for village life.

Type (a) education was the responsibility of Provincial schools established in each Province. Two schools were charged with type (b) and © education to be established at each provincial headquarters and affiliated to the provincial school. The school that was responsible for type (b) or technical education would train mechanical workmen for government workshops. The most brightest and promising students from the type (b) School were expected to proceed to the Technical Institute planned for the whole North.

In Sokoto, the type (b) school was established with two others at Bida and Maiduguri, three in all in the Muslim North. The Sokoto Industrial School popularly called *Gidan*

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<sup>133</sup> F. Lugard, *Political Memoranda 1913 - 1918* (Frank Cass: London) 1970 p. 138:

<sup>134</sup> See A.T. Adamu *Colonial Capitalism ... Op. Cit.*, p. 173.

*Hattara*<sup>135</sup> (House of Wisdom) shared the same premises with the Burdon school, the latter which had now transformed to Provincial School. *Gidan Hattara* was placed under one Mr. W.E. Micholson, a Briton on the staff of Vischer. The pioneer staff of the school were the graduates of Vischer Technical School of Nassarawa were deployed to teach at the Sokoto Industrial School when it started in 1919. The teachers included Mallam Dan Magaji from Daura, Malam Abagana from Borno, Malam Dan Fulani Mai Katako, a Gombe Fulani and Malam Atton Kware all of them taught carpentry. The rest were Malam Abdu Mai Nupe, Malam Ali Gombe and Malam Haido taught leather work. Some other courses taught were blacksmithing, masonry, tannery, automobile repairs and driving.<sup>136</sup>

The fundamental philosophy was of training the required manpower for the colonial state which guided the colonial education policy in Northern Nigeria and was applied in the operations of the *Gidan Hattara*. Essentially, the school tried to implement a secular philosophy to conform with the ideological guideline of the colonial superstructure. In order to allay the fear of Muslim parents, the students used to take lessons in Islamic studies. However, the secular Western courses - crafts courses the student would go to the Sokoto Provincial school to take their lessons.<sup>137</sup>

The *Gidan Hattara* used to admit students from what Ali Adamu called “a narrow spectrum” of the society. The pupils were mainly sons and relatives of the leaders of traditional

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

crafts who had maintained “social proximity to the *Sarakuna*<sup>138</sup>. In line with the Vischer policy of providing education “along native line”, the British selected boys and trained them in the trades of their respective families so that they did not deviate from their inherited occupation. Hence as was done at the Vischer technical school, the *Gidan Hattara* trained pupils as carpenters if they were sons of traditional wood-carvers, those trained as metal workers, automechanics and drivers were mostly sons of blacksmiths and them those learning masonry were the sons of traditional builders, the same pattern applied to leather-workers and tanners.<sup>139</sup>

The students population at the opening of the *Gidan Hattara* was 20 pupils and by 1928 the students totalled 77 reaching 89 by 1929. Like most other educational institutions opened by the British in parts of Northern Nigeria, the *Gidan Hattara* was adversely affected by the Great Depressions of the 1930s. The institution was closed during the depression years. The crafts courses were transferred to Sokoto Provincial School which became the Sokoto Middle School on 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1930. The graduates of the *Gidan Hattara* were employed in N.A. Works Departments at Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates as artisans.<sup>140</sup>

Intellectually, all training in the colonial schools was primarily aimed at providing for the short and long term interests of the colonial masters and certainly not aimed at improving the life of the colonial subjects. The case of the *Gidan Hattara* clearly demonstrated the above

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<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> See N.A.K., Sokprof 2/1-4/1/S.40 Sokoto Crafts School Annual Report 1929: A. Bello *My Life Op. Cit.*, p. 36



fact. As observed by Ali Adamu the vocational training institution at Gidan Hattara as well as in other technical institutions was geared towards creating “a proletarianized labour force for colonial capitalism”.<sup>141</sup> Essentially, the crafts taught to the pupils at *Gidan Hattara* were those needed by the British for infrastructural development, in this case Ali Adamu wrote that:

British needs coincided with occupation related to metal, wood, building and leatherwork while nothing in the colonial infrastructure required skilled labour with an African counterpart like mat-weaving or pottery.<sup>142</sup>

Hence under the Vischer plan of training the African children to respect indigeneous values and institutions, the colonial state according to Adamu was:

...training carpenters under the guise of traditional wood-carvers, automobile mechanics under the guise of blacksmith, mason under the guise of traditional builders. Consequently crafts of lesser relevance to colonial infrastructural need - mat-weaving, calabash carving, pottery, cloth tailoring and embroidery were avoided and sons of their leaders did not enter either Nassarawa school or *Gidan Hattara*.<sup>143</sup>

The intellectual bankruptcy of the colonial education training was most particularly demonstrated in its emphasis on narrow goals. In the case of technical vocational training it was evident that “traditional crafts in whose names the British pledged to train pupils remained unchanged in both form and technique”.<sup>144</sup> The skills acquired by the trainees redounded

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<sup>141</sup> A.T. Adamu *Op. Cit.*p. 176.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

primarily to the benefit of the colonial power. The local craftsmen hardly benefitted by learning new skills to improve the techniques of their occupations.

Evidently, it was principally the Northern aristocracy that was patronising the schools established by the colonial administration in the different provinces. This as we tried to show was because the colonial education policy during the early years of colonial rule favoured that kind of situation - in Northern Nigeria. The other reason had to do with the strong attachment of the majority of the Muslim populations to the traditional Islamic education. In this regard as shown by Hubbard, Islamic schools had proven appeal in the Muslim North while the government school providing *boko* education remained quite unpopular. This trend persisted until the 1930s.<sup>145</sup>

The reluctance of many Muslim parents to send their children to the government schools was of particular concern to some colonial officers. Such officers started to argue and interpret the "Vischer philosophy" of teaching Africans "along native lines" to mean also looking into the possibility of including more of the elements of Islamic education in the curriculum of Western type schools in Northern Nigeria.<sup>146</sup> It had already been recognised in the colonial circle in the North, that it was detrimental to the colonial state to condone the growth of Islamic education at the expense of Western education among the colonised Muslim population.

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<sup>145</sup> J.P. Hubbard, "Government and Islamic Education *Op. Cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

The idea was to use the popularity of Islamic education among the Muslim commoner class to promote Western education through appealing to the religious sentiments of the Muslims. Prominent among the British administrators who appealed for a synthesis of Western and Islamic education included Sir Herbert Richmond Palmer and C.L. Temple.<sup>147</sup> Between 1915 and 1930 the above view was given prominence by its advocates. According to Palmer for instance, by integrating Islamic education with Western education that could help to preserve the existing political arrangement in the Muslim Emirates of Northern Nigeria. It was argued that the Muslim Emirs that had been holding the reigns of political power had imbibed “a civilised culture” from the Arabic and/or Islamic east as opposed to the “barbarous” West African coast. It was suggested that the British should exploit the possibility of strengthening collaboration with the next generation of Emirs by preserving their cultural heritage. Furthermore, as shown by Palmer by accommodating Islamic Education government would preempt every possibility by the “educational Muslims” to participate in a religiously inspired uprising. Also it was envisaged that through this strategy the Muslim scholars or the *ulama* would be brought into a firm alliance with the British.<sup>148</sup> In line with the above proposals, Palmer advocated the establishment of a government school for N.A. officials and native court judges (*alkalai*) with bias in Arabic and Islamic studies particularly Islamic jurisprudence.

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<sup>147</sup> See their correspondence on the subject in N.A.K.; SNP, 7/7/4399/1906, H.R. Palmer, Ag. Resident Katsina to Ag. High Commissioner Northern Nigeria 26 January 1907, C.L. Temple, Resident Sokoto to Ag. High Commissioner, 11 January, 1907.

<sup>148</sup> N.A.K., SNP 9, 806/1916, H.R. Palmer Ag. Resident Kano to SNP, 10 March 1916. Also Palmer's Speech at Education Conference, Northern Provinces 8 - 11 March, 1927.

The emergence of the Islamiyya Schools which, by the 1950s, were found in great numbers in parts of Northern Nigeria was an important development in Islamic Education. In Kano Emirate for instance, many of such schools were established in the city, and that, the renowned Kano Politician, Malam Aminu Kano contributed in opening of some of the Schools. The adherents of the Tijjaniya *Tarika* (a brotherhood) also, played a pioneering role in the establishment of the Islamiyya schools in Kano.<sup>149</sup>

In Sokoto Emirate, the Islamiyya School is popularly known as "Nizamiyya". The idea of the establishment of the Nizamiya schools in Sokoto area originated from the joint efforts of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the former President and Alhaji Ahmadu Danbaba, the *Marafan* Sokoto. We shall discuss this issue in detail in the next chapter of this study.

Meanwhile, it is argued by some educationist that, the Islamiyya school represent an attempt at modernizing the traditional Qur'anic school. It is shown that, the introduction of Western education which brought with it the formal school system, sensitized the Muslims, in the North to modernize the traditional *Makarantar allo* (Qur'anic School). It is therefore envisaged that, gradually, the Qur'anic schools would overtime metamorphose into the Islamiyya schools.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> For more on the subject See J.W. Chamberlain, "The Dev. of Islamic Education in Kano... *Op. Cit.*, J.N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (University Press California: Los Angeles) 1973 and A. Anwar, "Struggle for influence and Identity: The *Ulama* in Kano 1937 - 1987" *M.A. Dissertation* (Maiduguri) 1989.

<sup>150</sup> Oral information from Dr. M.I. Junaidu, Faculty of Education and Extension Services, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. 31st December 1997.

The essential features of the Islamiyya school included its formal setting which makes it much like Western - style elementary school. The students are organized in classrooms. There obtain buildings serving as classrooms with seats and blackboards. The curriculum of the school is quite broad as it includes Qur'anic studies, Arabic language, *hadith* etc and often some non-religious subjects like Arithmetic.

The *Islamiyya* school is also slightly different from the *Makarantar allo*. Qur'anic studies at the Islamiyya school emphasize deeper understanding of the meaning of the Qur'anic verses. Hence, the aim is not only to learn to recite and memorize but also to provide contextual explanation of the Qur'an. In this regard, Qur'anic exegesis form part of the study of the Qur'an at the *Islamiyya* school.

In the 1950s a number of the Islamiyya schools were benefitting from the financial assistance from the regional governments. The period particularly the late 1950s coincided with the early phase of the tenure of Sir Ahmadu Bello as the first Premier of Northern Region. The aim of the government at that time was to get the schools as explained by Professor Shehu Galadanci, "to play a role in modern Nigeria, and therefore to give them all the appropriate assistance that other private schools are getting from the government"<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Oral information from Professor S.A.S. Galadanci, August 15, 1984, Kano in J.N. Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria* (Hudahuda : Zaria) 1986, p. 299.

## CONCLUSION

From the discussion in this chapter above it is clear that traditional Islamic scholarship in Hausaland generally and in particular in our area of study continued to be practiced despite the imposition of a new secular political system introduced by the British colonizers. We tried to show that, a lot of similarities existed in the form of Islamic scholarship in particular certain aspects of the school system as obtained in parts of Hausaland including our area of study with other parts of the Muslim world particularly in the region of **bilad al-Sudan**.

Islamic scholarship could not however escape from some of the social and political influences engendered by colonial rule in Northern Nigeria. We established that while the colonial state at the early period of colonial rule kept away from the Muslim - scholar class that did not persist for a very long time. Over some time colonial officials in Northern Nigeria changed their perception which had been influenced by some preconceived hostile notions about Islam and the Muslims. This development led to some initiatives by the colonial administrators to accommodate Muslim scholars (*ulama*) and Islamic education in the scheme of things under colonialism. Essentially, colonial officials wanted to use the influence of the Muslim scholars and Islamic institutions to foster the acceptance of Western education by the Muslim populace in Northern Nigeria. We discussed at relative detail the negative attitude by which the scholar - class in Sokoto considered Western and colonial system of education. As we saw at the early period of colonial rule Western education did not pose any serious threat to the Islamic system of education. Under the influence of the scholars, the Muslims in our area of study held on tenaciously to the traditional Islamic education which therefore invariably witnessed the growth of Islamic scholarship.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE INTELLECTUALS, ISLAMIC SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOKOTO EMIRATE 1930 - 1960

#### INTRODUCTION

Evidently as we tried to establish in a previous chapter of this study, not much was done under the colonial set up in many parts of the Muslim north to accord the traditional Islamic scholarship formal recognition by the colonial authorities. With the benefit of hindsight we showed also that the secular system introduced by the British sought to solely promote practices and preserve institutions that would facilitate the realization of the short and long term socio-economic and political interests of the British colonizers. In this regard traditional Islamic scholarship in Northern Nigeria was considered significant only to the extent that it could provide literacy required for service under the colonial judiciary and local administration.

At a higher level the colonial state was principally concerned about education that would foster rudimentary literacy in Roman letters, the teaching of simple Arithmetic as well as technical/neglect of Islamic learning and scholarship by the colonial administration, it was clear that the traditional *ulama* persisted in the discharge of their traditional roles as custodians of Islamic education. The *ulama* to a relative degree maintained an independent existence from the colonial state. Islamic education was apparently on the increase as evidenced by the proliferation of more Qur'anic and *Ilmi* schools in cities and towns of the Muslim Emirates.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the mid-1960 there were 27,600 Qur'anic schools and 2,800 *Ilmi* schools in Northern Nigeria. See J.N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano (Berkeley, 1973) p.88. Also Mark Bray et al Education and Society in Africa. (Edward Arnold: London, 1986), Chapter 5, p.50.

The growth of the traditional/Islamic schooling at the expense of Western/colonial education was seemingly a worrying development to some British administrators in Northern Nigeria.<sup>2</sup> Steps taken by the colonial regime to arrest the deteriorating situation was the incorporation of some elements of Islamic education in the curricular of colonial schools. It was envisaged by the colonial authorities that by accommodating Islamic education in the curricular of government schools, the dwindling fortunes of Western Education in the Muslim north would be enhanced.

By the 1920s some of the "*boko*" or Western type schools were to a relative extent extensively involved in the teaching of some aspects of Islamic education. The issue had been well documented in some other works<sup>3</sup> hence needed no treatment here. The significance of this development to this study in particular was the kind of revolutions it brought about in the field of Islamic scholarship in Northern Nigeria. A specific point of reference was the emergence of a new crop of intellectuals with a broader perception of what intellectualism entailed. The views of such new generation of scholars were shaped by the traditional Islamic training they received in their respective localities as well as by their contact with and/or training under the Western School system. These intellectuals as one of them aptly described tried "to bridge the gap between the modern and the traditional".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>. N.A.K., S.N.P./17/8 K. 6487, Vol.I Bieneman, Ag. Assistant Director of Education to Provincial Superintendent of Education, 799/5, 20 April, 1932; Kanoprof 5/1 3464, S.N.P. to Residents 19886/45/2, 1st December, 1933. See also Northern Provinces Education Annual Report, 1931.

<sup>3</sup> See G.N. Brown and M. Hiskett (eds) Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa (George, Allen and Unwin) London 1975; Mark Bray et al Education and Society in Africa (Edward Arnold, London) 1986.

<sup>4</sup> M. Crowder "Citation for Alhaji Junaidu, Wazirin Sokoto" A.B.U. Press, No.1 Zaria 1972 pp.5-6.



In the area of our study as we tried to show in the previous chapters of this research, the scholarly tradition established by Shehu Dan Fodio and his lieutenants was maintained and promoted. To a certain extent even though we noticed a drastic decline in the literary culture during the colonial period among the Muslim intellectuals, still there emerged some individuals who carried the banner of scholarship as was done by the forebear intellectuals of the jihad period.

This chapter is going to focus on some individuals from among the Sokoto *ulama*. We shall highlight some of the scholarly contributions of those intellectuals. In particular, the chapter shall expose the extent to which some notable *Malams* such as Waziri Junaidu, Shaikh Abubakar Gumi among others had engineered social changes in the Sokoto area.

It is hereby acknowledged that the Sokoto area had produced numerous intellectuals who contributed immensely to the promotion of Islamic scholarship. However, because of the limited scope of this study we shall only sample some of them. Apart from Waziri Junaidu and Shaikh Gummi, there were also others who had done greatly in advancing the dissemination of knowledge through the establishment of "modern" Islamiyya schools. The pioneer efforts of people like Alhaji Shehu Shagari and Marafa Ahmed Danbaba in the establishment of the Nizamiyya School in Sokoto was quite significant in that there was a development in the fields of Islamic and Western education. The discussion therefore starts with the intellectual career of Wazirin Sokoto - Dr. Junaidu Muhammadu Buhari.

**ALHAJI (DR. JUNaidu B. MUHAMMADU BUHARI 1906 - 1997**

Alhaji (Dr.) Junaidu popularly known as Waziri Junaidu was born on Tuesday in the lunar month of Shawwal 1324 A.H.<sup>5</sup>. The date of the Islamic calendar approximated the month of January, 1906. According to Hamid Alkali, Junaidu was three months old when the Satiru uprising against the British was crushed (10th March 1906). Hence Hamid Alkali submitted that Junaidu's birth can be approximated in December, 1905 or better early January, 1906. Junaidu was born in Sokoto city to the scholarly family of Gidado son of Abubakar (alias Sambo Lema).<sup>6</sup>

Gidado was the first Waziri (1817 - 1842) appointed by *Sarkin Musulmi* Muhammadu Bello (1817 - 1837). The Gidado family belonged to the Toronkawa (Torodbe) clan of Fulani Konni that settled at the territory of Adar by then under the *Sarakuna* (aristocracy) of Gobir.<sup>7</sup> Gidado Lema was among the first generation of the Jihad scholars who nurtured the revolutionary movement led by Shehu Dan Fodio. Gidado's role had been directly in the Jihad activities as well as in the area of administrative duties on the instructions of the Shehu.<sup>8</sup> He reportedly "functioned on occasions as a personal representative and an envoy to Shehu Usman and as a special assistant and adviser to Muhammadu Bello".<sup>9</sup> The most outstanding state function performed by Gidado was in the

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<sup>5</sup> Oral Information from Waziri Junaidu in I. Junaidu Sakkwato *Rayuwa Wazirin Sakkwato: Alhaji Junaidu* CCBE, CON, LL.D. NNMA (Fadama Printers: Sokoto) 1993 pp.1-3.

<sup>6</sup> H. Alkali "Biography of Waziri Junaidu" Unpublished Manuscript, n.d. p.13.

<sup>7</sup> See A.B. Augie "The Gobir Factor in the social and political History of the Rima Basin C.1650-1808 A.D." *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1984.

<sup>8</sup> H. Alkali *op.cit* p.8 Abdullahi b. Fodio was the first person to be conferred with the title of *Waziri al-Akhbar* (the grand Waziri by Usman Dan Fodio) See M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, (Longman: London) 1967 pp.152-153.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

area of diplomacy even before his appointment as *Wazir*. As a special envoy of the Sokoto Caliphate to Borno, Gidado undertook trips to the Borno territory to broker amicable peace settlement with Muhammad Al-Amin al-Kanemi.<sup>10</sup> At a particular time during the reign of Muhammad Bello, Waziri Gidado was sent to mobilise the eastern Emirates and to assume the command of the joint army so as to secure the eastern frontier of the Caliphate from the incessant invasions by Borno.<sup>11</sup> On the whole Gidado's role in the affairs of the state before and after assuming office as Waziri had made him a competent administrator, an astute diplomat and an army general.

Waziri Junaid was a direct descendent of Gidado b. Lema through the former's father Muhammad Buhari son of Ahmadu b. Gidado Lema. The ancestry of Waziri Junaid goes back to Shehu Dan Fodio through Nana Asma'u who was married to Gidado Lema. At a closer link also Junaidu's direct grandfather, Ahmadu married Danfodiyo's granddaughter Aishatu (alias Dammakka) bint Muhammadu Buhari b. Usman Dan Fodio.<sup>12</sup>

Nana Asma'u the learned daughter of Dan Fodio had five sons with Gidado, two of them became *Waziri's* namely Waziri Abdulkadir b. Gidado (1842 - 1859) and Waziri Abdullahi Bayero (1874 - 1886). On the other hand Junaidu's grandfather never became a Waziri. However, Alhaji Junaidu's father Muhammad Buhari was the sixth *Waziri* (1886 - 1910). Waziri Muhammadu Buhari was probably the most notable or remembered *Waziri* after Gidado as rightly observed by Hamid Alkali. He was a man of two eras because he held office before the collapse of the Caliphate system and survived the first decade of

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<sup>10</sup> See M. Bello, *Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur*. C.I.S., 3/1/10. Also Translated and Edited by C.E.I. Whitting (London) 1967 pp.152-153.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Last *op cit* p.153.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix for the geneology of Waziri Junaidu. Also I.J. Sakkwato *op cit* p.3.

colonial rule hence he is referred to as *Sahib al-Wazaratain*.<sup>13</sup>

Waziri Muhammad Buhari had to contend with serious challenges during his tenure. It was during his time in the last decade of the 19th century that the Caliphate was labouring some internal contradictions that had been generated over decades. Such contradictions as we discussed in chapter two of this study had generated socio-political crises in different parts of the Caliphate. Hence, Waziri Buhari occupied most of his time in office trying to resolve dynastic crises that had escalated into civil war such as in Kano in 1893 and Hadejia. The *Waziri* also had to resolve civil unrest and open revolts against the Caliphate's hegemony like the Talata Mafara revolt of 1891 and the Mahdist insurgency in the eastern Emirates of Gombe and Adamawa led by Hayat b. Sa'id and Jibril Gaini. A lot of the crises that Muhammad Buhari had to contend with during his tenure were started in the early 1880 and were therefore inherited from his predecessor.<sup>14</sup>

Most importantly, the colonial challenge was of grave social and political consequences. Waziri Buhari was a member of the aristocracy that witnessed the piecemeal dismantling of the political structure established by Dan Fodio and his lieutenants. Ultimately, it was Muhammadu Buhari who had to take the painful decision, on behalf of the Caliphate to submit to the British authority when Sokoto was occupied in 1903. This issue was also discussed at a relative length in chapter three of this study.<sup>15</sup> Waziri Buhari had been blind for sometime before the colonial occupation of Sokoto and apparently he

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<sup>13</sup> H. Alkali *op cit* p.10.

<sup>14</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 2/1 - 4/1 No. C./14 for the details about Waziri Maccido's deposition and exile. The letter of "voluntary" retirement dated 8 September, 1925.

<sup>15</sup> Ut Supra, p.19

served under the new colonial administration without the use of his sight.<sup>16</sup> When Waziri Buhari died in 1910, Junaidu was just about four years old.

As a small boy, Junaidu was placed under the guardianship of his most senior brothers. This had been an old tradition in the Hausa - Fulani society of Northern Nigeria in order to provide proper training and upbringing to the young ones. It was Muhammad Sambo a brother to the late Waziri Buhari that was appointed the new Waziri but served for only two years (1910 - 1912) and was later removed by the colonial administration as we discussed in chapter four of this research.<sup>17</sup> Abdulkadir Maccido who became Waziri (1912 - 1925) and was the eldest of fifteen sons of Waziri Muhammadu Buhari provided the care and affection to Junaidu.

Junaidu grow up under the care of his brothers with some other children most notable Muhammad Lema, a brother to Junaidu and one Mai Anguwa who was their nephew. By 1925 Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido was retired from office as *Waziri* at the instigation of Sultan Muhammadu Tambari.<sup>18</sup> From then on it was one Ajiya Sambo, a uterine brother (shaqiq) of Junaidu who assumed the responsibility of guardianship of both Junaidu and Lema. As explained by Hamid Alkali, even when Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido was around, Ajiya Sambo used to provide for the material needs and moral guide to the young boys in the *Waziri* family. Ajiya Sambo was reportedly caring and generous especially to Junaidu and Lema. He gave the two boys houses and arranged for their first marriage.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> R.A. Adeleye *op cit* p.45 Also P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province Under Colonial Rule 1903-1939* (A.B.U. Press: Zaria) 1988 p.63.

<sup>17</sup> Ut Supra p.20.

<sup>18</sup> N.A.K., Sokprof 2/1 - 4/1 NO. C.14 for the details about Waziri Maccido's deposition and exile. The letter of "voluntary" retirement dated 8 September, 1925.

<sup>19</sup> H. Alkali p.16.

### HIS EARLY EDUCATIONAL PURSUITS

Waziri Junaidu started his pursuit for education when he was sent to Liman (Abdulkadir) Maccido, the Imam of Bello Mosque and father to the present Liman Muhammadu Bello Akwara, for Qur'anic studies. Junaidu enrolled into the Qur'anic school together with his brother Lema and nephew Mai Anguwa. According to Junaidu's account, it was Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido who sent him to the Qur'anic school when he was six years old probably around 1912 or thereafter.<sup>20</sup> By the time he completed his studies of the Qur'an, Junaidu had attained the age of twelve and the period coincided with the year the 16th Emir of Gwandu Shehu Usman (1918-1938) was installed. At this stage, as we tried to discuss in the sixth chapter, Junaidu must have become conversant with the sound and pronunciation of Arabic letters and expressions to be able to read and memorizes the Qur'an.

It was with this humble educational attainment that Junaidu commenced advanced studies of Arabic and Islamic Studies which represent the *Ilm* stage or High Education. The scholarship career of Junaidu at this stage had started and if continued for the next decades spanning over half a century. Junaidu started the *Ilm* education from his Qur'anic teacher Liman Abdulkadir Maccido and later transferred to Malam Yahaya dan Waziri Halilu one of the distinguished *ulama* in Sokoto.

Waziri Junaidu became exposed to the different branches of knowledge. He got well grounded in Arabic grammar and literature. He learnt the *hadith* (Prophet traditions), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Sira* (biographies of Prophets) *Sufism* and *tawhid* (theology). Junaidu took time at this level of educational pursuit to profoundly study important texts dealing

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p.18.

with varied aspects of knowledge in Islam. Some of the texts included *Usul al-Din* of Shehu Dan Fodio, *al-Qurtaba* of Yahaya Qurtabi and *al-Akhdari* of AbdulRahman b. Sagiri. The rest were *al-Ashmawi* of AbdulRahman b. Sagiri. The rest were *al-Ashmawi* of Abd al-Bar al-Ashmawi, *al-Risalah* of Abi Zayd and al-Fazazi's *Ishriniyyah*.<sup>21</sup> These books were of immense benefit as they serve as introductory sources to the intermediate level of Islamic studies where one is expected to study books like the *Samaruddani fi taqrib al-Ma'ani*, and *Kifayat al-Talib and al-Adawi*, all the texts being commentaries of the *Risala*, Similarly at the intermediate level one is expected to study the book on jurisprudence *Mukhtasar* of Khalil b. Ishaq with its commentary the *Jawahir al-Iklil* by Salih Abdussami.

In the course of his studies Junaidu read the *Shu'ara* by Imru'ul Kaisi, the *Muqamata* of Al-Hariri and *al-Daliyyah* of Imam Abi Hassan under the guidance of Malam Yahaya dan Waziri. He also read under his nephew, Malam Yahaya Nawawi who was a son of Junaidu's brother Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido. Subsequently Junaidu was also taught by the notable Malam Bube. The texts learnt by Junaidu included *Mulhat al-Li'rab* of Imam Jamaludeen, Abdullahi b. Fodio's books *Hisnal rasin fi al-tabrif* and *Ashiriyatu* as well as the *Al-Fiyyah* of Ibn Malik. Some of texts enumerated just above deal with Arabic literature drawn from the classical Arab poets while some like Abdullahi Fodio's *Hisnal rasin* is on linguistics.

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<sup>21</sup>

*Ibid* p.19. Also see S.W. Junaidu "The Sakkwato Legacy of Arabic Scholarship in Verse Between 1800-1890@ Ph.D. Thesis, London 1985.

As reported by Hamid Alkali, by the time Junaidu moved to study under Malam Bube, he had been solidly grounded in Arabic language and had acquired appreciable proficiency to read and understand several texts on branches of Islamic studies.<sup>22</sup> One could confidently speak of Junaidu as a scholar considering his exposure to several fields of knowledge and the many *malams* he had studied under. Junaidu started to attract students who came for lessons especially on Arabic language. When he was a student, Junaidu distinguished himself for quick understanding and ability to commit to memory most of what he had learnt. This perhaps explained why Junaidu excelled in memorizing many of the poems of pre-Islamic Arabic composed by poets like Imru'ul Qais, Zuhair, Tarafah, al-Nabingha and Antar b. Shaddad. The sharp memory possessed by Junaidu had greatly aided him in his teaching especially when he lost sight sometime in 1976. Since then he had been teaching his adult students off - head including the detail teaching of some commentary texts like the *Irshad al-Sari* on Sahih al-Bukhari until his death in January, 1997.<sup>23</sup>

Alhaji Junaidu might have started teaching in his early thirties probably when he was 31 years old. It was when Junaidu was 31 that his teacher Modibbo (Malam) Bube died in 1351 A.H. (1937 C.E.). In order to complete his studies of the books he started under Malam Buba Junaidu went to another "*Alim* (Malam) this time it was the famous Alfa Nuhu. He came from a place in present day Mali Republic and settled in Sokoto after a sojourn in other parts of Hausaland. Junaidu learnt from Alfa Nuhu the important book *al-Jawhar al-Maknun* dealing with the science of *Balagha* (rhetories). Alhaji Junaidu was learning under Alfa Nuhu until the late 1930s when he engaged himself in self study as well

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<sup>22</sup> H. Alkali *op cit* p.21.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p.22.



as teaching that would place him among the notable scholars in Northern Nigeria in the 20th century.<sup>24</sup>

### **LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS AND HIS ROLE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE**

By now one could acknowledge that Waziri Junaid had devoted more than the first three decades of his life learning from various scholars. So that by 1939 to be precise, Waziri Junaidu was recognised in the Sokoto society as a scholar in his own right. However, commitment to the acquisition and dispensation of knowledge which is the bedrock of any intellectual endeavour, had become part of the tradition in the house of the *Waziri* of Sokoto. Beginning from the time of Gidado dan Lema the promotion of learning and scholarship had been upheld over several decades. Waziri Junaidu was therefore engaged in the upliftment of the age long scholarly reputation which the Gidados had become famous in. The role of Junaidu had been in the area of teaching at the formal schools established by the colonialists as well as at the *Ilm* school which involved teaching of adult students in his house. Most significantly Waziri Junaidu made immense contributions in form of literary output as we shall establish in due course.

Junaidu's first appointment in the public service was in 1939 when he became a teacher of Arabic and Islamic studies at the Women Training Centre, Sokoto (W.T.C.). Among his students was the wife of the late Premier of Northern Nigeria Sir Ahmadu Bello called Aminatu (alias Goggon Kano).<sup>25</sup> Between 1940 and 1942 he taught at Sokoto Middle School. Some of his students at the Middle School included important personalities like

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid* p.23.

<sup>25</sup> I.J. Sakkwato *op cit* pp 19-20 for the list of his students at W.T.C. Sokoto and Middle School, Sokoto.

the former President Shehu Shagari, the former Sultan, Ibrahim Dasuki (1988 - 1996) and the present Sultan, Muhamadu Maccido. The rest were the two renown scholars we shall consider in this chapter namely the late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gummi and the late Professor (Sheikh) Haliru Binji and also taught by Waziri Junaidu were the late Emir of Yauri Muhammadu Tukur and former Minister Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau.<sup>26</sup>

Junaidu's career in the teaching profession was further promoted when he became the Headmaster of the Khadi School where he had been teaching since 1947. The Khadi School was one of the institutions like the *Shahuci* Judicial School at Kano established to train judicial personnel in the Muslim Emirates of Northern Nigeria. At Khadi School, also both Sheikh Gummi and Sheikh Binji were taught by Alhaji Junaidu. In recognition of his knowledge of the *Sharia* legal code, the Sultan's Council in 1946 appointed Dr. Junaidu as its Jurist-consult. The main responsibility of Junaidu at that time, was to advise the Sultan's Council to decide on appeal cases coming from the lower courts.

It was from 1945 that Waziri Junaidu served the government of Northern Region in different capacities most particularly as an expert on issues affecting Islam and the Muslims from the North. Junaidu was a member of a committee that investigated cases of hardships suffered by Nigerian Pilgrims in the Sudan and Saudi Arabia. The committee which also comprised the *Ciroman* Kano and later Emir of Kano (1954-1963) the late Muhammad Sanusi and (the *Wali* of Borno) Alhaji Muhammadu Ngileruma, former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia undertook tour of some foreign countries which enabled members to study the situation on ground and pass appropriate recommendations to the

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p.19.

government.<sup>27</sup> He was appointed *Wazirin* Sokoto in 1948 to succeed his elder brother Waziri Abbas (1928 - 1948) who died in December, 1948. The new position of Waziri elevated the position of Junaidu which made him a senior councillor on the Sultan's Council. He was in charge of the central administration and all the district heads were responsible to him.

Junaidu's responsibility of Emirate Administration was further strengthened when he was elected a member of the Northern House of Assembly in 1951. It was also at the same year that Sir Ahmadu Bello, later the Premier was elected.<sup>28</sup> In 1957, Dr. Junaidu resigned from the House of Assembly to become a special member and Adviser on *sharia* (Islamic Affairs) to the Northern House of Chiefs. He succeeded the *Wazirin* Zazaau, Muhammad Lawal, who died on 10th October, 1956.<sup>29</sup> Alhaji Junaidu served in that position until 1966 when the House was dissolved as a result of first Military coup which brought the First Republic in Nigeria to a sudden end.

The assignments executed by Dr. Junaidu under the regional government had to do with issues particularly in the area of Islamic education and the *Sharia*. As a great educationist, Dr. Junaidu was among those who were instrumental in the execution of the integration of Islamic and Western Education Programme pursued by the regional government of Sir Ahmadu Bello in the early 1960s. In this regard, Dr. Junaidu and some other educationists in the North toured some Muslim countries such as Libya, Sudan, and Egypt at the instance of the regional government to study the educational system of those

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<sup>27</sup> See J.N. Paden, *AHMADU BELLO Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria* (Hudahuda: Zaria) 1986 pp.278-311.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* p. 165.

<sup>29</sup> Oral Information by Ambassador Nuhu Muhammad, Son of Waziri Lawal in H. Alkali *op cit* note - 22 p.90.

countries. The report of the committee provided the blue print for the establishment of Islamiyyah schools and Arabic Teachers' Colleges in different parts of Northern Nigeria. In Sokoto province, the first of such schools to be established was the College of Arts and Arabic Studies later Arabic Teachers' College (now Sheikh Abubakar Gummi Memorial College) in January, 1963. The objective of the school was to train Arabic and Islamic Studies teachers and provide judicial personnel (alkalai) to serve the entire province.<sup>30</sup>

The interest shown by Dr. Junaidu and his comitment to issues that affected Islam made him a universally acknowledged Islamist. Hence in 1963 he was appointed Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Islamic Affairs set up by the Premier. This assignment brought Junaidu closer to Ahmadu Bello, the Premier and according to Paden the two had been long-time friends since the time they were teachers at the Middle School.<sup>31</sup> Dr. Junaidu used to travel with the Premier (the Sardauna of Sokoto) on the "Islamization tours" to many of the places in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria where extensive conversion campaigns were conducted.<sup>32</sup> In addition, Junaidu was part of the Sardauna's team that visited some countries in North Africa, the Middle East and some Muslim countries in West Africa. During these trips the countries visted included Guinea and Senegal in West Africa, Morocco, Libya and Egypt in North Africa and Iraq, Jordan and Jerusalem in the Middle East.<sup>33</sup> Also as a learned jurist, Dr. Junaidu headed the Committee of Muslim Jurists from the North which worked out a new penal code under which at the

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Malam Ibrahim Sifawa (36 years) Principal Sheikh Gumi Memorial College, Sokoto 1st July, 1997.

<sup>31</sup> J.N. Paden *AHMADU BELLO...op cit. p.123.*

<sup>32</sup> J.N. Paden, *IAhmadu Bello op cit p.77.*

<sup>33</sup> See I.J. Sakkwato, *op cit* chapter six, pp 31-42 for a documented version of the travels of Dr. Waziri Junaidu.

instance of the colonial authorities some fundamental principles of *Sharia* as they affected criminal offences were reformed to conform with the secular socio-political superstructure introduced or imposed by the colonialists. One may wish to comment that the 1959 reform of the sharia was a great set back to the Muslims in the North. It set in a process for the gradual annihilation of the provisions of the *sharia* in the Muslim Emirates which apparently had been the long time ambition of Lord Lugard.

In the area of scholarly activities, the official engagements of Waziri Junaidu did not prevent him from teaching students and writing. According to Hamid Alkali the *Waziri* taught almost every discipline at the *Ilm* school.<sup>34</sup> In particular the areas of Islamic studies which Junaidu taught included:

*diyanat*, Qur'anic and Hadith studies, Arabic languages, literature, *tawhid*, mysticism, history and biography, government and administration and others.<sup>35</sup>

Alot of the literary works of the Sokoto Jihad scholars such as Usman Dan Fodio, Abdullahi b. Fodio, Muhammad Bello and Abdulkadir b. al-Mustafa (Dan Tafa)<sup>36</sup> to mention just a few were taught by Waziri Junaidu. Some of the works identified were the Shehu Dan Fodio's *Ihya al-Sunnah*,<sup>37</sup> *Usul al-Deen*,<sup>38</sup> *Tanbih al-Ikhwān*<sup>39</sup> and *Najm*,

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<sup>34</sup> H. Alkali p.93.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> See A.M. Kani, "The Life and Works of Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa: A Critical Edition of His Works and Historiographical Approach". *Ph.D. Thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria 1987.

<sup>37</sup> I.A.B. Balogun, *The Life and Works of Uthman Dan Fodio (The Muslim Reformer of West Africa)* Islamic Publications Bureau: Lagos 1975.

<sup>38</sup> Translated as *Handbook on Islam Iman Ihsan* by °A'isha °Abd ar-Rahman al-Tarjumana (Diwan Press: Suffolk) 1978.

<sup>39</sup> Usman Dan Fodio, *Tanbih al-Ikhwān ala Ahwal ard al-Sudan* Mss at C.I.S. 1/12/193.

*al-Ikhwān*.<sup>40</sup> There were also Abdullahi b. Fodio's *Diya al-Hukkam*<sup>41</sup>, *Tazyin al-Waraqat*,<sup>42</sup> and *al-Hisn al-Rasin*<sup>43</sup> among others. Among the works of Muhammad Bello taught by Junaidu include *Shifa al-Asqam*,<sup>44</sup> *Raf al-Ishtibah*<sup>45</sup> and *Birr al-Walidain*.<sup>46</sup> As a historian on the Sokoto Caliphate, Waziri Junaidu was at home with works such as Muhammad Bello's *Sar al-Kalam fi ma Jara baini wa bai Abd as-Salam*<sup>47</sup> and Abdulkadir Dantafa's *Rawdat al-Afkar*<sup>48</sup> on the early history of Hausaland and the 19th century Jihad events. The *Waziri* also taught several of his works that he wrote on history such as *Dabt al-Multaqatat*<sup>49</sup>, on mysticism like *Diwan al-tawassulat*<sup>50</sup> and on the Fulfulde grammar such as *Marta al-azhan 'ala lughat al-Fullan*.<sup>51</sup> The works of Junaidu on the aspects of Fulfulde language so far recovered numbered at least five. The large body of literary works

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<sup>40</sup> Usman Dan Fodio, *Tanbih al-Ikhwān* Mss at C.I.S., 1/10/174.

<sup>41</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Diya al-Hukkam fi ma lahun wa alayhim min al-ahkam*, Post-Graduate Research Room, B.U.K. Mss No. 107 also Mss at C.I.S. 2/5/66, 67, 68.

<sup>42</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Tazyin al-Waraqat bi jam ba'd mali Man al-Abyat*. Edited and translated by M. Hiskett, (University Press: Ibadan) 1963.

<sup>43</sup> Abdullahi b. Fodio, *Hisn al-Rasin*, Mss available at Waziri Junaidu Library, Sokoto (W.J.L.) uncatalogue.

<sup>44</sup> Muhammad Belo, *Shifa al-Asqam fi Madar al-Ahakam*, Mss at C.I.S. 3/8/102. 103.

<sup>45</sup> Muhammad Bello, *Raf al-Ishtibahi fi altahiqi billah wabi ahali allahi*, Mss at History Bureau, Sokoto, No. A.M.S.S. 2/45/695 also at C.I.S., 3/5/66.

<sup>46</sup> Muhammad Bello, *Birr al-Walidain*, Mss available at Waziri Junaidu Library, Sokoto (W.J.L.), uncatalogue.

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Bello, *Sard al-Kalam fi ma jara baynana wa bayna Abd al-Salam*, P.G. Research Room, B.U.K. Kano, Mss No. 18, and at C.I.S. 3/9/131.

<sup>48</sup> *Raudat al-Afkar*: See A.M. Kani "The Life and Works of Abd al-Qadir b. Al-Mustafa... *op cit*.

<sup>49</sup> *Dabt al-Multaqatat min akhbar al-Muta farikat fi al-Mu'alaifat*, Mss at C.I.S., 4/1/23, translated as *Tarihin Fulani* (Gaskiya: Zaria) 1959

<sup>50</sup> *Diwan al-tawassulat*: Mss available at Waziri Junaidu Library (W.J.L.) Sokoto.

<sup>51</sup> Mss available at Waziri Junaidu Library (W.J.L.) Sokoto.

by Alhaji Junaidu which have so far come to light have been estimated at more than sixty. It is hoped that future researches especially in the area of intellectual tradition shall be of immense significance to enable us know much details about the works of Dr. Junaidu.<sup>52</sup>

The acquisition of knowledge and its dissemination was adopted as an all time activity by Waziri Junaidu. This explained why inspite of the private teaching that he gave, Junaidu was engaged in self study and as he said "I also went to other scholars, whenever there is the need to acquire one form of learning or the other."<sup>53</sup> It was this intellectual alertness that enabled Dr. Junaidu to produce the large stock of learned articles, poems and books. As an intellectual with a sense of history, Junaidu attached much importance to documentation of his ideas which have now been bequeathed to the present and future generations. Most of the research works of the *Wazirin* Sokoto Junaidu are in Arabic with few in Fulfulde and fewer in Hausa.

The wide variety of areas of knowledge that the works of Waziri Junaidu touched upon could be explained by his perception of what is knowledge and its process of transmission. Dr. Junaidu's writings had been on history, prose, travelogue, translations commentary and Fulfulde grammar. Waziri Junaidu's view about knowledge and scholarship was shaped by Islam. Hence teaching and learning is seen as an act of worship and that to learn is an important religious duty on Muslims. In line with the Prophetic *Hadith* or saying that knowledge is a universal asset that belongs to humanity hence Muslims are enjoined to seek for knowledge in any part of the world. This must have influenced his view of knowledge as reflected in many of Junaidu's ideas. At one occasion the *Waziri* made the

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<sup>52</sup> The list of atleast sixty works of Waziri Junaidu is provided in the appendix section of I.J. Sakkwato *op cit*

<sup>53</sup> Oral Information in H. Alkali *op cit* p.95.

assertion concerning knowledge when he said:

"I am aware that ideas in one generation and one culture interpenetrate with those of another. The ideas of Ibn Khaldun who died in the 15 century live in today's social science. And the philosophy of Ibn Rushd of Arab Spain dominated Western Europe for centuries after his death, while the views of "Time proof of Islam", Al-Ghazali were echoed in the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas".<sup>54</sup>

In spite of its universal character both in time and space, knowledge according to Junaidu "has a social and cultural stamp"<sup>55</sup> and a strong commitment to a particular world view. In line with this argument the University of Sankore in Timbuktu of old Mali Empire was cited as an example to demonstrate the social relevance of knowledge. The 15th century university was a centre of religious and literary learning that attracted learned and pious scholars from parts of *bilad al-Sudan*. The extent to which the Sankore served the local community tied the two closely to each other. It trained judges, teachers, administrators and a host of other functionaries of the state of Songhai at that time. In a nutshell the University according to Junaidu, "was the symbol of the spirit of the community, the guardian of its moral and the formulator of its hopes and aspirations".<sup>56</sup> The Sankore University was established to promote the self-possession of the Songhai society and to strengthen the social virtues despite the manifold contacts of the local society with the outside world. The *ulama* (teachers/scholars) did not establish the "ivory tower" tradition because they were part of the local society, in fact, the *Ulama* of Timbuktu as explained by

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<sup>54</sup> Alhaji Junaidu "The Relevance of the University to our Society" Speech of Acceptance, A.B.U. Press No. Zaria 1972.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*.



Waziri Junaidu "formed a single and continuous world"<sup>57</sup> complimenting each other with the local society.

The modern universities in Nigeria at that time lamented Dr. Junaidu were "a cultural transplant whose roots lie in another tradition".<sup>58</sup> Apparently, as observed by Junaidu the universities had been struggling under the neo-colonial situation to adjust and genuinely indigenised their programmes because many of them since independence appeared "to belong to us only in their location and in their names"<sup>59</sup>. One may wish to remark at this stage that while some of the universities in Nigeria especially from the mid 1970s when the so-called second generation universities were established by the Murtala regime have attempted to incorporate some relevant "local ideas" in their academic programmes, some are still lagging behind in this drive. The criticisms of Junaidu of our modern universities is still of immense significance. For instance in the early 1970s, the universities were criticised for not paying attention to the teaching of "African ideas and moral systems" in the humanities curricular. It is a matter of regret, that over the years especially as from the mid 1980s the tendency in Nigeria has been to discourage the teaching of the humanities disciplines through the discriminatory policy of Nigerian government of 60:40 ratio in favour of the natural sciences.

From the accounts we have so far presented, it is clear that Junaidu acquired his educational training under the traditional system of scholarship. He became a scholar par excellence who based on his records of achievements particularly literary contributions had

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57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid*

59 *Ibid.*

demonstrated his commitment to the promotion of Islamic learning. What distinguished Waziri Junaidu from other traditional Muslim scholars in the area of our study was that he had been in the forefront to establish a strong link between the Islamic (traditional) education with the Western type of education. The various roles that he played as a school teacher, headmaster and education administrator justified the confidence of the education officers under both the colonial and post-colonial administration in Dr. Junaidu's competence and commitment. As far as Junaidu was concerned education of whatever type as long as it aims at the total development of the individual and the society, then it is good and socially relevant. This is what Junaidu said about education.

... when I talk of education, I do not distinguish one type of education from another. To me, the traditional education and the so-called Western Education are both facets of the something. It is either education or not education.<sup>60</sup>

Apparently, Dr. Junaidu falls within the category of scholars in colonial Nigeria who "bridged the gap" between the traditional and modern, between the old cherished values and the contemporary tangible innovations for socio-economic progress. He was among the few intellectuals since the colonial era who attempted to marry our good past with the contemporary for the society to forge ahead. Junaidu's ideas about education were influenced by his perception of social life as a continuous process that would persist in the "world" beyond the present reality. Hence, he subscribed to the idea that education is "any type of training aimed at the balance growth of the total personality of man through the training of man's spirit, intellect, rational self, feelings and bodily senses".<sup>61</sup> Typical of

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<sup>60</sup> Waziri Junaidu, "Speech on the occasion of the award of the Nigerian National Merit", 1st October, 1981 in H. Alkali, *op cit* Appendix II p.152.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid* p.154.

some past Muslim philosophers, especially Al-Ghazzali, Dr. Junaidu asserted that the aim of education should be the "total development of man". Education should instil virtues in man to make him an "ideal creature", the vicegerent of Allah that he ought to be in this world. True education according to Dr. Junaidu must be "balanced education" concern with all aspects of life, spiritual and mundane. It should not be concerned with the body at the expense of the spirit, nor should it be the other way round.<sup>62</sup>

Seemingly, Waziri Junaidu was quite critical of materialistic tendencies which is the hall mark of secular education promoted by the Nigerian state.<sup>63</sup> Paper qualifications often attained through corrupt practices under the secular education only enhance the material comfort of the individual at the expense of spiritual upliftment and invariably that eroded the value basis of the society. In this regard, Dr. Junaidu advocated the teaching of a wide variety of disciplines in physical and social sciences, in religion, ethics and morality as well as civics. There should not be strict compartmentalisation in education purportedly to train an expert who ultimately may be morally bankrupt because the expert is short of spiritual training. Dr. Junaidu puts it this way:

The warning is there on the wall, we have seen for long people very well "educated" under the present fragmented type of education whose education does not very much make them better human beings. Of course, their materially oriented education made them materially comfortable, but it made them spiritually bankrupt.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p.155.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

At this juncture, one can write that the strong commitment of Waziri Junaidu demonstrated through his immense scholarly contributions further indicate more aspects of continuity. In fact, a parallel can be drawn between Waziri Buhari, an intellectual who led the caliphate out of the crisis it faced in 1903 at Marnona, and Waziri Junaidu who played a similar role between the 1950s and 1960s at Kaduna. The two intellectuals endeavoured at their respective epochs proffer sound judgements for the community to forge a head.

In 1903, Marnona served as a centre or point of taking a critical decision on behalf of the state by Waziri Buhari. We discussed already in chapter three that, Waziri Buhari broke red an agreement which led to the restoration of the caliphate, albeit, under restricted autonomy which was fully sanctioned by the new overlords. That translated into the indirect rule system under which some old indigeneous institutions and Islamic values were allowed to persist in administration of the caliphate. It was thanks to this arrangement that the old system has persisted to the present day.

Similarly, it was Waziri Junaidu serving as a Jurist consult to the parliament of the Northern Region, who provided the input for many of the reforms in education and the *sharia* that were adopted by the government of the late Premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the *Sardauna* of Sokoto. The many tours to some Muslim countries undertaken by some notable *ulama* under the leadership of Waziri Junaidu at the instance of the regional government, was instrumental to the implementation of the programmes for the integration of the Islamic system in education and judiciary. Waziri Junaidu like scholarly predecessor and incidentally his father, the *Waziri* Buhari, was able to guide the parliament to forge a marriage of convenience between the old and the new systems. He served as a bridge

between the old caliphate system which is based on the principles of Islam and the new secular system introduced by the British.

The intellectual achievements of Waziri Junaidu had been recognized by all up to the contemporary times. For instance, he was widely recognized as an authority on the history of the Sokoto Caliphate and the *bilad al-Sudan* region. This explained why many modern day scholars used to troop to his house for historical information. The personal library of Dr. Junaidu had been serving as a repository of historical materials and artifacts. He reportedly made enormous contribution in the establishment of the Sokoto State History Bureau which has been named after him.<sup>65</sup>

The rich collection of scholarly works available at the *Waziri* residence assisted Dr. Junaidu in his pursuit of scholarship. According to Hamid Alkali, Dr. Junaidu never even travelled outside Sokoto for his studies. This was because he was within the reach of the intellectual materials for learning.<sup>66</sup> Most significantly also most of learned *Malams* who taught Junaidu were resident in Sokoto . We consider below atleast four of such *Malams* who taught Junaidu.

#### **Some Other Notable Ulama of Sokoto**

The four notable *ulama* who taught Dr. Junaidu namely Malam (Liman) Abdulkadir Maccido, Malam Yahaya dan Waziri Halilu, Malam Yahaya (Nawawi) dan Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido and Modibbo Abubakar Bube were intellectuals of fame in the Sokoto area. Malam Abubakar Bube in particular had made a name in the whole of Sokoto province as a grammarian, Linguist and Poet. There is little as regards the documentation of the early life of Modibbo Bube. He was born in a place called Masalma which was

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<sup>65</sup> Oral Information by Dr. M.I. Junaid.

<sup>66</sup> H. Alkali *op cit* p.96.

located to the West of Gwandu, the capital of the Western of the Sokoto Caliphate. As a student, Malam Bube was reportedly taught by Qadi Ahmad Sa'id among others.<sup>67</sup> It could be recalled that Qadi Ahmad was the scholar who provided the *fatwa* (learned opinion/judgement) on Waziri Muhammadu Buhari's decision to reconcile with the British conquerors. Modibbo Bube was said to have studied most of the aspects of Arabic grammar, morphology, prosody, rhetoric and literature. In addition, he also learnt about logic, and little mathematics (*hisab*), mysticism and medicine.<sup>68</sup>

From the list of the numerous books it is clear that Modibbo Bube was widely read. In grammar Malam Bube was said to have read important texts like the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Malik, *Mulhaqat al-li'irab*, *Qatrul - nadah*, *Kitabul Ajrumiyah* and *Kitabul Kafiyah*. In the field of morphology Malam Bube studied *Lamiyat al-Afal* and *Kitab al-Hisni al-rasin* of Abdullahi b. Fodio. In the area of rhetoric it was the *Kitab al-Uqudul Jiman* and the *Kitab al-talkhisul Miftah* that were read by Modibbo Abubakar Bube. The text on prosody studied by Malam Bube was the *Kitab al-Khazuriyi* likewise the *Kitab ul-Silmi* and the *Kitab ul-Miftahul Magluq fi'l ilmil Mentiq* authored by Sheikh Al-Akhaduri were the books Malam Bube studied in prosody. Among the texts in jurisprudence Bube studied were *Kitab ul-Kankabul Sati'i* and *Kitab al-Waraqat* both written by Sheikh Juwaini.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to the scholarly exposure to the branches of knowledge above, Malam Bube got well grounded through the study of the science of hadith in which he read the

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<sup>67</sup> See S.W. Junaidu, "*Shaikh Abubakar Bube wa I'bkhirayitihish Shi'iriyati fi Masi al-Waziri Muhammad al-Bukhari wa amir Kasshina Muhammad Dikko*" Presented at Islamic University Nigeria Republic, 1997 p.3.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Y.M. Al-Amin, "*al-Ustazh Abubakar Babe wa Massahatihi fil al-lughatil Arabiyyah*" B.A. Project (Arabic) Sokoto 1983. pp.4-5.

Kitab ul Yaqubiyah on the six sound books of hadith. As regard the exegesis of the holy Qur'an he studied the books of Abdullahi b. Fodio in this field namely *Kitab ul-Fara'i dul Jalilah, Miflahul Tafsir, Kitab ul Shaushawi* and *Diya'ul tawil fi ma'ani tanzil*.<sup>70</sup>

Modibbo Abubakar Bube started teaching students from the time he was at his village of Masalma and later moved to Sanyinna, one of the *ribats* (garrison towns or frontier settlements) around Sokoto.<sup>71</sup>

In 1903, it was reported that Malam Bube wanted to migrate to Mecca apparently to escape the rule of the infidels in our area of study. It was when he reached Sokoto that he was requested by Waziri Buhari to abandon the idea of leaving the land of the defunct Caliphate.<sup>72</sup> He was told by Waziri Buhari that people would benefit immensely from his knowledge. Ultimately, Malam Bube was convinced and he resolved to stay during which he became a well known scholar with many students among whom was Dr. Junaidu. Even though he decided to live under the British rule, he was one of the scholars who vowed not to have anything to do with the white colonizers. He avoided all types of contact with the Europeans the British in Sokoto.<sup>73</sup>

Sheikh Bube during his life time devoted considerable attention to teaching and learning. Some other aspects of his scholarly career involved a little literary activity. As a linguist and poet Malam Bube as reported composed a number of poems many of which are yet to be recovered. However, an outstanding poem, Malam Bube composed was that in praise of the leadership qualities, scholarship and integrity of two important leaders in

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<sup>70</sup> S.W. Junaid, "Shaikh Abubakar Bube... *op cit* p.4

<sup>71</sup> See M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate...op cit*.

<sup>72</sup> S.W. Junaidu, "Shaikh Bube...*op cit*.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*.

the Sokoto Caliphate namely Waziri Muhammad Buhari and the Emir of Katsina Muhammad Dikko.<sup>74</sup>

As we indicated earlier it was in the area of teaching that Malam Bube made a name. The school of Malam Bube in Sokoto was a centre of learning that drew many students from far and near within Sokoto province and beyond the frontiers of modern Nigeria. Hence some students of Malam Bube came from Kano, Adamawa and the present day Republic of Cameroon. There were such names like Malam Bello Gelegal, Malam Sarki, Dan-Galadima Chacho, Malam Ishaq from Kano, who was a father to Malam Sulaima, an *alkali* (judge) of Upper Area Court in Kano and Malam Tukur Ngaundere who came from Ngaundere in the Cameroons. The rest included Malam Hussaini Yola and Malam Yahya Mayobelwa both from Adamawa province and also Malam Muhammadu Beka Maidinki who came from Beka in the Cameroons. Malam Yahaya Mayobelwa reportedly settled in Sokoto after his studies until his death.<sup>75</sup>

Some of the students of Malam Bube were evidently quite elderly. Among such students were Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido who learned the *Kitab ul Khararaji* in the area of prosody. There was also Ibrahim Maigandi Ibn Amirul Muminin (Sarkin Musulmi) Attahiru Ahmadu. Ibrahim was the father of Abubakar Maikaturu a renown poet who composed Hausa poems criticising the colonial system in Northern Nigeria. We have discussed some of the works and contributions of Malam Maikaturu in previous chapter of this study.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Malam Ishaq Kano was another senior student of Malam Bube

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> H. Alkali *op cit* p.22.

<sup>76</sup> See Chapter II of this study.



because as explained by Sambo Junaidu, Malam Ishaq was already a scholar in his own right at Kano but still came to Sokoto and registered himself among the students of Sheikh Bube. Also some other notable senior students of Malam Bube were Alfa Nuhu, Malam Yahaya Nawawi, Malam Muhammadu Azare from Katagun Emirate in Bauchi province and Malam Auwalu Abu Muhammadu Ranganda.

It could be recalled that as we mentioned elsewhere above that Alfa Nuhu and Malam Yahaya Nawawi were among the learned scholars in Sokoto under whom Waziri Junaidu read some books. Infact it was after the death of Malam Bube that Waziri Junaidu transferred to Alfa Nuhu being one of the senior students of late Malam Bube. Alfa Nuhu was a very intelligent student of Malam Bube who used to engage his teacher sometimes in long intellectual discussions. Another senior student of Malam Bube, Malam Auwalu Ranganda was said to be a pious man to the extent that some people in Sokoto regarded him a Saint. He was very much opposed to the colonial order in operation during his time. He was said to be walking with his eyes fixed at his fingers nails of his two legs until he reached his destinations. This was meant to prevent him from seeing any forbidden thing if he were to be looking up to any direction. At a particular time Malam Auwalu made up his mind to undertake a journey to Mecca for pilgrimage. The plan to travel by Malam Auwalu was said to have drawn a large crowd from Sokoto who wanted to follow him. It was at this point that the colonial authorities became suspicious and arrested the Malam. He was falsely accused of being a Mahdi and sent to the prison. After his release from the prison he continued to stay in Sokoto until his death during the reign of Sultan Muhammadu Tambari (1924 - 1931).<sup>77</sup>

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H. Alkali *op cit* p.24 and Interview with Dr. A. B. Yahya, 25th October, 1997.

Malam Yahaya Nawawi was also taught by Malam Bube. Interestingly Malam Bube was also a teacher to Waziri Abdulkadir (Maccido) the father of Malam Yahaya Nawawi. Malam Nawawi was among the Sokoto intelligentsia in the 20th century who participated in the colonial administration. He served as a teacher, Headmaster and a provincial chief judge (Alkalin Lardi). Malam Yahaya Nawawi taught at the Middle School Sokoto and later headed the Khadi School. It was after he served as a provincial chief judge that the Sokoto N.A. appointed him as the Inspector of Area Courts with the title of *Walin Sokoto* in the 1940s.<sup>78</sup>

In the field of scholarship, Malam Nawawi was a renowned specialist in Arabic language and jurisprudence. It was from Nawawi as we explained somewhere in this chapter above that Waziri Junaidu learnt the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Malik a text on Arabic grammar and some *tawhid* (theology) books such as Sanusi al-Burhan's *Aqidat ahl al-tawhid al-Sughra* also called Umm al-Barahim and simply referred to as *al-Sunusiya*, other books were al-Muqarri's *Ida'at al-Dujanna* and *Nafn al-Deeb*. At another stage when Waziri Junaidu terminated his studies under Alfa Nuhu al-Masini because of an incidence between Alfa Nuhu and the Sokoto aristocracy<sup>79</sup> during the reign of Sultan Hassan dan Mu'azu (1931 - 1938) it was Malam Yahaya Nawawi who resumed teaching Junaidu to complete the texts he was studying. For the second time Malam Yahaya Nawawi taught Junaidu some advanced text on theology one of which was al-Jami'u by Malam Ali Jabbo. This work is a commentary on the *Lamiyyat al-Af'al* by Jamal al-Din Muhammad b. Abdulahi.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> See. H. Alkali *op cit* p.23-24.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Jamal al-Din Muhammad b. Abdulahi al-Ta'i al-Jayani (d.671 A.D./1273 A.H.). Also Ali Jabbo was a pupil of Umar B. Muhammad b. Abubakar al-Toroddi a Resident of Kebbi. See A.D.H. Bivar & M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria 1904: a provisional account" *B.S.O.A.S.*,

It was to the credit of Junaidu's teacher Malam Nawawi that the former came to succeed the latter in some of the positions Malam Nawawi held in public establishments.

Meanwhile, one can assume with some confidence that Malam Nawawi's successful career in the area of scholarship could be attributed partly to his family background. His father was Waziri Abdulkadir (Maccido) son of Waziri Muhammadu Buhari son of Ahmadu son of Waziri Usman Gidado son of Abubakar Sambo Laima. In short the father of Nawawi Waziri Abdulkadir came from the scholarly Gidado family and by extension Malam Nawawi was a descendent of the learned Waziri Gidado dan Laima. Abdulkadir Maccido was in Sokoto around 1871 A.D.<sup>81</sup>.

Waziri Abdulkadir was taught by such notable *ulama* like Malam Abdullahi b. Ishaq in Sokoto and Malam Sani Zaria. It was in Zaria that Waziri Abdulkadir learnt/studied the *Zahih al-Bukhari*. He served first as the *Dangaladiman Waziri*, a post normally held by an aristocrat considered "heir apparent" to the Wazirate. Hence, when his uncle, Waziri Muhammad Sambo resigned in 1912, Abdulkadir Maccido was appointed the new Waziri. Unfortunately, Maccido had to resign also in 1920 as a result of some political problems emanating from his relation with the Sultan (Muhammadu Tambari) at that time.<sup>82</sup> He was sent on exile to a village called Gandi. The former Waziri according to a source was involed in scholarly activities while living at Gandi. He used to teach the people

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NO.xxii, 2, pp 324-349.

<sup>81</sup> See S.W. Junaidu, "*Min nawabikhu shi'iril arabi al-Nijeryyyi: Wazir Abd al-Qadir Maccido wa Khasidatuhul ba'iyah*" Unpublished paper, July 1997 (Muharram 1417 A.D.). Also Yahya Muhammad Al-Amin "*Wizira'u Sakkwato wa masahamatuhum fil lughatil Arabiyah*" M.A. Thesis (Arabic), B.U.K. 1988.

<sup>82</sup> Interview, Alhaji Bello Gidadawa (85 years) The *Dangaladiman Waziri* of Sokoto, 25 February, 1997. Alaho Yahya M. Al-Amin *Ibid* p.31, H.Alkali, *op cit* and P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province Under Colonial Rule 1903-1939*, (A.B.U., Press: Zaria) 1998.

many aspects of the religion of Islam. Infact, the former was a reputable jurist so that after his stay at Gandi and later at Kaduna he returned to Sokoto during the reign of sultan Hassan Dan Mu'azu (1931 - 1938) when he was appointed a *Khadi* (alkali: Judge).<sup>83</sup> Abdulkadir Maccido also had some literary works to his credit some of them as listed by both Yahaya al-Amin and Sambo Junaidu included: *Tabshir al-Ikhwan* on the history and biographies of the Sultans' of Sokoto up to the period of Hassan Dan Mu'azu; *Sard al-la'li Malam al-Kami* which was a poem on admonition and the last but not the least was *Minhu al-Wahab* a commentary that Maccido wrote on one of his poems.<sup>84</sup> Waziri Abdulkadir Maccido died in 1933.

Another intellectual among the sons of Waziri Abdulkadir is Alhaji Bello Gidadawa, the present *Dangaladiman Waziri*. We made reference to Bello Gidadawa in our discussion in a previous chapter of this study. Alhaji Bello is the 10th *Dangaladiman Waziri* of Sokoto. He was born at Gidadawa in Sokoto city sometime in 1912. According to him, he is about six years younger than Waziri Junaidu.<sup>85</sup> He was taught the Qur'an by Malam Abdulrahman alias "Uban Mu'alledi as from the age of five years. He was also at the Sokoto Middle School in the 1920s. He was the first from the Sokoto province to join the Nigerian Railway Corporation in 1929. He worked in many places in the early 1940s when he left the services of the Corporation and returned to Sokoto. He was appointed as Court Scribe and later Registrar at the Chief *Alkali's* Court in Sokoto city.<sup>86</sup>

Alhaji Bello Gidadawa started his intellectual activities in the early 1930s when he

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<sup>83</sup> Interview, Bello Gidadawa *Ibid* and S.W. Junaid "*Min nawabikhu,,* op cit p.5.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid* p.7 and Yahya M., Al-Amin op cit p.32.

<sup>85</sup> INterview, Bello Gidadawa, 11th July, 1995.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*.

composed many poems. His first poem was the *Wakar Reluwe* (Railway song/poems). The main message of Bello Gidadawa in that poem was to enlighten his Hausa audience particularly from Sokoto to join the railway service. The poet - Bello Gidadawa informed his people that it was a pride that himself being from a predominantly Hausa speaking area is working with the railway hence it was possible for many people from among the Hausas also to join the Corporation.<sup>87</sup>

He had also been engaged in activities towards the promotion of Islamic Education and its propagation in different parts of Sokoto Emirate since the late 1960s under the auspices of the Jama'at Nasril Islam. He is the current Secretary - General of the Organisatin in Sokoto State.<sup>88</sup> He belongs to the association for the promotion of Hausa poems and literature - the name of the association is Kungiyar *Manazarta da Marubuta Wakokin* Hausa. Alhaji Bello Gidadawa presently is heading the association in Sokoto State. He has to his credit a total of fifty-three poems written in Hausa which have been compiled and published by the Council for Arts and Culture, Sokoto State.<sup>89</sup> In recognition of his intellectual contribution, the Sokoto State Government honoured Bello Gidadawa with a State Merit Award in 1996.

The example of Alhaji Bello Gidadawa is that of some Muslim intellectuals whose training was bias towards the Western Schol system hence the scholarly works of such intellectuals is to a relative extent influenced by their educational background. Bello Gidadawa as we have seen above was not like Waziri Junaidu in that the latter was

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* 25 February, 1997.

<sup>88</sup> For more on the establishment and activities of J.N.L. See J.N. Padem "AHMADU BELLO ...*op cit.* PP.548-550.

<sup>89</sup> *Kundin Wakokin Dangaladiman Waziri: Alhaji Bello Gidadawa* compiled by Abubakar Mahe (Council for Arts & Culture, Sokoto) 1993.

extensively learned in the Islamic sciences. Interestingly however even Alhaji Bello Gidadawa wrote poems of admonition to his fellow Muslims. Significantly, also the opening lines of Bello Gidadawa's writings showed the committed Muslim in him obviously versed in fundamentals of theology (Tauhid) and other aspects of religion. Infact, to his credit Bello Gidadawa wrote some small books dealing with the subject of *Salat* (prayers) and the upbringing of children.<sup>90</sup>

The point one should remember is that, the *Dangaladima*, Bello Gidadawa came to be identified more as an Hausa writer of poems than an Islamic scholar such as Dr. Junaidu and his likes. At any rate, Bello Gidadawa belonged to the Sokoto intelligentsia as a man of ideas who also contributed to scholarship especially in the literary field.

Some other intellectuals in Sokoto have established themselves as Islamic scholars even though in the course of their educational training they went through the western school system. Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi and Alhaji Halliru Binji were two of such intellectuals. These two were among the old students of the Khadi School. At different times both Gumi and Binji after graduating from the Sokoto Middle School, later enrolled at the Khadi School. The Khadi School was not only training judicial personel but served as a centre for the training of Islamic teachers as well because not all the graduands were likely to take up judicial appointments. Some other old students of the Khadi school included Madugu Isa, Walin Yauri, Attahiru Isa, Mikailu Mafara, Malam Bello Haura and Alkali Halliru Wurno. The rest included Halliru Bawa, Malam Jodi *Alkali* of Bakura, Malam Abubakar Mairawani *Alkalin* Wamakko and Malam Maccido Aci-Fari.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Two of these books are: *Kundin Sallah Na Aljihu Hanyar Imanmu Malik* (A Handbook on Prayers According to the Maliki Law School) and the other one is *Jogora Zuwa Ga Tarbiyar Yara da Manya* (A Guide to the Upbringing of Children and the Discipline of the Adults).

<sup>91</sup> Hamid Alkali *op cit* p.36.

For a very long time, the Khadi School though established along modern system, it had to rely on the tradition *ulama* operating a sort of "informal" curriculum. The courses taught included Arabic and Islamic Studies as well as simple Arithmetic. Already we did indicate that Malam Yahaya Nawawi (Alkalin Lardi) and Waziri Junaidu were teachers at the Khadi School. Some other teachers included Malam Muhammadu Dan Kimalle and Ahmadu Ubandoma. It was to the credit of the traditional intellectuals teaching at the Khadi school that certain level of integrating aspects of western education with Islamic scholarship was facilitated. The scheme was later to be intensified as the years passed by particularly in the early 1950s in the case of the Sokoto Province with the establishment of modern *Islamiyya* schools called the *Nizamiyya*.

Meanwhile, the efforts of the traditional *ulama* at the Khadi School started to bear some fruits by the early 1940s. The products of the school had started going to other parts of Northern Nigeria for higher education training or took up formal appointments in the service of the N.As as *alkalai*, courts scribes, and Islamic studies teachers. A case in point was Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi.

Abubakar Gumi came from a scholarly family. The name of his father was Malam Mahmud also known as a Na Gumi. Abubakar Gumi's grandfather was Malam Muhammadu Marina who was one of three children of Sheikh Aliyu Barou el-Badawi. Sheikh el-Badawi according to Gumi's account was an Arab Bedouin among the Arab nomads who used to move about on the Arab plains in search of food for their livestock. It was not clear when el-Badawai reached the area of Sokoto.<sup>92</sup> The most important point to us here is that, the family had over the years established a name in the Sokoto - Zamfara area in the field of

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A. Gumi with I.A. Tsiga *Where I stand* (Spectrum, Ibadan) 1992, Chapter one pp 1-13.

learning and scholarship. For instance, Malam Mahmoud Na-Gumi is said to be a contemporary of Malam (Modibbo) Abuakar Bube, the famous teacher of Waziri Junaidu. In the early part of this century Gumi's father was among the intelligentsia in our area of study. Malam Na-Gumi was appointed an *alkali* of Gumi sometimes in the 1920s at the insistence of the Sultan. The former reportedly declined the offer when first approached by the *Sarkin Mafara* of Gumi. In addition to his position as an *alkali*, Sheikh Gumi's father devoted considerable time to teaching of students comprising the young and adults. The Qur'anic and *Ilm* schools were all operated at Malam Na-Gumi's residence.<sup>93</sup>

Sheikh Gumi was born to this scholarly family on 7th November, 1924.<sup>94</sup> He started his Islamic education with Qur'anic studies under the guidance of his father. He attended Elementary School at Dogon Daji and later on the Central Elementary Sokoto, Sokoto (1930 - 1936). He then proceeded to Sokoto Middle School for a six year course (1936 - 1942). At Dogon Daji Shaikh Gumi met some other boys who were to become important personalities later. Notable among such pupils were Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, the former Sultan of Sokoto (1988 - 1996) and Alhaji Aliyu Dogon Daji, the Matawalle of Sokoto and a treasurer in the defunct Sokoto Native Authority (N.A.).

The performance of Gumi at both the Elementary and Middle School was extremely good which placed him above his mates. Apparently, his early exposure to Islamic schooling at home must have influenced his intelligent performance at the *boko* (Western) types schools. The syllabus of the *boko* school placed more emphasis on secular subjects like Mathematics, Geography and History which were the favourites of Sheikh Gumi.

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid* pp 7 - 8.

<sup>94</sup> According to Sheikh Gumi the birth date was the last Friday in the month of Ramadan 1344 A.H. *Ibid* p.5.



Admittedly Gumi had "greatest trouble" with English language at the Middle School. He however came to excel in Arabic especially because of his good memory which aided him in remembering poems, vocabularly etc. Abubakar in this connection is full of praise for his former teacher Waziri Junaidu as the former confessed that he "was helped tremendously by Malam Junaidu, a very able teacher and a gifted Arabic scholar. Malam Junaidu... taught us well, and I benefited much from him".<sup>95</sup> It was Waziri Junaidu who taught Sheikh Gumi important Arabic grammar texts like *mulhat al-li'irab* and *al-'Alfiya'*.

In addition, the responsibility of Sheikh Gumi to his fellow students made it necessary for him to put extra effort in his studies. At the Elementary school and later at the Middle School Abubakar served as the School *Imam*. As rightly observed by Gumi therefore "it would have been less than ideal if the *Imam*, whom all the students followed in their five daily prayers, had been found to be unable to pass his examinations".<sup>96</sup> As the school *Imam* and Religion prefect Sheikh Gumi had to go for extra - couching and learning about Islam. It was Malam Shehu Yabo who used to teach Gumi and some other students privately in his house so that they could know about Islam.<sup>97</sup> Malam Shehu Yabo was a science teacher but he knew much about Islamic Studies. He came from a learned family of former *alkali* of Yabo.

The interest and concern of Malam Yabo in Sheikh Gumi's religious studies must have been influenced by the relationship of the former to the latter's father. On a more specific note Malam Shehu Yabo was taught by Abubakar Gumi's father. In the course of

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid* p.21.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>97</sup> Interview, Alhaji Shehu Shagari (Former Executive President of Nigeria) 19 June 1997 at Shagari Town.

his religious studies under Malam Yabo, Gumi was able to cover a number of books some of them which included *Risala, Mukhtasar, Askari, Musallaqatis Sitta* and *Muqamatul Hariri*. The "special lessons" by Malam Yabo used to take place at night. Some other boys who were part of the school included notable personalities like former president Shehu Shagari and late Professor Halliru Binji.<sup>98</sup> . Shagari and Binji were a year ahead of Gumi at the Middle School.

Clearly the intellectual influence of Malam Shehu on his students, seemed to have been everlasting. Shehu Shagari is up to today full of praise for their teacher Malam Shehu Yabo. Infact, Shehu Shagari was later to succeed Malam Shehu Yabo as a science teacher at Sokoto and later transferred to Government College Zaria (Barewa College).<sup>99</sup> And as for Abubakar Gumi in particular he was very much fascinated by Malam Yabo was profound as the former commented that Malam Shehu Yabo "changed much of my life and this was less on account of his being a science teacher than an accomplished Islamic scholar".<sup>100</sup> Sheikh adopted the method of teaching used by Malam Yabo later in his scholarly activities such as teaching and preaching. The method proved of immense help to Gumi particularly in his Hausa translations of the holy Qur'an (tafsir) normally conducted during the month of Ramadan. This is how Gumi described the approach of his teacher Malam Shehu Yabo.

He was... to introduce a book first and discuss its topics as a comprehensive unit before analysing them separately.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> A. Gumi, *op cit* p.23.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

This as explained by Gumi was in contrast with the predominant approach used by most of the traditional *ulama* in their Ilm schools whereby in the words of Gumi:

... the books were sometimes taught without due regard for their overall meaning. Even in one sentence, words were often read out separately and their meaning parroted individually so that the students always missed their collective meaning.<sup>102</sup>

Sharp criticisms (like the one just above) against the traditional way of doing scholarship among the *ulama* in parts of Northern Nigeria alienated Gumi from the majority of the traditional *ulama*. To a large extent Gumi was on a "collision course" with the traditional *ulama* particularly those who subscribe to the *tariqa* or *sufi* doctrines. Even the so called traditional rulers who patronise the services of the traditional *ulama* were opposed to the ideas of Sheikh Gumi.<sup>103</sup> As we shall see in due course Sheikh Gumi was able to acquire new ideas about Islam especially as regards doctrinal interpretations and such ideas or views were perhaps not known to the traditional *ulama* or were being suppressed for some other reasons. Intellectually Sheikh Gumi gained tremendous relative advantages over his teachers and some of his scholarly contemporaries. He was opportuned to go for higher training out of Sokoto province and subsequently was at the Bukhter-Ruda Institute of Education in the Sudan in the early 1950s.

Meanwhile, after passing the Middle School IV examinations Sheikh Gumi was among those chosen to proceed to the prestigious Kaduna College (former Katsina College). Already two of Gumi's friends, Shehu Shagari and Aliyu Dogon Daji had enrolled at the Kaduna College. Some other students had opted to start working with N.A. after the

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> See Auwal Anwar "Struggle for Influence and Identity: The Ulama in Kano 1937-1987" *M.A. Thesis History* B.U.K. Also J. Paden, *Religion ... op cit.*

Middle IV examinations. It was fate that Gumi was to become an Islamic scholar hence he opted to go for advanced learning about Islamic in the appropriate schools. Not even the strong pressure from former classmates, friends and education officers could dissuade Gumi from making a career in Islamic Scholarship. The obvious material advantage to be earned at the end of the training at Kaduna College pointed out to Gumi never made him to change his mind.

In the final analysis, Abubakar Gumi had his way and went to the Kano Law School. He was however, to attend a year course at the Khadi School, Sokoto to make up for the likely deficiencies in Islamic sciences since his background was bias towards secular subjects at the Middle School. By the time Gumi enrolled at the Khadi School, he found out that the students was "assortment of backgrounds" some from *boko* schools and some from the traditional schools.<sup>104</sup> As a judicial institution the Khadi School was ever-ready to supply manpower uninterrupted because as Gumi reported "whenever an *alkali* somewhere died or needed to be replaced, someone was selected amongst us to replace him".<sup>105</sup> Infact, the students were considered employees hence on the payroll of the Sokoto N.A.

It was in 1943 that Abubakar Gumi arrived to attend the Law School. Already, Halliru Binji had been at the school since 1941. Intellectually, the training at the Kano Law School was to be more advanced to enable one become well grounded in Arabic language and the Islamic sciences. The atmosphere at the Law School was quite conlusive for scholarship. In this regard Gumi exactedly narrates thus:

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<sup>104</sup> A. Gumi, *op cit* p.23.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid* p.30

... the Law School had an intellectual tradition which made it unique among all the schools I attended. Students had a lot of freedom in matters pertaining to their lessons... we were encouraged to assert our own independence and initiative rather than blind obedience to the views of teachers. We challenged them frequently if we thought their understanding was faulty.<sup>106</sup>

Sheikh Gumi had apparently imbibed the intellectual culture of the Kano Law School which had made an indelible impression on his mind. For the rest of his life after the training at the Law School, Abubakar Gumi stated unequivocally that: there is nothing I love better than to be challenged about my views. Just as well, my deepest respect is reserved for the person who easily admits his mistake or ignorance.<sup>107</sup>

Being a trained teacher, Gumi reminds teachers that tolerance of the views of others and modesty are part of the hallmark of a good intellectual tradition. A good scholar should be courageous enough to be informed of what he is ignorant hence Gumi writes that:

The most difficult act for anyone, especially a teacher is to confess in public when asked a question he knows he cannot answer. Yet, it is the best mark of honesty and intellectual culture. The teacher should never feel tempted to cover up his ignorance.<sup>108</sup>

After his studies at Kano, Sheikh Gumi returned to Sokoto in 1947 and was posted to the office of Chief *Alkali* (Babban Alkali) to serve as a scribe. This was the first time Gumi was to work as a public officer in Sokoto. The job of the scribe at the Chief *Alkali's* office afforded Gumi a unique opportunity to come into contact with some personalities in Sokoto. For instance, Sheikh Gumi came to know and became acquainted with the late

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibid* p.33.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*.

Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto and former Premier of the Northern Region. Abubakar Gumi used to visit Sardauna's office for official activities. The Sardauna was by then serving as the Secretary to the Emirate Council.

Sheikh Gumi worked in the capacity of scribe for just one year (1947 - 1948). During his short stay in Sokoto, Gumi was so meticulous to observe the apparent incompetence and corruption that was setting in at the judicial services. Hence at one point in time, Gumi innocently earned the anger of the Chief *Alkali* for daring to remind the Chief *Alkali* of certain principle of Islamic law of inheritance in the presence of a white colonial official.<sup>109</sup> From then on Gumi's experience in the N.A. service was that of persistent frustration until he left for teaching. As Gumi explained the Chief *Alkali* "stopped talking to me and .. everyone in the office kept away from me. I will sit alone in my office until the end of the day without exchanging a word".<sup>110</sup>

Despite all the forms of disappointments he was subjected to in the office, Gumi found solace in the private teaching of some adult students which he gave at his residence in the city. Gumi also had the opportunity during this short stay in Sokoto to conduct public preaching for the first time. He gave *tafsir* (translation and commentary) of the holy Qur'an during the fasting period in the month of Ramadan. More importantly Abubakar Gumi was excited to personally assess his intellectual contribution on the whole. As a pioneer product of the intergrated school system in Northern Nigeria Gumi confessed that he facilitated a better understanding and closer interaction between the traditional and the modern elites, in his words he reports that:

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid* p.37.

I notice that I was able to establish a bridge between the western educated elites from amongst my students and those of them with backgrounds in the traditional system of Islamic schooling. In the past, the later did not take the former seriously in matters of Islam. They did not accept that much was taught about Islam in the European schools. For their part, the former thought the latter too traditional to understand the religion properly.<sup>111</sup>

To a greater extent Gumi thought that his stay in Sokoto would have recorded more success, if only there were problems in the office to cope with. Although the isolation he suffered ended after sometimes but some more issues of a different dimension were persistent which further indicated the extent of the "decacy" in the N.A. judiciary. Some of such included the poor running of the Khadi School which was under the Chief Alkali's Office and worst of all were the pervasive corrupt practices in the office which Gumi could not condone to continue seeing. It was at this stage that Sheikh Gumi wrote to his friend Malam Halliru Binji by then teaching at Government College (Barewa College) Zaria about the experience he was passing through. Binji advised Gumi that he (Gumi) "needed to leave or be lost". Just in time Sheikh Gumi was invited to take up a teaching appointment with his alma mata the Kano Law School which he readily accepted and left Sokoto for Kano by mid - 1948.<sup>112</sup>

At the Kano Law School, Abubakar Gumi was able to teach for only one year and was asked to return to Sokoto Province to start teaching at the newly opened Elementary Training College (E.T.C.) at Maru. He arrived Maru around March - April, 1949 amidst the cold and hazy harmattan to assume duty as an Arabic and Islamic studies teacher. One may

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid* p.38.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid* pp 38 - 39. Also A. *Salihu Kubau, Bincike Akan* Ayyukan Alhaji Abubakar Mahmud Gumi, (Paragon Printers: Kaduna) 1993 p.41.

wish to point out at this stage that Gumi's stay at Maru although quite short, it was however quite eventful. The activities of Gumi at E.T.C. Maru brought him to the limelight as an intellectual who possessed the potentials to bring about social change among his people. As we shall see in due course he was to enter into conflict with a section of the Sokoto aristocracy who perhaps felt that some of Gumi's scholarly engagements were to undermine their political hegemony and social prestige.

Among the teaching staff at Maru who were Gumi's colleagues was Malam Aminu Kano who was later to emerge in the early 1950s as a radical opposition leader in the North. Sheikh Gumi and Malam Aminu Kano struck a friendship which was greatly influenced more by the exchange of ideas. This is how Gumi reflects upon that relationship.

... We would sit for a long time while we discussed the opinion of scholars and their books. Just as often, the question also involved politics and the colonial government.<sup>113</sup>

Sheikh Gumi was teaching mathematics in addition to his Arabic and Islamic studies subjects due to shortage of teachers at the school. However, as Gumi began to get use to the Maru environment, he became disturbed because of the prevalence of ignorance of Islam amongst the student and some workers. On a serious note Gumi observed that some members of the school community were not observing Islamic etiquette in the performance of rituals. In particular many hardly perform ablution before saying the prayers. Hence Abubakar embarked upon intensive informal teaching in the school mosque, after each of the five daily prayers in order to improve knowledge about Islam amongst members of the school community. The news of the scholarly activities of Gumi reached Maru town and shortly according to Gumi, he "began to receive visits from amongst the



Islamic scholars in Maru township and environs...<sup>114</sup> A lot of the members of the intellectual community in and around Maru started to come for the study of some religious texts from Sheikh Gumi.

In the course of his teaching, Abubakar Gumi had created awareness amongst the muslims especially in the school community. At a particular point as a result of Gumi's preaching the school community stopped attending the weekly Friday prayers at the Central Mosque in Maru town. The Iman reportedly used to perform *tayammam*<sup>115</sup> to lead the congregation in saying the prayers without valid reasons.<sup>116</sup> The school community was also led in performing the *Eid al-Fitr* prayer by Sheikh Gumi. These commulative violations of the social norms of the Maru community engered the local aristocrat, the Banaga of Maru. Matter came to a head when Gumi wrote a personal letter to the Sultan in which he offered some advice based on the observations he (Gumi) made after reading the Sultan's *Ed el-Fitr* address published in *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*. Sheikh Gumi mildly challenged the basis of some issues particularly as it pertained to the Sultan's explicit praise and gratitude to the colonial authorities. The traditional establishment in Sokoto was becoming disturbed by some of the activities of Gumi. Charges and accusations against Sheikh Gumi were drawn up and reported to the colonial authorities by the Sokoto aristocracy. The Banaga of Maru on the instruction of the Sokoto Emirate Council

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid* p.45.

<sup>115</sup> It is the sand ablution performed in place of water abution permitted only to those who will be sick if they use water, or that water is not available at the time of saying a particular prayer. See *Holy Qur'an* (4:43) English translation by A. Y. Ali (Islamic Research: Al-Madinah) pp 223-224.

<sup>116</sup> A. Gumi *op cit* pp 48-49 and A. Salihu Kubau *op cit* pp. 40-43.

documented three charges against Abubakar Gumi.<sup>117</sup> The case against Gumi was presented to the Northern Emirs for deliberation with a view to giving the appropriate advice to the colonial administration. Majority of the Emirs supported the Sokoto aristocracy, apparently to forestall the reoccurrence of similar episodes in their respective domains, which would be seen as a serious challenge against the traditional establishment. Fortunately for Gumi, one of the most powerful emirs in the North, Abdullahi Bayero of Kano was objective enough to disagree with the other Emirs. Emir Abdullahi Bayero's stand was that:

.... the issue was not a conflict between the young man, Abubakar Gumi, and the Banaga or the Sultan... it was the case of deviation from the proper Islamic regulations as they affected one of the most cardinal principles of religion. No doubt... the books did not permit the Imams' practice in Maru... The young man was right...<sup>118</sup>

The outcome of the whole episode turned out to be in favour of Sheikh. The intellectual reputation of Gumi was enhanced in the eyes of the public outside Sokoto province. He was so glad at the end of the scenerio although, Gumi confessed entertaining some "fear" at a certain stage not because of being punished but that his intellectual effort at a local community had assumed "unintended dimensions". It had not taken long before he was vindicated and Gumi excitedly was to remark later that:

I recall that I left Maru for Kano shortly... however, I was aware that me and my opinions before the Emirs and the British colonial administration.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> The *Banaga* of Maru by then was Mallam Sulaimanu, he accused Sheikh Gumi of (1) observing *Eid* prayers in the School compound contrary to the accepted social practice in Maru (2) that Gumi had stopped his students from going to the Friday Mosque at Maru town and (3) that Gumi was preaching *Mahdism* and claimed to be the *Mahdi* himself. See A. Gumi *Ibid* p.51.

<sup>118</sup> A Gumi *Ibid* p.59.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid* p.60.

Abubakar Gumi went back to S.A.S. (Kano Law School) in the early 1950s as a teacher. Not longer there after in 1954 he was among the seven Arabic and Islamic Studies teachers selected and awarded scholarship to study at Bakht el-Ruda Institute of Education in the Sudan. The rest were Halliru Binji, Shehu Galandanci, Abdulkadir Orere, Bibi Faruk, Hassan Gwarzo and Aminu Yakubu. Ultimately, only six students left for the Sudan. The exception being Aminu Yakubu who was appointed the *Walin* Kano and a member of the Emir's Council.<sup>120</sup> This higher training, from which Sheikh Gumi and other benefitted was Higher Muslim Education Policy adopted by the government of Northern Region in 1952 to provide more Arabic and Islamic studies specialists for the region. Sheikh Gummi and the rest, returned to Nigeria in 1956. His activities generally since that time had been outside the area of our studies. He had since leaving Maru, transferred to the services of the Regional government. Before Nigeria's political independence, he served as a Pilgrims Officer in Saudi Arabia, and in 1960 became the Deputy Grand Khadi of Northern Region. Because of the limited scope of our study we are forced to stop the discussion at this stage. The subsequent activities of Sheikh Gumi as a Muslim scholar and a renown intellectual in modern Nigeria have been well documented<sup>121</sup>. He died on Friday 11th September, 1992 (14 Rabi'ul Auwal, 1413 A.H.) in a London hospital.

Alhaji (Professor) Halliru Binji was a contemporary of Sheikh Gumi. He was also among the Sokoto intellectuals who contributed immensely to the development of scholarship in Northern Nigeria. Halliru Binji was born in 1922 in Binji village. He was educated at Sokoto Middle School (1936 - 1941) the Khadi School, Sokoto (1941 - 1942)

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid* pp 65-66 and J.N. Paden, AHMADU BELLO... *op cit* p.301.

<sup>121</sup> The material utilised extensively is Shaikh Gumi's book *Where I Stand*. It is quite comprehensive as it provides most vital information about the scholar Abubakar Gumi.

and subsequently the Kano Law School (1942 - 1946) and later 1953 - 1954). He was also among the pioneer Arabists from the Northern Region who went to Bukht al-Ruda Institute, Sudan (1954 - 1955).<sup>122</sup>

Since the completion of his training Binji had been engaged in the teaching job at Kano Law School and Government College, (Barewa College) Zaria until the 1950s when he was organizer for Arabic and Islamic studies by the regional government.<sup>123</sup> At the behest of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto Halliru Binji translated some works of the Sokoto Jihadists notably *Diya al-Hukkam* (Light of Government) in Hausa in 1949. Later on the Editor of *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* again engaged the services of Binji in the translation into Hausa of another book by Abdullahi b. Fodio *Tazyin al-Waraqat*, (1951).<sup>124</sup> Halliru Binji on his own authored an important book on Islamic rituals - *Ibada da Hukunci* to provide teaching material for Islamic studies teachers in Muslim Emirates of Northern Nigeria.

The scholarly engagements of Alhaji Halliru Binji for many years had been outside the Sokoto area. He served in the judiciary of the Northern Region in different capacities including the position of Grand Khadi (1962 - 1976). It was in 1976 with the creation of new states that Halliru Binji was appointed the Grand Khadi of Sokoto State. As far as Binji's intellectual activities were concerned one could realise that he came to be directly associated more with our area of study as from the mid 1970s after the civil war when states were created. His career as we have seen above particularly in the area of education, had

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<sup>122</sup> See J.N. Paden, AHMADU BELLO *op cit*, note 45 p.211.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid* p.299.

<sup>124</sup> Also edited and translated by M. Hiskett, University Press: Ibadan, 1963.

been made elsewhere in the North, but out of the Sokoto area as far as this study is concerned.

Some other individuals who did alot also in the development of a new form of intellectual tradition in the Sokoto Emirate were more or less people who could be considered as politicians and/or administrators in government. In this study we wish to highlight as an example the roles of Alhaji Shehu Shagari and Alhaji Marafa Danbaba in the establishment and development of the *Islamiyya* school system known in Sokoto area as the *Nizamiya*.

It was around the 1950 that some renewed concern for the development of Islamic education was particularly expressed in official circles. For instance as in some sources some politicians from the Muslim North were highly concerned that as the political independence of Nigeria approached the regional government must start to do something to further encourage and lay a strong foundation for Islamic education in the Muslim Emirates in the North. For a long time the Missionary schools were getting assistance from the colonial administration while the Qur'anic schools were not getting. Apparently a number of Muslim communities had since the early 1950 started even to modernise the school system by the introduction of the *Islamiyya* schools in different places. Such schools could be found in great numbers in Kano established through the efforts of some *ulama* and politicians.<sup>125</sup>

In Sokoto, it was around 1953 that the first private Islamic School was established. Fundamentally Shehu Shagari by then a school teacher and Marafa Danbaba were the brains behind the Sokoto *Nizamiyya* school. Marafa Danbaba was an administrator with the

Sokoto N.A. at that time. He is now deceased, but Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the former president of Nigeria explained the genesis of the idea of the school this way;

In 1953 when I became a senior visiting teacher (Inspector) I was to attend a course in Bauchi Province at T.T.C. Toro organised for Visiting Teachers. It was to be my first way to Bauchi so I slept at Jos on my way to Bauchi and I had never been to Jos either until then. In the morning as I came out I was attracted to a school nearby hence I went and introduced myself to the headmaster. We went round the school during which I realised only Arabic and Islamic studies courses were being taught at the school. When I saw the classroom buildings and other structures I enquired whether it was a government (boko) Western type school. The headmaster replied no that it was an Islamiyya school built and run by the community privately.<sup>126</sup>

The influence at the establishment of *Nizamiyya* school in Sokoto therefore came from outside the province. Shehu Shagari was "highly impressed" by the organisation of the school. Most fascinating according to Shagari was that the school was established in a predominantly non-Muslim town in the North. He concluded that such an example coming from Jos ought to have originated from Sokoto the renown centre of Islam in Northern Nigeria. On his return to Sokoto he contacted Alhaji Ahmadu Marafa Danbaba and sold the idea to him that they should immediately start a similar school in Sokoto. The plan was explained to a circle of "few friends" and with the Marafa behind them the school was started.<sup>127</sup>

The school started as an "evening class" whereby Shagari, the Marafa and some few individuals used to take their children to the residence of Marafa Danbaba serving as the venue for lessons. A teacher by name Malam Bello Gusau was employed on part time basis.

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<sup>126</sup> Interview, Alhaji Shehu Shagari 19th June 1997 at Shagari Town.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

The school gradually grew and it became necessary to look for a more suitable place for the school. In the process of the search an abandoned *shiraye* (hut) was found in the 'Yar Akija area of Sokoto City. The neighbourhood was predominantly an area inhabited by the ex-service men who were resettled after the Second World War. The abandoned hut was previously used as centre for immunization programme against small-pox. The *Shiraye* had been taken over by donkeys that sleep there during the day time while at night "some hooligans perpetrated all forms of immoral acts in the place". It was decided that the place should be converted to a school even to "change the orientation of the neighbourhood".<sup>128</sup> But before taking possession of the place, it was necessary to obtain official approval from the Sokoto N.A. That was done through the Sardauna Ahmadu Bello, by then serving as an N.A. Councillor in-charge of Education. The Sardauna did not show any objection, but only cautioned Shehu Shagari and others that they were likely to have problems with authorities because the Sultan, Sir Abubakar III (1938 - 1988) had started a similar school at the palace. The school was well attended at the beginning but had to close subsequently because people lost interest and started to withdraw. All the same, Shagari, the *Marafa* and others insisted that they should be given the chance to try it gain. The Sultan's council approved their application and allocated the place for the establishment of the school. The Sultan according to Shehu Shagari even challenged the young men as he wrote on their application - "*In ana shakka salka tayi tsa a sa ruwa a gani*" translated by J. N. Paden as "The test of a good bag (salka) to put water in it and see if the water will stay."<sup>129</sup>

Prior to the erection of structure at the new site of the school lessons were

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<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid* Also J.N. Paden AHMADU BELLO...*op cit* p.130.

conducted in the residence of one Mallam Hassan at the neighbourhood. However, by 1955 the *Nizamiyya* had been established at a new site in the 'Yar Akija area of Sokoto city. The teachers engaged were offering part-time services some notable staff included the late Wazirin Sokoto, Dr. Junaidu, Professor Ibrahim Mukoshy now of the Department of Nigerian Languages and current Director, Centre for Hausa Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Alhaji Bello Gidadawa (Dangaladiman Waziri) and Alhaji Umaru Alkanci. The rest included Alhaji Usman Dangoggo Bungudu (Dan Madamin Sokoto), Alhaji Abubakar Anka I Alhaji Yusuf Mafara and Mallam Umaru Maradun who was the Headmaster.<sup>130</sup>

The founder of the School Marafa Danbaba made generous donations to the school and used his influence to mobilise resources from well-to-do individuals to facilitate the erection of a classroom structure of one block. The curriculum of the school was made up of more Islamic cum Arabic disciplines such as Qur'anic studies, Hadith, Tawhid (theology) and Arabic grammar and literature. During the post-independent era (post 1960) some secular subjects were introduced and by mid-1960 the school was taken over by the Local Education Authority. From then on it became the responsibility of government to recruit and pay teachers as well as provide infrastructures and teaching facilities etc. Subsequently, the school was divided into two sections with the creation of *Mahdul Ilm* to handle pupils with only background in the traditional Qur'anic schools. Such pupils received training along the Islamic Education line so as to specialise as Arabists, Islamic studies teachers or make a career in the judiciary as *alkalai* (judges) 123.

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<sup>130</sup> Shehu Bala, "A History of Nizzamiyyah Model Primary School, Sokoto 1955 - 1966" *B.A. (History) Project (U.D.U.SOKOTO) 1996*, p.38.



The *Nizamiyya* over the years turned out or produced many students and in line with the government determination to promote Islamic education with Western Education more Islamic oriented post-primary institutions were established. Schools and Colleges in Sokoto Emirate that started to absorb pupils from the *Nizamiyya* school included College of Arts and Arabic Studies (now Sheikh Abubakar Gumi Memorial College) and the Sultan Abubakar College.

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## CONCLUSION

The years of the 1930s marked the period when the colonial authorities came to realise the social significance of Islamic scholarship. In this regard the programme of integrating Islamic education with Western Education was pursued in the different part of the Muslim North. The colonial administration wanted to foster the acceptance of Western Education among the Muslim populace. The services of the traditional *ulama* was employed to assist in the implementation of the scheme. In Sokoto province as we saw in the foregoing discussion such traditional intellectuals had a wider perception of education. Such scholars like late Waziri Junaidu and many others contributed significantly to the promotion of both Islamic and Western Education through their various activities in different capacities. These new intellectuals bridged the gap between the modern and traditional education.

## SUMMARY

It is the contention in this study that intellectual history is an important area in historical studies of every society. The study of this important field has not been given the required attention by scholars. Infact, we tried to argue that in Nigeria, the study of intellectual history is at the “embryonic stage”. In Northern Nigeria for example not much has been studied about the system of thoughts and ideas of the various political communities found in the region.

As far as our area of study is concerned previous studies largely concentrated on the 19th century. It was the period when intellectual activities of the Muslim intellectuals or the *ulama* reached its peak. The state system established early in the 19th century following the Sokoto Jihad Movement led to the promotion of Islamic learning and scholarship. The collapse of the Caliphate system early in the 20th century as a result of the British invasion and occupation led to the opening of a new chapter in the intellectual history of the area. The new colonial state that was established was a secular one. For this reason, the state patronage which the *ulama* and Islamic Scholarship used to get under the Caliphate system was terminated by the new British colonial administration. Indeed, it is a known fact that a new system of education based on the Western School System or *boko* (Hausa) was introduced. This was to produce wide and far - reaching effects on the traditional Islamic Education System and Scholarship.

The *ulama* as the conscience of the society reacted in different ways to the imposition of colonial rule. In Sokoto a section of the Society led by the aristocracy on the advice of the *ulama* violently resisted the colonialists. At the end of the day a faction of the ruling class accepted the learned *fatwa* (opinion) of the *ulama* and undertook the *hijrah*,

(flight) to escape the rule of British. The other faction of the aristocracy that signed a peace treaty was also guided by the learned judgment of the *ulama* who opted not participate in the *hijrah*. At any rate it was the *ulama* who ultimately took the lead in determining the future of the society that was in crisis engendered by the British occupation.

After having been subjugated and subjected to alien rule of the British, some of the *ulama* fully co-operated and served in some administrative capacities such as court scribes, translators, judges, tax assessors and collectors. It was the literacy among the *ulama* that enabled several of them to be engaged in the colonial administration.

Interestingly, a section of the *ulama* were never attracted by the new things that the colonialists introduced. It was evident that some of the *ulama* especially the poets among them extensively mobilised the local populations to reject anything introduced by the colonialists. The European way of life, education, language, modern products, associated with the Europeans were condemned. As time passed by some of such “hardline” views among the scholars started to give way to a softer and compromising position. We found out that in the course of colonial rule some of the *ulama* were urging the Muslims to understand, appreciate and accept the positive changes introduced by the Europeans.

It was through such mobilization that Muslims were called upon to acquire Western education and work within the colonial system. The aim was to understand the system well in order to limit some of what is considered its “beneficial influences” Under this scheme not all the goals and values were rejected. The process was a kind of “manipulationst” response intended to equip Muslims with facilities to operate as Muslims within the framework of colonialism until such time when Muslims would have regained their full

“strength”.

The compromise atmosphere facilitated the penetration of Western education system through the opening of Western type schools. By the 1940s in our area of study a new category of *ulama* had emerged. The new generation of *ulama* some of them had received training under the Western School System. Their attitude was “accommodationist” with the Western Schools. In terms of ideas such *ulama* perceived their society as moving towards modernity and their people should therefore accept modern changes informed by principles of Islam. Such were the changes that resulted in the establishment of *Islamiyya* Schools. These were Islamic institutions established along the Western School System.

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1. Mal. Muhammadu Boyi (73 years). An *Alim* (Muslim teacher/intellectual) resident at Kofar Atiku area in Sokoto City. He has a modest collection of intellectual works by some of the 19th and 20th century *ulama* of Sokoto area. He is also an expert on the oral history of the Sokoto Caliphate. Interviewed on 29 Dec. 1996, and 25 February 1997 and 2 February 1997.
2. Mal. Abdulrahman popularly called Sidi Suyudi (66 years) is the present *Ubadandoma*, a title held by the learned from the Kofar Atiku area. He is one of the pioneer students from the Kadi School and also an old student and former teacher at Nizamiyya School, Sokoto. Interviewed on 25 and 26 December, 1996.
3. Alhaji Abubakar Anka I (alias Allah Rufa Asiri) (63 years). An educationist and administrator. He developed interest in Islamic Scholarship from young age. He is a retired Islamic Teacher and Headmaster at Nizamiyya School, Sokoto, Interviewed on 25 and 26 December, 1996.
4. Mal. Shehu na Liman (78 years). He is the present *Imam* of Shehu Dan Fodio Mosque in Sokoto. He is one of the outstanding traditional intellectuals in Sokoto. He wrote quite well especially in the field of poetry on praise of some Sokoto rulers. Interviewed on 17 July 1995.
5. Alhaji Bello Gidadawa, the *Dangaladiman Waziri* (b. 1912) one of the living intellectuals of the Sokoto Emirate. He came from the learned family of Waziri Gidado Dan Laima. He is a renown Hausa poet who wrote considerably on social and religious issues affecting the society. He is a retired railway worker and a former staff of the judiciary. Interviewed on 11 July 1995 and 25 February 1997.
6. Waziri (Dr) Junaidu (1906-1997). One of the principal informants of the researcher. He was the most recognised authority on the history of the Sokoto Caliphate. He was an intellectual par excellence who wrote a lot on grammar (Arabic and Fulfulde), poetry and considerably on history. He had a rich library that contained volumes on the learned works of the Sokoto *ulama*. Interviewed 9 July 1995 with the assistance of his son Mal. Ibrahim Junaidu.
7. S. Abdulra'uf Alkali (73 years). He is from the famous and learned household at Gidan Kanawa. He is a traditional *alim* and presently operates a Qur'anic (Islamic) School. Interviewed 1st April 1997.

8. Alhaji Shehu Shagari. He is a renowned educationist and a former School Teacher. He became the first Executive President of Nigeria on 1 October 1979. He is a recognised intellectual who contributed to the promotion of education. He is a poet and has to his credit many poems on politics, geography, science etc. He also authored some books. He together with the late *Marafan* Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Danbaba pioneered the establishment of the First *Nizamiyya* School in Sokoto. At present, Alhaji Shehu Shagari operates another *Islamiyya* School at his hometown, Shagari for the promotion of Islamic education in the community.
9. Alhaji Amadu Gurzau (85 years). He is an ex-parliamentarian during the first republic in Nigeria, (1960-1966). He knows a lot about the local politics in Sokoto. He was interviewed on 27 December 1996.
10. Dr. Sambo Wali Junaidu (b.1947). He is among the modern intellectuals in Sokoto. He is grounded in Islamic education and went through the formal Western School system and reached its peak - the University and reached its peak - the University level. He is also a descendent of the learned Waziri Gidado Laima through late Waziri Junaidu. He now works with the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, interviewed on 10 November 1996.
11. Mal. Yahaya Al-Amin (b.1953). He is one of the people who started from the traditional Islamic School system and later switched to the modern school system (boko) University level. He is from the learned family of Qadi 'Abd-Allah who advised on the *hijrah* of Caliph Attahiru I. It was through Malam Yahaya that Qadi Abd-Allah's *Risala ilal-Mu'asirin* was first brought to the limelight in 1995. Interviewed on 3rd June 1997. Mal. Yahaya is now a lecturer with the Centre for Islamic Studies Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.
12. Mal. Ahmad Abdullahi Sokoto (b.1952). He is also among the products of the traditional Islamic School who later found himself in the modern school system. He is a former student of the Nizamiyya. He now works with the Centre for Hausa Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.
13. Shehu Magaji Sifawa (50 years). He is the Principal, Sultan Abubakar College established in late 1960s to operate a dual curricular - Islamic and Western so as to absorb the numerous products from the Islamiyya schools. Interviewed 26 June 1997.
14. Ibrahim Sifawa (40 years). He is the Principal of the Shaikh Gumi Memorial College. The School was the first Arabic/Islamic College to be established in 1961 to promote Islamic education in the Northern Region. It was established to serve similar function like the Kano Law School i.e. to train judicial personnel and Arabic/Islamic Studies teachers.

15. Modibbo Hafsatu (75 years). She is a learned woman based at the *Hubbaren* Shehu in Sokoto city. She teaches the women folk with the assistance of the other women *Modibbos*. Modibbo Hafsatu is a descendent of Usmanu Dan Fodio through Isa (Autan Shehu). She is one of those implementing the scholarly legacies of Nana Asma'u (Uwar Daje). Interviewed on 3rd August, 1998.
16. Modibbo Hauwa'u (80 years). She is one of the scholarly women settled at *Hubbaren Shehu*. She traces her ancestry to Usman Dan Fodio through Ahmadu Rufa'i. Her great-grand mother was Maimunatu the mother of Nana Asma'u. She also operates a school for the women folk in a section of the Shehu's compound. Her teachers were mainly women such as Modibbo Mowa, the wife of Sultan Hassan Dan Mu'azu (1931-1938). The rest included Modibbo Jodo, Modibbo Gude and Modibbo Ige. Interviewed on 3rd August, 1998.

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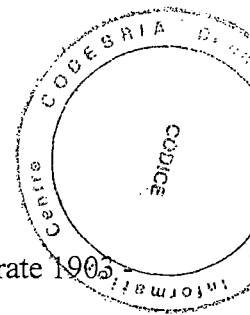
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