THE RELIGIOUS JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE POLITICAL ACTIONS OF SHAIKH UTHMAN BN FODIO IN THE SOKOTO JIHAD.

BY

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I declare that this Thesis is my own work. It has not, to the best of my knowledge, been presented anywhere, in any form for the award of any Degree or Diploma in any University or Institution of higher learning.

Informations and materials derived from published or unpublished works of others have been acknowledged therein.

Abdulkareem Ahmad Tijjani.

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis entitled: THE RELIGIOUS JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE POLITICAL ACTIONS OF SHAIKH UTHMAN BN FODIO IN THE SOKOTO JIHAD by ABDUL-KAREEM AHMAD TIJJANI meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Education (Curriculum and Instruction, Islamic Studies) of Ahmadu Bello University, is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to:

-1 My late Father: Mal. Ahmad Tijjani Idris, who laid the foundation for my education and Islamic orientation before his death 25 years ago. He died on the 27th May, 1967.

-2 My mother: Zulai Sulaiman who, after my father's death, diverted my career from a footballer to an ardent student of Islam.

-3 My elder brother: Alhaji Labaran Ahmad Tijjani Gusau for his immeasurable contributions that saw me to this level.

-4 My children: Nufaysah, Maryam-Jamilah, Abdul-Halim, Muhammad Mujtabah, and others yet unborn, with prayer that Allah most High guide you to the path of knowledge and pisty.

This work is dedicated to you all in appreciation of your guidance, with prayer that Al-mighty Allah reward you abundantly in this life and grant you (myself inclusive) the garden of Al-jannah on the Day of the Judgement. Amin.

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All Praise are due to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. The Beneficient, the Merciful. The Creator and the Sustainer, who teaches man by the pen. He teaches man what man does not know.

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reward you in abundant measure. I do pray that Al-mighty reward you accordingly, forgive us our sins, blot out from us our iniquities and take our souls to Himself in the company of the righteous. Amin.

ABSTRACT

This thesis titled: •The religious justifications for the political actions of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio in the Sokoto Jihad is primarily aimed at justifying from the Shariaah evidences, the religious basis for the political actions of Shaikh Uthman in the Sokoto Jihad. The work is organised in five chapters.

In chapter one, a general introduction is given. The focus of the study is the religious basis for the Sokoto Jihad. The Jihad of Shaikh Uthman was a scholarly movement. However, it produced a political result that could be described as the most significant political event in the history of western Sudan in the nineteenth Century. Because of this, the Sokoto Jihad was conceived by some writers as a political movement in the guise *of* religion. But Jihad,as a religious movement is all embracing; such that its political, social, and even economic significance can not be isolated from its religious spirit. This study is therefore an attempt to justify, in the light of the Shari* ah evidence, the religious basis of such significant political actions of Shaikh Uthman in the course of the Jihad• and gdvance a

hypothesis that Jihad as an Islamic movement, could be as political as it is religious. Social and economic as well. The research questions and objectives of the study, as provided in this chapter, are geared towards realising the inseparable nature of religious and secular life in Islam. And it is around this periphery that the Shariah justifications for the Sokoto jihad could be ascertained.

In chapter two, the most relevant literatures have been reviewed. The materials are in three broad categories. These are:

-1 The works of the Jihadists themselves.

-2 Published textbooks, journals, seminar and Conference papers.

-3 Post-graguate studies (mostly unpublished) on aspects of Sokoto Jihad.

The topical review procedure is used. The topics considered for the review are:

Hausaland before the Jih$_a$d

Objectives of the Jihad

The political ideals of the Jihad

- The outcome of the Jihad

Whereas, the sources tends to agree on most issues, interestingly however, is the observed discrepancies between the statements of objectives of the Jihadists

themselves, and the objectives of the Jihad stated by the post-Jihad writers, mostly speculative in nature and inconclusive. The objectives of the Jihadists (contained in their works) are more comprehensive, authoritative, reliable and free from prejudice. It provides therefore, the pivot abound which the Islamicity of the sokoto Jihad (in all aspects) revolves.

In chapter three, attempts have been made to describe the methodology for the research. The research procedures, instruments, the population, the sample and sampling procedures have been described. This research being historical, adopts the purposive sampling technique and requires no statistical means to interprete the findings arising therefrom.

Chapter four gives thfi. analysis of the pre-jih$_a$d (socio-economic and political) conditions, the religious nature of the j ihad and its implications on the political structure of Hausaland. An analytical review of the actions of Shaikh with significant political implications have been made. These actions were viewed from the political and social forces of the time and their justifications from the Shari'ah points of view - are established. The circumstances that led to the Jihad and the nature or way in which

it was fought made it mor$_a$lly and religiously justified.

In chapter five, a summary of the study is given. Attempt has been made in this chapter to summarise the sources of the data and a summary of the findings of the research. Finally conclusions are made and recommendations based on the findings of the study were made.

What motivated this research is my personal experience as a student and Teacher of History, and the observed discrepancies in the statements of objectives of the Sokoto Jihad by the conventional historians on one hand, and the Jihadists and Muslim historians on the other. There is also the observed apologetic Stance of Muslim historiians in plaining the political significance of Sokoto Jihad. Whereas, religion and politics—are inseparable in Islam. This research is therefore undertaken to justify the political significance of Sokoto Jihad in the light of such actions of Shaikh Uthman that had political bearings.

The research is essentially historical. It therefore adopts the historical approach (methodology) to gather and interprete data necessary for accomplishing the[1], research objective. Five actions of Shaikh Uthman that the political bearings are critically examined. There are no evidences to show that the Shaikh was politically motivated.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

A.H.	-	After Hijra
Bayan	-	Used in this work for 'Bayan wujub al Hijra alal 'Ibad' of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.
C.E.	-	Christian era
E.g.	-	For example
Etc	-	And so forth
i.e	-	That is
K.I.L.	-	Kashim Ibrahim Library, A.B.U Zaria
R.A.	-	Radiya-llahu 'Anhu, meaning, May Allah be pleased with him.
S.A.W.	-	Salla-llahu 'Alaihi WaSallam, meaning, May the Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him.
Wathiqat	-	Refers to Wathiqat Ahl-al-Sudan, of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Amir: - Is the term used for the leader in the Muslim community.

Amir al-Mu'minin: 'The commander of the Faithfuls'. Is the highest religious and political position in the Muslim community.

Ahl-al-Kitab: - People of the Book

Al-Jannah: - The Qur'anic term, refering to the 'Garden of Paradise'.

Badr: - This is a plain-ground south of the city of Madina, where the first battle between the Muslim community of Madina under the leadership of the Holy Prophet and the Quraish of Mecca took place.

Bay'ah - Oath of allegience given to the Muslim leader which implies accepting his leadership and promising to follow his commandments that are in conformity with the principles of Islam.

Bilad as-Sudan: - The land of the Blacks. It refers to Black Africa. In the contemporary history of West Africa, Bilad-as-Sudan refer to the Western Sudan.

Da'wa: - The practice of preaching which involves inviting people to Islam.

DIN - This is defined in the shorter encyclopaedia of Islam as "a divine institution which guides rational beings, by their choosing it, to salvation here and hereafter, and which covers both articles of belief and actions." 'DIN' as a religion, is the Islamic way of life, i.e, the total embodiment of the Islamic code of conduct.

Fitnah: - Persecution, disorder, or a calamity.

Jamā'a: - It is the Hausa term or word that refers to the community of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

- particularly, before his migration from Degel to Gudu in 1804 C.E.

Jangali: - Fulani word for the cattle tax, payable by the cattle rearers/ owners.

JIHAD: - Is derived from the verb 'Jahada' which literally means to endeavour, strive, labour take pains in the course of.... It is an effort or striving with one's utmost power in the course of... In Islam, it is the struggle, sparing neither life nor property in the way of Allah. Its primary objective is to make Allah's word (Islam) superior to all other forms of worship and systems of life.

Jizya: - It means 'the collective tribute levied on conquered lands." It is a tribute or poll-tax or head-tax imposed by the Shari'ah on

- the 'Ahl-al-kitab' (people of the Book) and other followers of other revealed religions who live in the muslim community and enjoy the political protection of that community.

Kanawa: - Hausa word refering to the people of Kano.

'Karamat': - 'Karāmah' (sing) karāmāt (pl). This is defined by Malumfashi (1973) as in the sufi terminology denoting "the miraculous gifts and graces with which Allah surrounds, protects and aids His Saints (al-Awliya").

Kasar Hausa: - Hausa word for Hausaland.

Khandag: - 'Al-Khandaq' is a Ditch or a trench. It refers to one of the battles fought between the Muslims at Madina and the Quraish of Mecca, in which the Muslims

- dug a 'Khandag' (trench) round the city of Madina to prevent the advance of Quraish of Mecca.

Khalifah: - A caliph. This is the temporal ruler of an Islamic state. Literally, it means vice-gerant or a successor. It is the person who holds the delegated authority of the Prophet (S.A.W) to enforce the Shari'ah provisions in an Islamic State.

Kufr: - To disbelief, or an act of unbeliet

Masu-Sarauta: - Hausa word - refering to the ruling aristocracy in the Hausa-land.

Mu'adhin: - The caller to prayers.

Mujaddid: - The renewer of the Faith. The revivalist who revives the Islamic spirit among a people.

Mujahidin: - Muslims fighting in the cause of God.

Political Actions: - This refers to such actions of a person that are politically intended, Or actions that may not be so intended, but had political significances. The political actions of Shaikh Uthman in this work refers to such of his actions that had far-reaching political consequences or implications. It includes such religious actions of Shaikh that had significant political results.

Religious Justifications: To justify means to show that a person or statement is right, reasonable and proper. 'Religion' here refers to the Islamic principles. Religious justification is an attempt to justify, in the light of the Shari'ah that the political actions of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio in the conduct of his Jihad was right, reasonable and proper, as

- necessitated by the events of the time.

Sarki: - Hausa word for chief or ruler. Sarkin Gobir means chief of Gobir, and so on.

Sallah: - In Hausa usage, means prayer. As used in this work, It conotes either of the two Sallah Festivals.

Sahāba: - The companions of the Prophet (S.A.W).

Salat-al-ĩ'd:- Sallah Festivals, usually celebrated two times within the Muslim calender year. The muslim's two ĩ'd festivals are:

1. ĩ'd-al-Fitr - celebrated to mark the end of Ramadan fasting.
2. ĩ'd-al-Kabir. This is the Sallah Festival usually celebrated on the 10th day of Zul-Hajj by the non-pilgrims the world over.

Shaikh: - Literally, Shaikh means one who attains old age in the pre-Islamic history. Shaikh means one with full maturity in years. However, it is also used for scholars, knowledgeable and profe-ssionals, of high eminence among the

Ummah: - It refers to the muslim community, or nation.

Zul-Hajj: - The 12th month of the Hijra calendar.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio occupies a central position in the nineteenth century history of West Africa. It was a religious movement with far-reaching socio-political and economic implications. It has therefore been studied by the historians, educationists, and other experts from their various perspectives. This partly accounts for the reasons why the Jihad of Shaikh Dan-Fodio has been regarded by some as a political movement aimed at over-throwing the Habe rulers and the establishment of a Fulani political hegemony over Hausaland. Even though, it was religiously motivated. Moreso, to others, the Jihad was an economic struggle to improve the living conditions of the mujahidin of sokoto and their supporters.

However, to the Muslims, the Jihad was a revivalist movement aimed at establishing the true practices of Islam as contained in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Records seem to indicate that the Jihad brought in some economic benefits which liberated the common-man from subserviency to beings other than Allah. It led to the realisation of a political system of government

committed to social justice which improved the quality of the people, their education and social values. It also produced a literate and educated community of believers, with literacy and education which are the instruments that elevate man from the level of animality to the level of humanity. Sayyid Abul' A'la Mawdudi (1945), on the objectives of Islamic Movement says:

> The objectives of Islamic movement in this world is <u>revolution in leadership</u>..... It entails establishing and maintaining the sovereignty of God on earth or, <u>the way of life ordained by HIM</u>,..... it is a movement aimed at evolving a <u>new individual and a new order of society on the basis of shari'ah.</u>

Shaikh Uthman's <u>Jihad</u> satisfied Mawdudis view points. The Shaikh's <u>Jihad</u> could therefore be viewed as an all-embracing revivalist movement for the betterment of human race in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

This research therefore indends to examine the political actions of the Shaikh and to ascertain the views of some historians that the <u>Jihad</u> was merely a political movement aimed at achieving the political ambitions of the Fulani, their territorial expansionism and aggrandisement and the establishment of a Fulani dynasty.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio was unique in the history of the Jihadist movements in the Western Sudan. The movement started as a scholarly movement aimed at reviving the Islamic institutions through Islamic education. The preachings of the Shaikh could, with every justification, be described as successful because it brought in an un-precedented religious awareness among the Muslims in the Hausaland. As a result of the preachings of the Shaikh, the muslims became united under the leadership of the Shaikh who was seen as a lamp and spiritual guide who was able to deliver them from the clutches of ignorance and oppression to the light of Islam and socio-economic and political freedom. This gave birth to a new social order under the Shaikh's leadership known as the Jamã'a

The growth of the Jamã'a and the Shaikh's increased influence and popularity was viewed by the Hausa Kings as threats to their leadership. Consequently, the Jamã'a was subjected to a gradual but well calculated series of persecutions aimed at a gradual elimination of the Jamã'a and her political and religious influences in Hausaland.

The series of persecutions of the Jamā'a led to the Hijrah from the various parts of Gobir Kingdom to Gudu in February 1804. The successful Hijrah of the Shaikh and the Jamā'a was a turning point in the political History of Hausaland. It signified the emergence of an independent community in the Hausa kingdom. Not unexpectedly, the Habe rulers increased their persecutions of the Jamā'a. The Jamā'a on the other hand, became better organised than ever before, with Shaikh as Amir-al-Muminin. They then had to carry arms not only for self-defence but also for a possible offensive against their enemies to safeguard their safety and independence. The military operations which bega n with skirmishes gradually became a fully-fledged war in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

The Jama'a was blessed with very able scholars such as the Shaikh himself, his brother Abdullahi, and his son Muhammad Bello, who provided the spiritual, political and military leadership to the muslim Ummah of the time.

The Jihad subsequently overthrew the Habe Kingdom and established the sokoto caliphate. The caliphate lasted until 1903 when it fell in the hands of European imperialists as a consequence of colonisation. Hence

forth, the European writers, Missionary historians, and educated Africans, mostly products of the Missionaries in Nigeria, devoted much of their time and resources to writing the History of the Jihad and the Sokoto Caliphate. They saw no positive outcome of the Jihad and branded the Jihad as a class struggle between the Hausa and the Fulani.[2] Unfortunately, this group of historians became the sole authorities on the historical materials on Sokoto caliphate in our schools and colleges due to Muslims resistance to Euro-Christian (Western) education because of its de-Islamising objective. As a result, the objectives of the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio; the Mujaddid, from the revivalist's point of view, has for long, not only been under-estimated, but branded as accidental[3] and a tragedy.[4]

A careful study of the sources of information concerning the Jihad of Shaikh Dan Fodio, would enable us understand the inseparable nature of religion and politics in Islam. It hopes to discover evidences to justify the religious basis of the Jihad and account for the political outcome of the movement in the light of some political actions of the Shaikh. It also aims to bring to light the Islamic concept of 'revivalism' as an all-embracing movement, which in the case of

Sokoto Jihad , led to a complete transformation of the socio-economic and political conditions of Hausa-land.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Muslim Ummah is an organised community of believers bound together by the Shari'ah. The goal of the Muslim community is to spread Islam, and Islamic education through general enlightenment of the Ummah thereby leading to improved quality of faith and obedience to Allah. In a situation where the Ummah is able to establish the Islamic political system, such a community may be referred to as an Islamic state. The Islamic state is a government committed to the development of a community of people who stand up for equity and justice, for right against wrong, and for the creation of such conditions that would enable mankind live a life of submission to God. It is in the light of this, that every muslim continues to aspire to an Islamic state, or a society governed by the Shari'ah .

The Qur'an says:

> (They are) those who, if we establish them in the land, establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid wrong. With God rests the end (and decision) of (all) things. (Qur'an 22:41).

The Muslim Ummah can be developed into political state only through the Da'wa; the process of which may encounter certain obstacles. Jihad may therefore be undertaken to remove such obstacles.

Jihad is the pivot around which the independence, sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction of the Muslim Ummah revolves. Jihad in its general sense, involves self discipline and admonitions, but the use of arms against enemies could be resorted to only in the cause of God by the Muslim community for the following reasons:-

-1 To defend oneself and protect the integrity of the Muslim Ummah. The Qur'an says: Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for God loves not transgressors. (Q 2: 190)

And also in the Qur'an 22:39, which reads:

> To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged and verily, God is most powerful for their aid:.....

These passages show that Jihad could be fought in Islam in self-defence.

-2 To establish an Islamic state where there is none.

The Qur'an says:

> Those who believe fight in the cause of God and those who reject faith fight in the cause of Evil. So fight ye against the friends of satan: feeble indeed is the curning of satan. (Qur'an 4 : 76).

The two forces here (in the above verse) are the forces of right and wrong; the believers who fight in the cause of God, and to promote and establish the right way of Religion, and the unbelievers who fight in the cause of the Devil. "It is He", says the Qur'an, "who has sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of Truth, to proclaim it over all religion; even thoug the pagans may detest it" (Q 61 :9).

> Narrated Abu Musa (R.A.): A man came to the Prophet (S.A.W) and asked: A man fights for war booty, another fights for fame and a third fights for showing off; which of them fights in Allah's cause? The Prophet (S.A.W.) said: He who fights so that Allah's word (i.e Islam) shall be superior, fights in Allah's cause.5

-3 To free the muslims, and other people from the injustices and atrocities of the unjust and oppressive political authority. The Quran Sura 4 : 74-75 states:

> Let those fight in the cause of God who sell the life of this world for the hereafter. To him who fights in the cause of God, whether he is slain or gets victory-soon shall we give him a reward of great (Value). And why should ye not fight in the cause of God and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)? - men, women, and children, whose cry is : our Lord: rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee, One who will protect; and raise for us from thee one who will help: (Qur'an 4 : 74:75).

> Narrated Amr bn Maimun: Umar (R.A.) (after he was stabbed), instructed (his would-be-successor) saying: I urge him (i.e. the new caliph) to take care of those non-muslims who are under the protection of Allah and His Apostle (S.A.W) in that he should observe the convention agreed upon with them, and fight on their behalf (to secure their safety) and he should not over-tax them beyond their capability.6

-4 (A forth dimension is), to revive the Islamic ideals in a declining muslim community. This is the pivot around which the Islamic concept of Tajdid revolves. The Prophet (S.A.W) is reported to have said: "Surely Allah will raise up for this community (of muslims) At the commencement of every century, one who will reform their religion". (Abu Da'ud).

-5 To spread Islam, the Qur'an says: "Fight those who believe not in God or the last day, nor hold that forbidden which has been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth. (even if they are) of the people of the Book. Until they pay the 'Jizya' with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued." (Qur'an 9 : 29).

'In the same sura, the Qur'an says

> O ye who believe! what is the matter with you. that, when you are asked to go forth in the cause of God, you cling heavily to the earth? Do you prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. (Q. 9:38).

The clause in the above verse:
"Infiru fi sabili-llahi...", meaning, 'To go forth in the cause of God...." though relates to the Tabuk expedition at the time of revelation: 'but', according to Abdullahi Yusuf Ali (1934) "the lesson is perfectly general". To go out in the cause of God could therefore imply any struggle undertaken by one or more muslims aimed at establishing the Religion of Allah on earth; and the spread of Islam is an integral part of the struggle.

Evidently, in line with the above, the Jihad fought by the prophet (S.A.W) were for defensive purposes as well as for the spread of Islam. The Sahaba of the prophet also fought to defend the territorial integrity of the 'Ummah and to spread Islam. And the Prophet (S.A.W) has prophecised the emergence of a Mujaddid at every century of Islam to revive the religion, freeing it from all kinds of local particularism and innovations, and putting it in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah.

> 'Surely' says the prophet (S.A.W) Allah will raise up for this community(of muslims), at the commencement of every century one who will reform their religion (Abu Da'ud).7

The jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio was a revivalist movement per-eminence. It was aimed at reviving the religion, defend the Islamic values, free muslims and the non-muslims alike from the oppressive and unjust rulership of the Habe Kingdom of the 19th century Hausaland, and to spread Islam.

However, Jihad , as a concept has been grossly misunderstood by many people, muslims and non-muslims alike. In Nigeria for instance, the mere mention of jihad creates fear in the minds of the non-muslims who see it as a war declared Holy by the muslims at will, to achieve certain political, or economic objectives. As such, the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio has been sharply criticised. It was alledged that the Jihad was not motivated by religion but politics, aimed at over throwing the Habe rulers and establishing a Fulani dynasty. Its revivalism has also been subjected to criticisms on the assumptions that it was unable to carry out a thorough religious, social, and political reform of the traditional institutions.

To examine the views expressed by the critics of the Jihad , we need to raise some vital questions. What was the real motive of the Jihad ? Could it be limited to religious or political ambitions? What

evidence can we get from the manuscripts to justify the Jihad movement? If the Jihad is a religious movement, is there any justification in the Shari'ah for the political developments it brought, particularly the over-throw of the Habe rulers and the establishment of a new political order in Hausaland? Even the muslim state of Borno challenged the religious basis of the Sokoto Jihad. But since there is no prejudice in scholarship, we need to ask ourselves what are the basis of the criticisms of these writers on the Sokoto Jihad? Or, could these criticisms be attributted to the large materials written on Sokoto caliphate by the orientalists and agents of neo-colonialism to justify the colonisation of the Sokoto Caliphate?

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The significance of this problem lies in its objective of identifying the political outcome of the Sokoto Jihad in relation to such actions of the Shaikh that has far reaching political implications in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

Although the Jihad of Sokoto was fought on religious grounds, it has political, social and economic values and implications. The change of the political system of Hausaland and the subsequent over-throw of the

corrupt and oppressive Hausa traditional aristocracy and the establishment of an Islamic political system called the Sokoto caliphate, was a significant political outcome of the Sokoto Jihad. In Islam there is no dichotomy between religious and secular matters. Therefore, the Islamic movement though aimed at reviving the religion, is also concerned with the political, social and economic institutions of man. The problem statement of this research is significant as it examines the political actions of Shaikh in the Jihad as it relates to the political consequences of the movement in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

Most records of the Jihadists seem to agree that though the Jihad was purely fought on religious grounds, it politically brought down the Habe Kingdom and established the Islamic alternative - the Sokoto caliphate.

The significance of this study therefore lies in its attempt to firstly, justify with the Shari'ah evidences the political outcome of the Sokoto Jihad. Secondly, it sets out to advance a hypothesis that JIHAD as an Islamic movement is all-embracing. Its religious spirit can not be divorced from the Islamic political values. This research therefore sets out to improve the general understanding of students of Islamic

studies on the objectives and outcome of the Sokoto Jihad, and to enable us discover solutions to our problems relating to discovering the Sokoto political ideals and its relevance to our present situations.

The discoveries made, and evidences provided in this study, would fill the vac-u-um created by the silence of earlier works on the political justifications for the Sokoto Jihad. This study would therefore provide possible alternatives to the historical sources available, to which references are being made in the study of Sokoto Jihad in our schools and colleges.

1.5 THE CONCEPTUAL/THEORETICAL FRAME-WORK

This study is related, not only to the Islamic concept of revolution or Jihad, and Tajdid or revivalism, but, the allembracing concept of Islam as a way of life.

Islam as a religion, is all-encompassing. It does not separate the state from the church. Religion, from the Islamic stand point, is the ordained way of life approved by Allah for all believers, as exemplified by the holy prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). As a complete and comprehensive system, Islam is the way of life for the muslims. Therefore, there is no seperation between

religious and secular life in Islam. This is because cultural life of people is not viewed from secular perspectives but from religious perspectives. In other words, the cultural activities of human society is not limited to this world alone but extends to the hereafter, and this wordly affairs are viewed in Islam from the perspective of its consequences on the Day of Judgement. The Holy Qur'an affirms the comprehensiveness of Islam as a way of life such that it explains everything which is relevant to human life. The Qur'an also warns of the danger and implication of a muslim or group of Muslims adhering to an aspect of the religion and neglecting the other.[8] A muslim is therefore a believer in whose life all segments of Islam are visible, and a community of believers is a community that lives in accordance with the injunctions of God. This is the pivot around which revolves the concept of Khalifatullah (representative of God) on earth. The Qur'an says:

> Behold thy Lord said to the Angels:
> I will create a vicegerent on earth
> ....(Q. 2 : 30)

Also in Qur'an 6 : 165 which reads:

> It is He who has made you (His)
> agents, inheritors of the earth:
> He has raise you in ranks, some
> above others: that He may try you
> in the gifts He has given you:
> For thy Lord is quick in punishment;
> yet He is indeed oft - forgiving,
> most merciful.

The purpose for which man was created by God is to serve Him alone.[9] This service implied to live a life of complete submission to His will.[10]

Furthermore, political power and worldly glory of any type is an aspect for a muslim with which he could strive to attain the pleasure of Allah and establish the way of life commanded by Allah through enjoining what is right and forbiding what is wrong. The Qur'an commands thus:

> But seek, with the (wealth) which God has bestowed on you, the home of the hereafter nor forget thy portion in this world, but do thou good, as God has been good to thee, and seek not (occassions for) mischief in the land: For God loves not those who do mischief. (Qur'an 28 : 77).

Furthermore, the obligation to enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong has been specifically commanded on the believers who have been established on earth by Allah for that purpose. (Qur'an 22 : 41). This establishment may have to do with political power, economic power, military strength, and educational professionalism[11].

A society that is governed and exists solely on the laws of Allah as embodied in the holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Holy prophet (S.A.W), is regarded as an Islamic society or community. However, if the Ummah is dominated by anti-Islamic forces or governments,

whether such a force or government is headed and controlled by muslims or not, and a way of life prescribed by Allah is replaced with that of Jahiliyah , a law other than Shari'ah is imposed on the Ummah and a 'Book' of guidance other than the Qur'an (be it in form of a constitution or any other document used for that purpose), is imposed on the Ummah , directly or indirectly, such is a society that is at war with Islam - Dar al-Harb - (the abode of war).

In such a situation, it is the duty of the entire Muslims, particularly the Ulama , to bring with peaceful and diplomatic means, through the process of education and enlightenment, that society and its leadership to obedience to the injunctions of God. And where this fails, the Ummah should be mobilised to take necessary measures to safeguard their property and lives from the evils of that society. This could be achieved by firstly, identifying a leader and paying allegiance to that leadership, and second, undertaking Hijrah from that oppressive society to a society that is submissive to God and His Apostle and withdrawing their allegiance to that oppressive authority since the Holy prophet (S.A.W) said: "There is no obedience to the created in disobedience to the creator." In the course of this, if the Ummah is attacked, permission

to fight in self defence and to spread the religion of Allah has been granted by God to the believers.[12]

The battles fought by the holy Prophet (S.A.W) particularly, the battles of Uhud and al-khandaq were strictly in this order. The Jihad fought by the Sahaba and the Tabi'in were also in this order. In the Western Sudan, Shaikh Jibril bn Umar attempted a Jihad though he was unsuccessful. One of his disciples: Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio, following the legacy of the prophet (S.A.W), his companions and the Mujahidun of the earlier generations, undertook the Jihad in Hausaland in the nineteenth century.

The objectives of Shaikh's Jihad were criticised in many quarters. For instance, Crowder, Micheal (1962), suggesting the reasons for the Jihad said the 'group feelings were of dominant influence'. He was speculating that the Jihad was a class struggle between the Hausa and the Fulani. Johnston, H.A.S. (1967) thought that the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman was an accident of history, since according to him, Shaikh Uthman was not "a seeker after temporal power and there is no evidence whatever to suggest that he had planned the Jihad in advance..... on the contrary, his aim, until very late in the day, seems to have been to enlist the

support of the Hausa ruling classes...."[13] However, according to Webster, J.B. & others (1967), the socio-economic and political situations of the Hausa land were so corrupt and oppressive that the masses were yearning for a change. The Jihad of Shaikh Dan Fodio, was therefore a political necessity aimed at restoring the Islamic values in that society. To free the muslims from subserviency to beings other than Allah, and to make Islam as a religion, not of rituals alone, but a comprehensive way of life as approved by Allah for mankind. These factors accounted for the all-embracing nature of the Islamic movement, and the inability of some historians (the orientalists, non-muslim writers and their agents) to see the Jihad of Dan Fodio as a purely religious movement.

1.6 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

At the end of this research we should be able to:

-1 Identify certain political actions of the Shaikh and justify such actions within the context of Islamic concept of Tajdid.

-2 To enable students of Islamic studies understand properly the Jihad of Shaikh with a view to reconstructing the history of the Jihad for the benefit of Nigerian Society.

-3. To give a critique of the criticisms levelled against the Shaikh's Jihad .

-4. To enable students of Islamic history to learn how to apply the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith according to the realities of their own society.

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

-1. What were the political conditions of Hausaland before the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio?

-2. Was the Sokoto Jihad politically motivated?

-3. What is the significance of reviving the Sunnah and wiping out Bid'a in relation to the political developments in the process of the Jihad ?

-4. Was the political values of the Sokoto caliphate better than that of the pre-Jihad period?

1.8 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This research covers the period from the migration of Shaikh Uthman and his Jamā'a from Degal to Gudu in 1804, his selection as Amir-al-Mu'minin , the Jihad between the Jamā'a and the Habe authorities, the final fall of Gobir and the establishment of Sokoto caliphate. The major political actions of the Shaikh from his migration to the establishment of the caliphate shall be the focus of this research.

The subject areas covered in this research are the major political actions and decisions of Shaikh Uthman, and such relevant decisions or actions taken by his close Lieutenants in the cause of the Jihad ; and to justify such actions within the context of Islamic concept of Tajdid.

The geographical coverage of this research is the major towns and cities where such important aspects of the Jihad took place in the old Hausa States or Gobir.

It is hoped that the subject areas and geographical coverage of this research will satisfactorily lead to achieving this research objectives.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

Was the Sokoto Jihad politically motivated or Religiously motivated? To answer the above question requires a close examination of the motives of the Jihadists of Sokoto and its reflections on the post-Jihad Hausaland.

Although the Jihad brought about many political, social and economic changes, they could all be accommodated within the periphery of Islamic concept of Tajdid .

This research is limited to examining the objectives of the Sokoto JIHAD according to the Jihadists themselves. And to compare it with the statements of

objectives of the post-Jihad writers. The political outcome of the Jihad was not unexpected, and is wholy justified from the light of the Qur'an and Sunnah. It is therefore limited to justifying the political significance of the Jihad from the Shari'an provisions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Mawdudi, S.A. The Islamic movement Dynamics of Values, Power and change (1945): page 71.

2. Crowder, Micheal (1962) The Story of Nigeria page 75.

3. Journal of African History. Vol. III No. 3 (1965). The Fulani Jihad. A reassessment by M.R. Waidman Page. 334.

4. See A.M. Kani: The Political and Social basis of the Sokoto Jihad, (On the authority of Segun O. Osoba) page 6.

5. Sahih al-Bukhari, vol. 4, page 50, Hadith No. 65.

6. Ibid, page 182, Hadith No. 287

7. Ali, M.M.: The Religion of Islam, Page 263.

8. Qur'an 2:85: "Do you only believe in a part of the Book (Qur'an) and reject the other?....."

9. Qur'an 51:56: "I have only created Jinns and men, that they may serve me".

10. Abdullahi Yusuf Ali: Holy Qur'an; English Translation. Page 1429 Footnote 5032.

11. These four segments or worldly attributes are the necessary weapons for the establishment of justice and equity in the muslim community. A society that looses these weapons to the enemies of Islam, whatever might be the numerical strength of the muslims in such a society, can never represent the cause of God on earth.

12. See Qur'an 22 : 40 - 41.

13. Johnston H.A.S. (1967) The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, pages 40/41.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on the Sokoto Jihad of the nineteenth century. But in the area of political objectives of the Jihad especially where it relates to political outcome of the Jihad movement, and related political actions of the Shaikh, not much has been written.

The purpose of this chapter therefore is to describe, relate and criticise the more significant studies in the area of political objectives of the Sokoto Jihad in the nineteenth century - Hausaland.

This research will adopt a topical review method in considering the literaute relevant to the present study. The area coverage and topics for the review are:-

-1 Hausaland before the Jihad

-2 Objectives of the Jihad

-3 The political ideals of the Jihad

-4 The outcome of the Jihad.

In considering the sources for this review, the literature has been categorised into two:

A. Primary sources

B. Secondary sources.

The primary sources are the accounts of the Jihad given by the eminent Mujahiddin of Sokoto. These are the Shaikh himself, his brother Abdullahi and his son, Muhammad Bello.

The secondary sources comprise of the accounts given by writers who were not eye-witnesses to the movement and whose sources were obtained indirectly. This includes published books, post-graduate studies, journals and seminar papers.

2.2 HAUSALAND BEFORE THE JIHAD

According to Zahradeen (1976), the sources for the study of the pre-Jihad Hausaland are mainly the writings of the Jihad leaders. Unfortunately, the scholars and kings of the Habe kingdom left no sources from which the pre-Jihad society of Hausaland could be studied. Again most of the works on Sokoto caliphate and the pre-Jihad society of Hausaland, authored by the colonialists and their agents, Historians and other scholars, in form of published Books, Journal, and post-graduate studies in Nigerian Universities and abroad, heavily depended on the works of the Jihadists of Sokoto.[2]

In Najm-al-Ikhwan, Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio says:

> Keep reading the Books of my brother Abdullahi because he is mostly concerned with the letter of the Shari'ah, and keep reading the works of my son Muhammad Bello for he is mostly concerned with the

> political affairs of the community, Also keep reading my own works for in most cases, I am taking a middle course.3

Abdullahi, S.U. (1984) affirms that Kitab-al-farq of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio, Tazyin al-waraqat of Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio, and Infaqul Maisur of Sultan Muhammad Bello were and are still the most reliable sources of information partaining to life in all its ramifications in the pre-Jihad Hausaland...'[4]

Hausaland before the Jihad had no centralized political authority. In some details, the social conditions of the time were characterised by injstice, oppression, and other social vices. Even though Islam was partly accepted as a religion, it had little or no influence on the socio-economic and political situations of the time; instead, Islam was mixed with animism and other traditional forms of worship. Usury, confiscation of property, theft and robbey, with heavy taxation characterised the economic life of the time. These were partly the situations in Hausaland before the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

TANBTH AL-IKHWAN

The Admonition to the Brethren is one of the significant works of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. The book was written at the close of the Jihad at Sifawa around

1226 A.H. (1811 C.E) 'The Book possesses a considerable interest, in that it is evidently the political testament of the author.'[5]

Unlike Kitab-al-Farq , Tanbih al-Ikhwan was an account of the Jihad given by Shaikh Dan Fodio with the main purpose of justifying from Shari'ah the religious basis of the Jihad , The Islamic revolution of Sokoto was therefore, to the Shaikh, religiously motivated and a political necessity.

Writing on the state of Hausaland before the Jihad, The Shaikh, in Tanbih-al Ikhwan, asserts that Islam reached the Bilad-al Sudan (Country of the black) long before the Jihad of Sokoto. For instance, the muslims at Makkah migrated first to Habasha - Ethiopia at the instance of the Prophet (S.A.W). The Ethiopians then were christians. However, as the Shaikh stated in the book the first among them to become a muslim at the command of the prophet was Najashi. When the prophet heard of his death, he prayed for him and declared that he will be among the first of the people of Al-Jannah . Another tradition has it that three Sudanese will be among the first who will join the inmates of Al-Jannah . They are Luqman the wise, Najashi and Bilal, the Mu'adhin of the prophet (S.A.W).[6]

The Sudan with reference to the Hausaland, writes

the Shaikh, is a country in which most of the people are infidels. Those who are muslims are at the mercy of unbelievers. The rulers have them in their power. The people follow the lead of their rulers for the most part, and live in sin and ignorance, following their lusts, and idolatory.[7]

Shaikh, with reference to Shinab-al-din, says, Among the people of the sudan are a body of muslims and also unbelievers who worship trees and water.[8]

From these accounts, the sudan was a country mostly dominated by non-muslims before the Shaikh's Jihad particularly the Hausaland. Though there were pockets of muslims here and there, yet the majority were anumists, and there was a complete absence of the Islamic values and sustems of life.

In Hausaland, at the time of Shaikh, Islam was wide-spread. But unlike the old Ghana, Mali and Songhai empires where Islam was the religion of the Kings and rulers, from where it gradually spread to the common people, the Hausaland, states the shaikh, 'Islam has become wide-spread in the land of Hausa among other than Kings. The Kings are unbelievers and nothing else. If they are believers in Islam, why are they idolators, refusing to follow the way of God, and raising the flag

of earthly power above the flag of Islam?" Querried the Shaikh.[9]

The government of the Habe Kingdom was a Kufr government because the Islamicity of a government and country is determined by the religion of its ruler. 'If the king is a muslim, his land is muslim, if he is an unbeliever, his land is a land of Kufr - unbelievers." To the Shaikh, in his Tanbin-al-Ikhwan , muslims living under such governments should under such governments should undertake Hijrah to another country; apparently justifying the Hijrah from Degal to Gudu in the year 1804 A.D.

Kitab-al-Farq-baina-wilayati Ahl-al-Islam, wa baina wilayati ahl-al-kufr is one of the famous works of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. The Book was written before the outbreak of the Jihad .

The Kitab al-Farq , unlike other works of the Shaikh, contains specific allegations of mal-administration, injustice, oppression, and moral corruption against the leadership of Hausaland. In the Book, Shaikh specifically exposed the basis of the Governments of Hausland. The Hausa traditional system of government was oppressive, and built on peoples lives, honour and possessions. Its

primary purpose was to satisfy the lusts and desires of the kings. According to Shaikh, the system of government was undermocractic and imposing, and was never a government representative of the peoples needs, says the Shaikh.:

> One of the way of their government is succession to the emirate by hereditory right and by force to the exclusion of consultation.10

The charges of Shaikh against the authority of Habe Kingdom goes beyond its political basis, and cover its disrespect to lives and property, its oppressive nature, over taxation, extravagance and luxurious living to the detriment of people's welfare, bribery and corruption, confiscation of people's property, conscription into the 'pagan' army, violation of Shariah laws, and injustice and oppression. Justice in the courts were for sale.[11]

The moral vices of the government against the muslims to which the Shaikh refers to in the Kitab-al-Farq includes prohibition of veiling by muslim women and turbaning by muslim men. Abuse of women's rights in marriage and inheritance, injustice in the treatment of wives, and multiple polygamy similar to the days of Jahiliyah 12 among others.

From these accounts of the Shaikh, the Hausa government before the Jihad was irresponsible and oppressive.

While the rulers enjoyed all the enjoyable luxuries, the generality of the masses were suffering from abject poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. Such was the Shaikh's account in Kitab-al-Farq, of the characteristics of the government of Hausaland before the Jihad that necessitated an Islamic revolution in the Hausaland of the 19th century.

BAYAN WUJUB AL-HIJRA ALA-AL-IBAD.

This is one of the very significant works of Shaikh dedicated entirely to the cause of the Jihad , the obligation of Hijra , and towards the realisation of the ideal Islamic political system.

In the Bayan Wujub al Hijra , the Shaikh stressed the obligation of emigration from the land of Kufr to the land of Islam. Quoting evidences from the Kitab and Sunnah ,[13] he concluded saying:

> O brethren, it is incumbent upon you to emigrate from the lands of unbelief to the lands of Islam so as to attain paradise and be companions of your ancestor Ibrahim, and your Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W)....14

With reference to Hausaland before the Jihad , Shaikh, in the Bayan categorised Bilad as-Sudan into three. These are:

-1. The land where unbelief predominates and Islam rarely found.

-2. The second is those lands were Islam predominates and unbelief is rare such as Bornu, Kano, Katsina, Songhay, and Mali. These lands, according to the Shaikh, is also a land of Kufr since Islam in these land is among the masses while their Sultans were unbelievers, even though they profess Islam. He argued that they were polytheists people from the way of God and uphold systems of life contrary to the 'Shariah'. 15

-3. The third is the land of Islam, which, according to the Shaikh, was not existing in the Sudan at his time.

To emigrate from these lands as in One and Two above, is obligatory on all Muslims more especially when all attempts to correct the evils and bring the leadership to obedience to God fails, and the Muslims can not depose the the ruler. Migration from such lands, according to the Shaikh is obligatory on all "Except those who are (really) weak and oppressed - men, Women, and Children - who have no means in their power nor (a guide-post) to direct their way." (Qur'an 4:98).

According to Bashier Zakaria (1983), Hijra becomes obligatory when Jihad becomes imperative to defend Islam

and the Muslim community against an aggressor. 16 The Shaikh in the Bayan al-Wujub al-Hijra, proved that Hausaland of his time was not only a land of unbelief, but a land that was hostile to the Muslim on account of their faith, and vehemently opposed to the Islamic ideas. It was therefore pertinent for the Muslims to launch an organised struggle to change the situation for the better, through Da'awa and moral persuation, and failing that, to migrate for the safety of their lives and property, and the preservation of their religion from the land hostile to Islam to the land of Islam.

TAZYIN AL WARAQAT

Tazyin Al Waraqat of Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fodio is one of the works of the Sokoto Jihadidsts that is of definite historical events of the Jihad of Sokoto in the 19th century.

Writing on the state of Hausaland before the Jihad he, like his brother and Teacher; Shaikh Uthman, sees Hausaland as a land where Kufr predominates. Zamfara, writes Abdullahi, was a land over whose people ignorance was supreme, the majority of its people had not smelt the scent of Islam. 17 As a result, Shaikh started his mission in Hausaland calling the poeple to Islam.

Shaikh Uthman according to Abdullahi, travelled for the purpose of Da'awa to all parts of Hausaland calling the poeple to the religion of God by his preaching and his qasides in other language and destroying customs contrary to muslim law. 18

In the course of this mission, his followers increased in number and became famous. Shaikh avoided the kings in his travells and Da'awa activities. Shaikh Abdullahi in the Tazyin al-waraqat says that when the Shaikh's community grew and became famous, and his presence and affairs became known to the kings and generality of the people, then Shaikh felt that it was incumbent upon him to visit the king. Says Abdullahi:-

> ... But when the community grew larger about him and his affair became well-known to the kings, and to others, he saw that he must go to them, and he travelled to the 'Amir of Ghubir, Bawa, and explained to him the true Islam, and ordered him (to observe it), and to establish justice in his lands. 19

The encouragement he recieved from king Bawa, increased his fame and popularity. He continued his mission for years, travelling to different parts of Hausaland until his followers became destinguishable from the larger community of Hausa society. As a result the king

of Gobir who succeeded Yunfa, his son Nafata, in his attempt to curtail the spread and influence of the Shaikh's following, took certain measures and made some proclamations restricting the activities and religious freedom and identity of the Jama'a .[20] This led to the movement of some followers of Shaikh to Gimbana under the leadership of Abdus-Salam. Attempts to bring them back to Alkalawa failed and as a result, the muslims in the fortified town of Gimbana were attached by the Gobir forces, killing many, looting their property and capturing some as captives of war in 1803. This was followed by threats of similar action against the Shaikh and his community at Degel. This led to the Hijra from Degel to Gudu in February, 1804, and the famous Jihad of Hausaland of the 19th century.

DIYA'AL-SIYASAT: of Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio. This book was written in Gwandu by the author. It was after the division of the caliphate by the shaikh in 1912 between his brother Abdullahi, and his son Muhammad Bello for effective administration. At Gwandu, Shaikh Abdullahi wrote the Diya'al-Siyasat on the request of his students as a guide on how to run social, political, economic and administrative affairs of a community. The Book therefore, centres on how to run an Islamic state.

Diya-al-Siyasat contained two chapters and a conclusion. Chapter one deals with the art of Islamic politics of administration. The shaikh (Abdullahi) defined Shari'ah politics as "a system of government geared towards welfare of mankind, regardless of their race, geographical location, language and religious inclination. Warding off of moral and material corruption and exposure of all kinds of injustice in all aspects of human life."[21] Chapter two deals with devotional and worship rites in Islam. Such aspects include purification, prayer, mosque, congregational prayer, Zakat, Hajji, fasting, matters of Jihad, marriage and divorce among others. He concluded the book on aspects of sufism but quickly warned of the danger of acquiring the knowledge of the science of sufism without the knowledge of jurisprudence, arguing that action without pure devotion to Allah is meaningless.

The Diya'al-Siyasat, written at about five years after the Jihad is silent about the conditions of Hausaland before the Jihad . However, it is related to the present research on the political ideals of the Jihad and shall be treated as such.

INFAKUL-MAISUR of Sultan Muhammed Bello:

This book is one of the reknown works of Sultan Muhammad Bello. It is of dual significance; historical and political. It deals extensively with the pre-Jihad Hausaland, the Bilad-al-Sudan at the time of Shaikh Uthman, causes of the Jihad , and the post Jihad era culminating to the establishment of Sokoto caliphate.

Like the Kitab el-Ferq of his Father; the Shaikh, INFAK AL-MAISUR contains specific allegations against the Habe kingdom. Most significant in his description of the Hausaland before the Jihad was its blank or Zero knowledge of God. "I am living on the fringe of the Sudan; says Bello, 'the Sudan where paganism and dark ignorance prevails; where as Shaikh Magili wrote 'the better opinion is that ignorance and lust, and irreligion are usual'.[22]

According to Sultan Bello, Islam has not reached a great part of Hausaland before the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman.[23] The Shaikh and his community found Hausaland ina state of unbelief and ungdliness. There was much heathenism and evil and wickedness.[24]

The ignorance of God and the disbelieve in His religion - Islam, was wide spread in the Hausaland among all classes of the society. Among the Hausas were people who believed not in Tauhid - unity of God.

> They do not pray, they paid no zakat. They did not fast. There were among them also heathens who worshipped trees and stones and spirits. They called each other heathens but did not pray or fast or pay Zaka, and they spoke evil of God. These people were the majority in the land of Sudan.

Sultan Bello continued to say:

> There were also Fulani, obstinate in character in the land of Hausa, and Tuareg. Some of them used to pray and fast and pay zakka, but they were not whole-hearted in it. They mingled fetish customs which they had inherited from their Fathers with Islam.

This attitude of unbelief and syncretism was not limited to the masses alone, but to the ruling classes as well.

Says Sultan Muhammad Bello:

> So also, most of the chiefs of the country, they used to pray and keep the fast and pay zakka and speak the name of God. But they were not whole hearted in it. They also observed their evil customs. They remained in their ignorance. Such were most of the Fulani.

However, this does not mean that there were no sincere muslims in the Sudan before the Jihad of Sokoto. The fact here is that majority of those that claim Islam mixed it with heathenism. Yet, there were strict adherents to the Faith. Sultan Muhammad Bello, in the Infaq-al-Maisur, further says:

> There were some true muslims here in the Sudan, but the greater number were backsliders. Some made their abolutions properly and prayed and fasted and paid zakka,... they were very few in this country.25

The history of Islam in the Sudan (Hausaland in particular), shows that the Sudan, for quite some time, after the period of Askia Muhammad of Songhay, were in the habit of mixing Islam with their traditional belief and worship rites. Al-maqili, as quoted by Bello in the Infaq-al-Maisur says.... 'the better opinion is that ignorance, and lust and irreligion are usual" in the sudan. Also quoting Shaikh jibril ibn Umar, Bello says:-

> What happened in the countries of Sudan was mingling of heathen and muslim practices. The Hausa chiefs did not begin it themselves nor did they make the change. It was something they inherited for we do not hear that they were ever free from this mingling of practices. Had they ever been so we should have heard of it. They are infact as they were when they first received the revelation of prayer and fasting and confession of faith. The ignorant and those of little knowledge imagine that they are muslims but they are not.[26]

According to Sultan Bello, the chiefs and their agents did not attack Shaikh Uthman and his people because at first, they were considered poor, weak and small in number and therefore incapable of threatening the socio-political order of the time. But with the increase in the Shaikh's following, their obedience to him and commitment

to the cause of Islam, the Sultan of Gobir then prevented or took measures to prevent others from joining the Shaikh's movement.27

With divided loyalty of the peasants in Hausaland, first to the Sultan of Gobir, and then to Shaikh Uthman, the Habe rulers then saw clearly the political implication of Shaikh's movement. In a calculated attempt to stop the growth and political influence of the Jamā'a, says Sultan Muhammad Bello, "they gathered together and took counsel and said that the man must be prevented from calling to religion and from preaching in public and that every man must be commanded to return to what he had inherited from his Father and grand-Father."[28]

Under Sarki Yunfa, the opposition to the Shaikh and his 'Jamā'a' became intensified. Muslims became objects of attack. Sultan Muhammad Bello also mentioned the attack on the muslims at Gimbana. The muslims there were taken unawares. Many of them were killed. Among the dead were men, women and children, including Quranic reciters (memorisers of the holy Quran) and muslim scholars. Their property were taken as booty, and their wives and children and others captured.

This hostility increased the aggressiveness of the Habe Kingdom against the Jamã'a. Sarki Yunfa, then turned his attention to Degel. He sent to Shaikh to leave the town with his family for safety as the town was facing an eminent sack like Gimbana. Shaikh refused the offer and preferred to leave with his entire followers. As a result, he migrated in February 1804 from Degel to Gudu. Many of Shaikh's followers from all parts of the country made the Hijra to Degel and joined their leader. The Muhajirun were attacked, robbed, and plundered. Some reached Degel without their property, others without property and family, while the lucky ones went to Gudu safely with their property and family.[29] With the Hijrah successfully undertaken, a clash between the two contending forces became imperative.

WATHIQAT AHL-AL-SUDAN WAMAN SHA'ALLAHU MINAL IKHMAN

of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

The Wathiqat is a document that contained a summary of the most important pronouncements of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. According to Bivar (1961), 'the Wathiqat ahl al-Sudan contains a summary statement of the chief pronouncements and teachings of Shaikh Uthman at a period early in his career.'[30]

The contents of the Wathiqat suggests that it was written at a time close to the outbreak of the Jihad. Its reference to the Dar-al-Islam and Dar-al-Harb, the obligations of Hijra, the Jihad, and the responsibilities of the leadership in commanding what is right and forbidding evil, and appointment and election to sensitive offices on merit other than hereditory, are significant landmarks in the political history of (Islam in) the Hausaland.

The Hausaland before the Jihad according to the Wathiqat was a land of Kufr.[31] Flight (Hijra)[32] from such a land is obligatory; Jihad against such a land and its leadership is a responsibility of the believers.[33]

> And to make war against the king who is an apostate-who has not abandoned the religion of Islam as far as the profession of it is concerned, but who mingless the observances of Islam with the observances of heathendom, like the kings of Hausaland for the most part - is (also) obligatory by assent and to take the government from him is obligatory by assent.34

The Wathiqat ahl-al-Sudan must have been written just before the outbreak of the Jihad. As such, it omitted other allegations of social evils, moral vices, and political excesses against the Habe kingdom as reflected in his earlier works. This document (the

'Wathiqat') contained appeals to the believers and Shaikh's followers to take the Islamic alternative, to first, migrate, and secondly, fight the Jihad . It also closes the possibility of a compromise in the struggles with the Habe kings.

The Story of Nigeria

This Book, The Story of Nigeria (Crowder Micheal, 1962) specially deals with the history of Nigeria from the birth of what is today called Nigeria after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914, through the colonial era, to the attainment of independence in 1960.

The sixth Chapter of this is dedicated to what the author called 'The Holy War of Usman Dan Fodio'. The sources from which this chapter is derived are the works of the Shaikh himself, his brother Abdullahi; and his son Muhammad Bello.[35] However, Crowder Micheal (1962), his conclusions are diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Jihad as presented in these works. For instance, writing on the state of the Fulani muslims in Hausaland before the Jihad , he states:

> Thus the Fulani rose in rebellion against the Mandingo authorities... The aim of these rebels was to establish state governed in accordance with the Shariah.

Linking the Jihad with the Shaikh's Movement, he says: 'The importance of these Jihads --- was that they served as inspiration for Usman Dan Fodio in his own Jihad against the rulers of Hausaland'[36] Here, Micheal Crowder (1962) the author presents the Sokoto Jihad as a continuation of the old struggle between the Fulani and the Hausa, and therefore saw the Jihad as a rebellion . The author closed his eyes to the socio-economic, and political conditions that necessitated the movement which accounted for the large and diversified followership of the Shaikh which cut across tribal or ethnic boundaries. He failed to understand the objectives of the Jihad from the Jihadists' point of view.

Johnston H.A.S. (1967). The Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Though the Book made references to the original works of the Jihadists, such as Nasa'ih al Ummat-al Muhammadiya , and Wathiqat ahl-al-Sudan , all of Shaikh Uthman, there seems to be a complete absence of the Shaikh's account in Johnston's Fulani Empire of Sokoto. This is because he saw the Jihad , like Crowder, as a tribal and social conglicts between the Hausa and Fulani.[37] Partly quoting the Shaikh's work, Johnston, H.A.S. (1969) says:

> Bawa was considered a tyrant because of the severity with which he ordered Jangali, the tax on cattle, to be assessed and collected. Those who tried to evade it, as to a greater or lesser extent the pastoral Fulani have always tried to do, had their cattle seized. As a result there was friction and animosity. Some of the Fulani conceived such a strong sense of grievance that they reacted in their traditional manner, that is to say they pulled up their roots and departed;....thus were the serious seeds of discord sown.

In the above statements, the author tried to show that the Jihad of Sokoto, led by the Fulani Shaikh, was conceived out of the traditional friction and animosity between the Hausa and Fulani in Hausaland before the Jihad'.

However, a close examination of the internecine war-fare in Hausaland before the Jihad, heavy taxation, conscription, social evils and moral corruption, coupled with the unstable political system of the time, will go a long way to show that the Shaikh's movement was long over-due in Hausaland. This partly accounts for the popularity of the movement and the support from the common folk. The friction between the Hausa and Fulani is of no significance to the over-all objectives of the Jihad .

Johnston is also of the opinion that the Jihad was not conceived by the Shaikh in the cause of his movement, suggesting that it was an accident. He says:

"There is no evidence whatever to suggest that he, (Shehu) had planned the Jihad in advance and was now engineering a breach in order to bring it about...." Contrary to this, the Jihad of Sokoto was conceived in the minds of the Jihadists long before its outbreak. The period Shaikh took preaching, and calling people to the doing of good and forbiding evil and all the sacrifices made, before his Hijra from Degel to Gudu in 1804 C.E, was a normal process of Islamic revivalism. This gradual Islamisation is sanctioned by the Qur'an and prophetic traditions; taking clear inferences from the life of the holy prophet (S.A.W).

Last, Murray, (1967). The Sokoto Caliphate.

This book is fundamentally based on the accounts of the Jihadists in their works on the Jihad of the 19th century, and oral accounts by descendants of the Jihadists.

On Hausaland before the Jihad , Last M. (1967) stated that Islam reached Hausaland some centuries before the Jihad . However, the muslims were never as organised before the Shaikh's Jihad . The absence of a recognised and capable religious leader must have probably accounted for the muslims' obedience to the Sultan of Hausaland. "As soon as the Shaikh(Shehu)emerged", says the author, "they followed the Shaikh in opposition

to the Sultan."[38]

Justifying the Shaikh's five demands at the Magami meeting with King Bawa after Id celebrations, Last, M. (1967) suggests that the Shaikh's demand reflects the socio-economic, political and religious conditions of the time. Over-taxation, conscription, injustice and oppression and appointments of unqualified officials characterised Hausaland before the Jihad . The political implications of the Shaikh's demands, his popularity after the Magami meeting, and the increase in his followership goes a long way to suggest the need for a political revolution in Hausaland. This, according to Last (1967), partly accounts for the representation of different interests for different groups in the movement.[39]

The presence of many interest groups partly accounts for the difficulty in explaining the over-all interests and objectives of those who participated in the movement. This research is an attempt to justify the needs for a political revolution in Hausaland in the 19th century. Last's account, agrees with the Jihadists points of view and relates with this research on the socio-economic and political events in Hausaland that necessitated the Islamic movement of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio in the nineteenth century.

2.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE JIHAD

Introduction

The Jihad of Sokoto was necessitated by the social, political, economic and religious conditions of the time. This partly justifies the presence of various interest groups in the movement. It also accounts for the difficulty of some historians to justify the Islamicity of the 'Jihad'. Many writers thought and maintained that an Islamic movement should have nothing to do with the political and socio-economic aspects of the society, but should rather be devoted to reviving the religious spirit of the adherents of Islam.

No accurate account of the Sokoto Jihad could be made, justifying its political basis, or otherwise, without a close examination of what the Jihadists said was their objectives.

Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio in his Book Kitab al-Farq states that the objectives of the Islamic Government includes enjoining what is right and forbiding what is wrong, establishing prayer, wag ing the 'JIHAD' against the unbelievers and oppressors, defending the muslim territory, reforming the markets and setting up an economic order free from usury and exploitation. Writes the Shaikh:

> ---- an example of stripping evil things from religious and temporal affairs is that every Governor of a province should strive to fortify strongholds and wage a holy war against the unbelievers, and the war-makers and the oppressors, and set up a military station on every frontier and combat every cause of corruption which occurs in his country, and forbid every disapproved thing; ---- and that he should strive to reform the markets and to rights the affairs of the poor and the needy, and order the doing of every approved thing. 40

From this account, the objectives of the movement is not only religious, but political and military, social and economic. It covers all aspects of life and that makes it revolutionary in nature. The objectives of the movement as in the Kitab-alFarq are some of the functions of the government which the Jihad of Shaikh aimed at establishing as an alternative to the oppressive and corrupt system of government in pre-Jihad Hausaland.

The functions of the government which the Jihad aimed at establishing is further elucidated in Tanbih al-Ikwan. Sections five and six of the book are wholly dedicated to the institution of Arm bil ma'ruf wan-Nahyi 'anil Munkar and deterrent measures against sinfulness; as contained in the message of Shaikh

Abdurrahman al-Suyuti to the Kings of the Sudan and Hausaland. .

Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio in his works: Tazyin al Waraqat and Diya'al-Siyasat, on the objectives of the Sokoto Jihad says that it was in self defence, to spread the faith, and establish justice on the land. When the Jama'a's popularity and influence became a recogniseable force in the land, and the Habe rulers increased their persecution to weaken the movement. At the time when the Jama'a's commitments to the cause of Islam and their readiness to sacrifice their lives and property in the cause of the religiion became stronger, the Shaikh permitted his followers to carry arms in self defence. Says Abdullahi bn Fodio.

> When the Shaikh saw the greatness of his community, and their desire to break away from the unbelievers, and commence holy war, began to incite them to arms, saying to them: Verily to make ready weapons is sunnah, and we began to make weapons ready. 41

Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio in the Diya'a al-siyasat, defined politics as

> an institution geared towards the protection of the general welfare of mankind regardless of their race, geographic location, language and religious inclination, warding off of moral and material corruption and exposure of all acts of injustice in all aspects of human life. 42

This shows to a greater extent that the Jihad was not a movement towards reviving the Islamic rituals alone but to install a 'Government of God' on earth committed to social justice and human welfare.

Shaikh Abdullahi categorised politics into two. These are: 'Just' and 'unjust' political institutions. The aim of the just political institution is, according to shaikh Abdullahi, 'to restore the rights of the weak from the strong and tryants as well as to prevent corrupt and evil minded forces from spreading corruption, oppression, and disorder in the name of order, instability in the name of stability or war in the name of peace.[43] According to Shehu Umar Abdullahi (1983), "The Sokoto Jihad movement was not principally designed to re-enforce the spiritual aspects of Islam, but rather its policico-social aspects. That, to Shehu Abdullahi was the impectus to the moving spirit of the Sokoto Jihad movement."[44]

From these accounts of Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio, the objectives of Sokoto Jihad is multi dimensional. It was a movement aimed at a complete overthrow of all agents of unbelief and ungodly socio-economic and political institutions of Hausaland.

Sultan Muhammad Bello in his work, Infaku-Maisur; gave three reasons for the Jihad of Sokoto. These are:

-1 Self-Defence. The Jihad was undertaken, says Bello "In order to repel attacks upon ourselves, our families and our faith". He further argued:

> We did not begin it (Jihad), and the beginning was the stand we madw when we repulsed the army of the Sarkin Gobir at the time when he was oppressing us. He began the fight, he rose up and attacked us. When we fought him we overcame him. 45

-2 To revive and spread Islam. Majority of the people in Hausaland before the jihad were not muslims. 'our Jihad', say Bello, "tore up the threes of the heathen and destroyed their tickets and made muslims of most of the people of this land. It gave the muslims power over the length and breadth of this country".[46]

-3 To aid truth against falsehood and to strengthen Islam. "The chiefs",says Bello, "their people and Mallams were evil doers. Though they called themselves Muslim and made the confession of faith and prayed and fasted, yet with these acts they joined that which none but heathen would do, such as sacrrifices to stones and trees".

Sultan Muhammad Bello's account on the objectives of the Jihad also goes beyond the primary objective of purifying the religion, and free it from accretion, syncretism and local particularism. But that the Jihad was partly aimed at reviving all the segments that make up the human society.

In the Wathiqat ahl-al Sudan , the objectives of the Jihad were the establishment of a Governmental institution representative of Allah's sovereignty on earth, to enjoin what is right and forbid what is evil, to enforce the Divine laws; to fight against the evils of social corruption and moral degeneration, and establish a society free from oppression, robbery and brigandage.

From these accounts of the Jihadists, the Jihad of Sokoto was aimed at evolving a new individual and a new social order in Hausaland. On the objectives of Islamic movement, Sayyid Abul Ala-Mawdudi (1945) says:-

> Non muslims partly from prejudice and partly from lack of information, do not understand that ungodly leadership is at the root of the evils afflicting humanity and that it is essential for human well-being that the affairs of the world should be directed by moral and God-fearing people.

He continued to say:-

> Whenever corruption is let loose in the world whatever injustice is done, whenever tyrancy or oppression exists, whatever poison flows in the veins of human culture, economic life and politics, whatever mis-use of resources and human knowledge for destruction instead of welfare and enlightenment there may be the reason is bad leadership. 47

The Prophet (S.A.W) said:-

> There are two classes in my Ummah -
> if they are right the Ummah is set right;
> if they go wrong the Ummah goes wrong:
> they are the rulers and scholars. 48

The people who have faith in their hearts and those who aspire to please God, will neither surrender to domination by corrupt and oppressive system, nor hesitate to surrender their lives and property to launch an organised struggle to establish Islam. This is what exactly Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio did in Hausaland - leading to the establishment of the sokoto caliphate. Webster, J.B. and others (1967), in the Revolutionary years, West Africa since 1800,

On the reasons for the Jihad stated thus:

> The grievances of the muslim community, both Hausa and Fulani against the Aristocracy were religious, political, and economic---------- consequently the schoolars preached reform, and attracted not only devote muslims and those who were muslims only in name, but also pagans ready to support reform even if they did not like the muslim religion. 49

Such was the situation in Hausaland before the emergence of Shaikh Uthman. The socio-economic and political conditions were so terrible, that the only saviours of the society and people were no less than the muslim scholars who preached reforms. It is pertinent to note here that the reform preached by the scholars was in line with the Islamic conception of

society, and its socio-political and economic values. So serious was the situation then that even pagans were ready to support reform. The aim of the reformist movement, to my mind, in addition to reviving the religious ideals, is the overthrow of the existing political order. The Shaikh's movement was therefore a political necessity as it was religiously motivated.

Crowder Michael (1962) however, saw the Jihad as a struggle between the Fulani and Hausa. The objective of the movement, to him, was therefore a struggle to establish Fulani political hegemony over Hausaland. He writes:

> Beyond the primary religious motive lay many political and economic factors. Group feelings were of dominant influence. The Fulani were a small minority amongst the Hausa, and some authorities have sought to explain the Jihad as a war between Fulani immigrants and Habe Hausa rulers....50.

This statement is deliberately made to falsify the truth and present falsehood in painted colours for sale to the ardent seekers of truth. If the Sokot o Jihad movement was a war between Fulani immigrants and Habe Hausa rulers, many Hausa peasants would not have supported the Shaikh, so also the Fulani would not have fought against their bretheren. The point is that the Jihad was an idealist movement based on clearly defined Islamic ideologies.

Ade Ajayi, J.F. and Ian Espie (Ed)(1965) A Thousand Years of West African History.

Here, an idea of divergent objectives in the movement is propounded. That, while Shaikh and some of his followers were fighting sincerely for the establishment of Islam, others were struggling for some worldly purposes.

> During the course of the Jihad compaigns and the establishment of Sokoto power no doubt many other and mixed motives were present, both among the leaders and among the rank and file who joined in the Jihad, but there seems no reasons to doubt that the Shehu himself was absolutely sincere in his ideals of reviving Islam and setting up an Islamic system of Government and social order along lines which he considered to be orthodox. 51

Sultan Bello, in Infaq al-Maisur confirmed that many people joined the Jihad for reasons other than Islam. Evidently, there were political disputes between the Sarkin Gobir, and Sarkin Danko, Sarkin Burmi, Sarkin Marafa, and others. According to Bello they were "unwilling followers of the Sarkin Gobir from before the Hijra" When the news of muslim victories reached them; continued Bello, "they were delighted and wished to ally themselves with the muslims "On account of their hostility to the Sarkin Gobir and not from any wish to become muslims".[52]

It is my candid opinion that the presence of many interest groups in the movement has nothing to do with the primary objectives of the Jihad . Significantly, the Islamic movement at the time of the prophet (S.A.W) were attended by some people who were not sincere adherents of the faith. Moreso, any movement of this type, involving large number of people and a movement aimed at a complete overhaul of the socio-political and economic order, call it revolution, is bound to carry different people along. If the faithful people dominate the movement, it will move according to desire objectives (as much as possible). Such was the Shaikh's movement of 19th century Hausaland.

Moveover, the representation of people with objectives or motives other than Islam in the movement demonstrates the desire of the majority of people for a change. Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio provided the incentive, the mechanism and vehicle for the change. It was the Jihad of the 19th century - in Hausaland.

Ajayi, F.J.A. and other (Ed) (1974) 'history of West Africa: Vol.2. In this book, the religious motive of the Jihad is questioned on the grounds that'the city states of Hausaland were not completely pagan societies as "Islam in varying degrees had been established for centuries in the trading quarters of the cities, while royal households in many cases, says the

author 'had been at least nominal muslims for generations"[53] The Jihadists of Sokoto neither denied that Islam reached Hausaland before the Jihad. The contention was the mixing of Islam with pagan practices. As a revivalist movement, a primary objective of the movement is first to free Islam from accretion and syncretism, and re-establish the faith and practices of Islam on the teachings of the Qur'an and sunnah; and secondly to reflect the Islamic values in all aspects of life.

The book made up of contributions from eminent historians, discusses the Jihad in general, and particularly the evolution of the caliphate; an examination of the caliphate after the Jihad. Though it highlights certain political achievements of the Jihad, it could not justify the political necessities of the Jihad from the context of Islamic concept of Tajdid . An independent study on the religious justifications for the political aspects of the Jihad is therefore long over-due.

2.4 THE POLITICAL IDEALS OF THE JIHAD

The political ideals of the Jihad is to establish a Government representative of Allah's sovereignty on earth. Tajdid , i.e Islamic movement or revivalism, according to Mawdudi, is geared towards "establishing

and maintaining the sovereignty of God on earth, or the way of life ordained by Him." The Sokoto Jihad could therefore be seen as a movement aimed, first, at overthrowing the government that has rebelled against God and His Guidance and has subjected His religion (Islam) to ridicle, and His servants to slavery and sufferings, and secondly, to effect a change of leadership at all levels in accordance with the divine injunctions. The works of the Jihadists of Sokoto clearly illustrates that they had a political vision and message to deliver. Although the Jihad of Sokoto to the Jihadists, was purely religious, it has political, social and economic implications, because it implied a change of leadership at all levels of human life.

> The Objective of Islamic movement in this world, says Mawdudi, 'is revolution in leadership. A leadership that has rebelled against God and His guidance and is responsible for the sufferings of mankind has to be replaced by a leadership that is God conscious, righteous and committed to following divine guidance.

The political objectives of Islam on the earth is therefore to set up and maintain a just Government representative of the authority of God on earth, to

enable people commit themselves entirely to God's truth and that they should serve and worship only God. A Government that makes the law of God, i.e. Shari'ah the law by which people lead their lives and ensure that injustice is eradicated and those vices which incure God's anger is wiped out, and uphold the social values cherished by God should be cherished. Mawdudi continued to say:

> These aims can not be realised so long as power and leadership in society are in the hands of disbelieving rulers gone astray, and the followers of Islam confine themselves to worship rites, that, too, depending on the often arbitrary patronage and support of those very rulers. only when power in society is in the hands of the believers and the righteous, can the objectives of Islam be realised. 56

In Kitab al-Farq', the Shaikh explained the ways or characteristics of the muslim or Islamic Government. He says:

> The purpose of muslims in their Governments is to strip evil things from religious and temporal affairs, and introduce reforms into religious and temporal affairs.....

He concluded saying:

> These qualities which have been mentioned in this section are the qualities of the way of the muslims in their governments, and he who follows them in his Emirship,

> has followed the way of paradise, which is the straight way. God most High has said: 'And that this is my path straight; so do you follow it, and follow not diverse paths, lest, they scatter you from His way. 57

Contrary to the notion that Jihad was accidental and was not on the agenda of the Jihadists of Sokoto until lately in the course of the movement, the Shaikh had a political vision. And he intended to infuse those ideals to the political structure of the time through Ja'awa , and when that failed, through the Jihad. He partly concluded the Kitab al-Farq saying:

> I ask in the name of the Great God, every scholar and rightous man, nay, every muslim in these countries to assist me in building up the characteristics of the muslims in their Governments, and putting down the characteristics of the unbelievers in their governments. And everyone who helps me in that, I ask the Great God to unite me with him in the highest Gardens of paradise. 58

The political ideal of the Shaikh was the realisation of the ideal political system of Islam. And in doing this, Shaikh followed the political theories of Islam as propounded by earlier theologians. In the Tanbih al-Ikwan , the Shaikh specifically dedicated section five of the book to the message of Shaikh Abdur-Rahman As-Suyuti to the Kings of the Sudan and Hausaland. This, to a greater extent, is an evidence that Shaikh was truely a 'reformer', who intended to revive Islam and the Islamic political system in Hausaland.

enemies suppressed. Disunity produces the opposite of this".[60] Shaikh Uthman, quoting Ahmed Zarruq, in his (Zarruq) Qawa'id , says:

> maintain order is essential and to safeguard the public interests is an indispensable necesity; for this reason it has been forbidden to revolt against an Imam by word or deed. So much so that they sanctioned by their Ijma' 'that prayers could be performed behind any Governor or other Imam whether he be righteous or sinful. 61.

The leadership qualities listed by the Shaikh in Bayan wujub al-Hijra are eleven.[62] By these qualities, the Habe rulers were not qualified to lead the muslims. This (that the Habe rulers had no qualities to lead), partly accounts for the political instablity and internecine war-fare in Hausaland before the Jihad of Sokoto.

Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio in the Diya'a Siyasat, "regarded politics as a trust: and that any muslim who partakes in it, must accept to work diligently day and night and therefore suffer physically, intellectually and emotionally all in order to please Allah and serve humanity in anticipation of reward from the former not popularity from the letter."[63] The Sokoto Jihad movement according to Shehu Umar Abdullahi (1980) was not principally designed to re-enforce

the spiritual aspects of Islam, but rather its politico-social aspects. That, to Shehu Abdullahi (Ibn Fodio) was the impetus and the moving spirit of the Sokoto Jihad movement.[64]

In Diya'al-Siyasat , Shaikh Abdullahi's political ideals of the Jihad was to install a Government that fights injstice, corruption, restore the rights of the weak from the strong and curtail tyrany in the land. It includes the general protection and welfare of mankind, regardless of their race, tribe, geographical location, and religious inclination, the warding-off of moral and material corruption and exposure of all acts of injstice in all aspects of human life.

According to Sultan Muhammad Bello in Infaku-Maisur ,though many people joined the Jihad for considerations other than religion, the political ideal of the Jihad was to free mankind from subserviency to beings other than Allah, and install a Government that will aid truth against falsehood.[65]

From these accounts, the Jihad of Sokoto which was purely religious in nature had a definite political objective, since there is no separation between religious and secular life in Islam. Its aim was the realisation of the Islamic political system in Hausaland.

However, most of the post-Jihad literary works in this regard are the works of the historians whose work dominate the other sources in the study of Nigerian history and the Sokoto caliphate in particular. They are the writers with the colonialist historical approach to the study of the Sokoto Jihad.

This class of historians' conception of the Sokoto Jihad is full of prejudice and bias. It seems most unfortunate that these writers have already drawn their conclusions about the movement even before they started their works and as such failed to consider the socio-economic and political conditions of Hausa-Land before the Jihad, the ideological orientation of the movement, and why the movement succeeded in Hausaland.

For instance, Guy Bucikas (1979) and others viewed the Jihad as a tribal or ethnic conflicts between the Hausa's and the Fulani. 'John R. Willis (1967) claimed that the nineteenth century Jihad "was----- backward looking----"[66] Marilyn R. Waldman (1965) did not oly see the Jihad as accidental but as a result of disdained personal relationship between Shaikh, the preacher, and Sarkin Gobir. She writes:-

> "....Because of a crisis in his relations with the Sarkin Gobir Usuman changed his goals and called for political overthrow of the Hausa system rather than for reform within it.....67.

Others viewed the Jihad as a consequence of the persistent struggle between the Fulani immigrants and the settled Hausa community. In reaction, the Fulani led by the Shaikh decided to overthrow the indigineous Habe rulers and impose a Fulani led minority Government over the vast Hausaland. Because of this, Nicolas G. Opinned that the Jihad of Sokoto had thrown the whole of central sudan into confusion.[68] Even the reknown Nigerian historian cum-journalist and now an elected Governor of a state in the third republic (Segun Osoba) saw the entire process of social transofrmation, political integration, and economic stabilization of the present day Northern Nigeria through the Jihad of Sokoto as a 'TRAGEDY'.[69]

But a close examination of the Jihad of Sokoto in the 19th century and the accounts of the Jihad given by the Jihadists among other sources would reveal that the Jihad, contrary to these assumption and generalisations, cut accross ethnic and tribal boundaries, and was purely an ideological movement supported by

the masses of Hausaland. The socio-economic, political and educational conditions of the pre-Jihad Hausaland and an objective comparison with the post-Jihad Hausaland, would reveal that the new social order created by the Jihad, the centralised and relatively peaceful political atmosphere, the reforms introduced in the economic order of the time, and above all, the unprecedented intellectual contributions of the Jihad makes the movement not only progressive in nature, but revolutionary in character. We read in the Tazyinal-Waraqat , that the majority of the Fulani did not join the movement until a special appeal was made to them through a poem composed by Shaikh Abdullah bn Fodio.[70] This alone is e ough to show that contrary to the view that the Jihad was a result of persistent struggle between the Hausa and Fulani, the Jihad was an ideological movement across tribal and ethnic boundaries.

For this class of wroters, it is not surprising that they failed to realise the political ideals of the Jihad, and instead made a sweeping conclusion that the Jihad was a mere attempt to impose the Fulani political authority over Hausaland.

2.5 THE OUTCOME OF THE JIHAD

The Jihad of Sokoto marked the end of the political hegemony of the Habe rulers not only in the old Gobir and Kasar Zamfara , and Kebbi, where the Jihadists had a direct influence but the entire Hausa states in the then Hausaland of the Bilad-as-Sudan . And in its place, a new political entity emerged; the Sokoto caliphate.

The Sokoto caliphate was the outcome of the 'Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. The caliphate differed ina number of ways with the old Hausa (city) states politically. The structure of the caliphate, its system of administration, dispensation of justice, and its system of power distribution among others are reflections of the political ideals of the Jihadists.

In Tanbih al-Ikhwan , Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio says:-

> ....we have fought them and put them to flight, and killed some, and driven tothers from this land by the power of God most High. We have appointed muslims Governnors over the land, and it has become a land of Islam without doubt. Praise be to God." 71.

The Jihad of Sokoto made Islam the official religion of the caliphate and destroyed heathenism. Islamic education and civilisation was spread, and scholarship in the sciences of the religion wer encouraged. Rulers,

Governors, Judges were appointed according to the political visions of the Jihadists. Political unity, peace and harmonious co-existence were established. Sultan Muhammad Bello, in the Infakul-Maisur says:

> Now in our times these countries have become muslim, for God has taken away their corrupt practices and left what is good by the blessing of Shehu who is GodIs gift to this land, for he enriched it with many blessings, he has given it a surpassing glory.... He removed all grounds for contention and error and there are none remaining. God laid open these countries to him. He established justice among them and set up a ruler in each land to rule it in the right way. Prayer became constant, Zakka was given, the Jihad was carried out knowledge was spread abroad, strife was put down, the disobedient were punished, extortioners brought to justice, roads made safe and the faith made secure in the world....7.

Most significant outcome of the Sokoto Jihad in relation to the present research, is its political significance. All things being equal. the Jihad put to an end the antagonism and internecine warfare between the Hausa states, unified the entire Hausaland and brought them under a central political authority, and peace and stability then came into the political history of Hausaland.

One of the acknowledged political outcome in the secondary sources, despite their sharp criticisms of the Jihad, is that it led to the collapse of the Hausa

city states and the establishment of the caliphate with a centralised political authority, and with delegated political powers in the different parts of the caliphate, culminating into the emirate system in the then Hausaland. The large caliphate, the first of its kind in the history of the sudan, according to Murray Last, (1962), "stretches from Masina to Baghirmi - a four months journey - and from Yorubaland to the ends of Adar and Agades - a good two months from sough to North".[73]

Michael Crowder (1962) stressed that the greatest achievements of the movement were first,

> The establishment of a Uniform system of government through a vast area of Nigeria which for centuries before hand had been torn by internecine wars; and second, the stimulation of commerce under what might be called the pax Fulani and finally, and in many ways most significant of all, the literary revolution which it stimulated. 74.

Johnston (1967) opinned that the Shaikh's movement created a great territorial empire. "He found Islam in the central Sudan corrupt", says Johnston "and persecuted, he ledt it purified and supreme. He found the Fulani landless and insecure; he left them a ruling aristocracy".[75] Even though this assessment tends

to suggest a racial or ethnic outlook of the movement, yet the extent of its territorial extension and the purification of Islam from accretion and suncretism is worth noting.

The Jihad of Sokoto created a society governed by Shari'ah , a society where, according to Last (1974) "Muslims could be muslims under a muslim administration".[96] Socio-moral evils prevalent in the pre-Jihad Hausaland were eliminated. It guaranteed the security of lives and property contrary to frequent raids characteristic of Hausaland before the Jihad.

The caliphate the Jihad gave birth to, unlike the Habe Kingdom, was directly involved in all aspects of life of the community (be it social, political, economic,, military, educational or religious affairs), this ensured the infusion of the Islamic ideals in the body politic of the time. Murray Last (1974) states that "Sokoto Administration was necessarily a centrally supervised federation bound together by the common practice of Islam and by respect for the legitimacy which Islam and the Jihad gave to the caliph and His representative".[77] The high degree of centralisation of authority made the application of Islam possible in the new Federation.

Another significant outcome of the Jihad was the creation of a society of conscious and ardent seekeers of knowledge, given to the learning of the Quranic theology and other branches of Islamic sciences. Education was attainable by all the classes of the society; men, women and children. The status of women was fully guaranted according to the Shari'ah . It is significant to note that the Shaikh's allegations against the Habe Kingdom as in 'Nur-al-Baba' was that:

> Men treat these beings (women) like household implements which become broken after long use, ... this is an abominable crime. Alas-how can they shut up their wives, their daughters and their captives in the darkness of ignorance while they daily impart knowldge to their students.

Now, with the Jihad successfully fought, women were not only educated, "but they became teachers in their own right as they were responsible for the education of children at the elementary levels."[78]

The literary monuments left by the Jihadists contributed immensely to education and learning, not only in the caliphate but even beyond.

Significantly, the political system of administering the emirate in the caliphate were not only "left intact by the British colonialists in the north",[79] but borrowed to other parts of the colonial Africa. This is a landmark in the political ideal of the Jihadists of Sokoto.

The caliphate survived for a century before colonisation. And for nearly another century thereafter, the political significance of the caliphate despite all odds, reflected in the present day Northern Nigeria, is a force to be recknoned with in the political history of Nigeria.

A lot of studies and researches have been undertaken on the Sokoto Jihad. For quite sometime, the conventional colonialist approach to the study of the sokoto caliphate dominates the sources for the study of the Jihad movements in the Sudan. Most recently however, a lot has been written on the Sokoto Jihad with a view to presenting the movement in its true perspective. Most of these works are post graduate studies.

Following the sicoveries of the more significant works of the Jihadists, efforts have been specially

geared towards studying the religious and political ideals of the Jihad from these works. Most of these studies are traslations and editions of the works of the Jihadists, and analysis of the socio-economic, and political conditions leading to the Jihad. These studies also reviewed, the Jihad as a movement that was committed to the radical transofrmation of the social and political situation of the time.

This research is an attempt to justify the political necessities of the Jihad as an indenende studdy. This section is therefore aimed at reviewing the earlier but relevant studies in this area.

Adamu M. "A Hausa Government in decline: Yawuri in the 19th century". M.A. Thesis, A.B.U., (1986).

This workd examines the decline of the State of Yawuri in the early part of the nineteenth century to its final collapse in the hands of British rule.

The Hausa Government of Yawuri was established in the second half of the fifteenth century. From the 15th to the beginning of the 19th century, it passed through series of political conflicts and instability, resulting from inte-state wars characteristic of Hausaland before the Jihad, and succession disputes between the ruling aristocracy. As a result of these crisis yawuri

disintegrated and divided into semi-automous but weak states, independent of each other. Yawuri's existence at this time was due to the absence of a stronger poer to dominate the disintegrated semi-states. Then came the Sokoto Jihad of the 19th century. Adamu (1968) says:

> Yawuri found its three hundred year old sovereignty taken away from it by the Sokoto caliphate which the Fulani had established in the first decade of the 19th century under the leadership of Usman Dan Fodio.

This work is therefore related to the present study in the geographical territory of the research, with particular reference to the socio-political conditions of Hausaland before the Jihad. However, the present study examines the need for the political unification of the Hausa state by the Jihad and the extent to which the Jihad arouse out of the political demands of the time.

ALKALI, M.B. "A Hausa Community in crisis: Kebbi in the 19th century". M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. (1969)

This work id dedicated to the political disintegration of Kebbi and the demise of her political hegemony first to the Jihad of Sokoto, and secondly, to the British imperialism.

Alkali (1969) seemingly sympathetic with the political misfortune of Kebbi, saw the Sokoto Jihad as a 'Fulani inspired movement', launched by the Fulani Malam: Usman Dan Fodio with whom the local Fulani leaders organised rebellions against the Hausa governments in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

However, the political crisis which the Jihad forced on the state of kebbi and was inherited by the colonialists in kebbi did not start with the outbreak of the Jihad. Evidentily, the Hausaland was in the state of political disorder, internecine wars, and rivalry and succession disputes; Kebbi inclusive. The outbreak of the Jihad only accelerated the fall of Kebbi and other Hausa states.

In view of the destructive nature of centuries old warfare between the Hausa States, this research is of the view that the Jihad of Shaikh was not only necessary to unite these city states, but also to guarantee the safety of lives and property and abolish moral and social corruption, and raids in the society from the context of Islamic revivalism.

Zahradeen, M.S. 'Abd Allah Ibn Fodio's contribution to the Fulani Jihad in the nineteenth century Hausaland. Ph.D. Thesis (1976).

This work investigates the major areas in which Abd-Allah Ibn Fodio (d.1245 A.H/1829 C.E) contributed to the Fulani Jihad which was initiated by his brother Uthman bn Fodio in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

Shaikh Abdullahi's contributions, notably in the political areas has to do with his military leadership in the early days of the Jihad and his provision of guidelines for the administration of Hausaland as reflected in his Books.

This work has little bearing on the current research. It is centred on Abdullah's contribution to the Jihad of the 19th century Hausaland, and said nothing on the political justifications for the Jihad of the 19th century Hausaland. The need for an independent study justifying the political sides of the Jihad is long over-due.

NADAMA, A.G. "The rise and collapse of a Hausa state: A Social and political history of zamfara. Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. Zaria (1977).

This work dealt with the rise and collapse of the kingdom of zamfara, the social and political developments in Kasar zanfar in the period between the fourteenth century and the Jihad.

The Kingdom of zamfara says Nadama, was the only state within the Hausa state system that collapsed before the Jihad.

Factors that led to its fall were mainly political. The attack of Birnin zamfara by the Gobirawa in 1762 C.E, internal weaknesses that brought about successive disputes led to the break up of the Kingdom and consequently, the emergence of smaller independent successor states.

This work is significantly related to the present in that it discusses the social and political developments in Hausaland centuries before the Jihad. While these socio-political conditions partly necessitated the Sokoto Jihad and accounted for the inability of the Hausa state to present a common front against the Jihad, the Shaikh's revivalist movement was a political necessity partly aimed at stablizing the socio-political conditions of Hausaland. The Author (Nadama) partly concludes that the Jihad movement finally accelerated the final disintegration of zamfara. He says nothing to justify, politically, the Jihad of Sokoto. This (the political justifications of the Jihad) is therefore the focus of the present research.

Abdullahi, S.U. (1980) The Life and ideals of Shehu Abdullahi Ibn Fodio. Being edition and translation of his work - Diya-al-siyasat". M.A. Thesis, A.B.U., B.U.K. (1980)

This work makes an attempt to shed light on the

life and ideals of Shehu Abdullah bn Fodio (d. 1245 A.H/1829 C.E), and his contributions to the commencement and logical conclusion of the Jihad.

The basis of the Sokoto Jihad, according to Shaikh Abdullah bn Fodio's vision, says Abdullah, S.U. (1980), "was not principally designed to re-enforce the spiritual aspects of Islam but rather its political-social aspects. That, to Shehu Abdullah bn Fodio was the impetus and the moving spirit of the sokoto Jihad movement".

The Diya-al Siyasat was written as a guide on how the muslims should run an Islamic state. The work is therefore related to the present study in the areas of the political ideals of the Jihad leaders, but was silent on the political justifications of the Jihad.

Malumfashi, U.F., (The life and ideas of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio. Being editing, translating and analysis of:

-1 Rawd-al-Jinan by Gidado B. Laima

-2 Al-Kashr wal-Bayan an Ahwal Muhammad Bello by Gidado B.

Laima". M.A. Thesis A.B.C/A.B.U., Kano (1973)

This work is a translation, edition and critical

analysis of Rawd-al-Jinan and Al-Kashf wal Bayan Muhammad Bello , all of Gidado B. Laima.

These two books dealt extensively with the Karamat of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio and his son, the first sultan of Sokoto; Muhammad Bello'. Karamat (Pl.) Karamah (sing), is defined by the author as used in the sufi terminology denoting the miraculous gifts and graces with which Allah surrounds, protects and aid His Saints (al-Awliya). These Karamat are special divine graces and favours bestowed upon the saints by Allah as a sign of their sainthood.

From this account, the body of this work has no direct bearing with the present research. However, the general introduction to the work, which contained accounts of the biography of Shaikh, his career as a student and preacher, the theme of his Da'awa , his relations with the kings, the persecution and the Hijra which led to the outbreak of the Jihad are most informative, and though related to the present research, contained no religious justifications for the political actions of the shaikh in the Jihad movement.

Tukur, M.M. 'values and public affairs: The relevance of the sokoto caliphate experience to the transformation of the Nigerian polity'. Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. (1977).

Tukur's work presents a beautiful and most fascinating account of the socio-political and economic values of the sokoto caliphate's experience to the transformation of the Nigerian polity.

The work is therefore concerned mostly with the operational mechanisms of the caliphate's administrative systems on the basis of the political ideals of the Jihadists. As such, Tukur's work is a critical evaluation of the political values of the Sokoto Jihad as represented in the caliphate, relevant to the transofrmation of Nigeria polity.

The present study however, is an assessment of the pre-Jihad Hausaland as necessary justifications for the sokoto Jihad even in the light of present day situations. The establishment of the caliphate is politically significant and should therefore be seen as a natural way by which organised political institutions and systems of government succed each other in time according to changing circumstances.

Shehu YAMUSA, 'The political ideas of the Jihad leaders. Being translation, edication, and analysis of 'Usul al-siyasat' by Muhammad Bello, and 'Diya al-Hukkam' by Abdullahi bn

Fodio. M.A. Thesis B.U.K. (1975).

The work like others, is also a translation, edition and analysis of the works of the Jihadists: Usul al-siyasat, and Diya al-Hukkam .

The 'Usul al-siyasat' was written by Sultan Bello at the request of Umar Dallaji - the first Fulani Emire of Katsina. The book was to be a guide to the Emire on how to rule in accordance with the Shari'ah . It became, subsequently, a source of guide to the administrative affairs of the caliphate (Emirates).

The Diya' al-Hukkam, of Shaikh Abdullahi, was written at Kano on request by the Kanawa to write for them a book on the ordinances of Government as a guide to managing their affairs in accordance with the Islamic political system.

Interestingly however, the Diya'ul-Hukkam was written in Kano for administrative purpose, while the Usul al-siyasat was written for similar purposes, by Muhammad Bello for the Emire of Katsina. While the two books contained significant political ideas of the Jihadists, the research work being reviewed has no direct bearing on the present study.

USMAN M. Bugaje. A comparative study of the movement of Uthman Dan Fodio in the nineteeth

century Hausaland, and of Muhammad Ahmad Al-mahdi in the nineteenth century Sudan. (B.U.K. Library, Document section, Undated).

This study attempts to compare two significant (Islamic) revolutionary movements in the Bilad-al Sudan leading to radical transormation of the social, economic and political situations of these lands. These movements were the Jihad movements of Shaikh Uthman in Hausaland, and the movement of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi of Sudan in the 19th century. The work is primarily aimed at analysing the two movements within an Islamic frame of reference and to compare their similarities and differences.[81]

The book is written in three parts/sections. Section one of the book, written in two chapters is related to the present research on the socio-economic, political and even religious conditions of Hausaland before the sokoto Jihad movement.

The present research significantly differs from this study (under review) in the objectives it tends to achieve.

GWANDU, A.A. "Abdullahi bn Fodio As a Muslim Jurist'. Ph.D. Thesis 1977.

This work written in six chapters is dedicated to the scholastic career of Abdullahi bn Fodio, the first Waziri of Gwandu.

The first chapter of the work is an account of the political, social, economic and religious conditions in the Hausa states (lands) in the 18th century through to the reformist movement of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

Writing on the political ideals of Shaikh Abdullahi, Gwandu (1977) says: "Abdullahi gave a good deal of attention to the administration of the muslim community. This is because of his realisation of the fact that it is upon the proper administration of the community that the happiness and well-being of Muslims in this life and in the hereafter depends.[82]

His political ideals as discussed in the work (of Gwandu) is aimed at realising and maintaining the unity of the caliphate.

This section is aimed at reviewing the journals, seminar/conference papers that are related to the present study.

Kano Studies. A Bayero University Journal of Savannah and Sudanic research. New series Vol.2 No.1 (1980).

An article in this journal, written by A.M. KANI, titled 'some reflections on the writtings of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio', dedicated to Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

The Sokoto Jihad movement was an intellectual movement that precipitated the spirit of research and inquiry in the caliphate. At the end of the movement, hundreds of works were attributed to the Jihad leaders of Sokoto, covering various aspects of life.

The number of works attributed to the Shaikh alone is over a hundred, with many yet undiscovered. According to Kani, Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio is "reported to have written more than a hundred works, produced over a period of forty years, covering political, social and economic issue raise at his time." Sultan Muhammad Bello in the infaqul Maisur' listed twenty-eight of Shaikh's works and concluded that he has written more than one hundred works. Kensdale listed in one of his articles eighty-five works believed to have been written by Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. Murray Last listed 94 works attributed to Shaikh while Balogun listed 115 works of Shaikh Uthman.

According to Murray Last (1960) only eleven of Shaikh's works were dated. However, Kani (1980) says that only twenty of Shaikh's works were dated.

The Shaikh's works were written at different times for different purposes. Kani (1980) says:

> The books of Shaikh were written at specific times for specific purpose in order to achieve certain objectives. These objectives were translated into action by establishing a muslim state based entirely on the principles of the Shari'ah as explained by the Shaikh.

History Research at A.B.U. Vol. VI. The department seminar papers of the department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1980/91.

In this collection, a seminar paper presented by Kani A.M. (1981) titled: 'The political and social basis of the Sokoto Jihad, is most useful and related to the present research.

The paper aimed at exposing certain defective views about the nature of the 19th century Jihad in Hausaland, and unveiling the misconception some writers have about the Jihad movement of Sokoto and advancing a hypothesis that the nineteenth century Jihad in Hausaland was perceived in the minds of the leaders of the Jihad long before the overthrow of the Hausa states and the establishment of a new administration.

The paper justifies the Jihad from the social and political conditions that gave rise to the sokoto Jihad, which led to the establishment of a powerful caliphate covering a vast area of about 250.000 square miles.

The political condition of Hausaland that precipitated the movement characterised by series of prolonged warfare between the various states.

> The Hausa states, despite their linguistic and common identity and inspite of their cultural homogeneity and similarities of political system, the government in Hausaland lacked unified political system....

Instead, they were at war against each other from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries in internecine wars. According to Nadama (1977) "the state of Zamfara" quotes Kani, "was engaged in a protracted war with the state of Gobir for about fifty years. The internal crisis within the ranks of Masu sarauta in addition to the continuous conflicts with its neighbours, i.e. Kebbi, Gobir, Katsina and Kano.... consequently brought about the disintegration of Zamfara."

On the social and economic conditions of the pre-Jihad Hausaland, were characterised by social evils and injustices in the eighteenth century, imposition or illegal taxes, maltreatment of women, denial of women's rights in marriage, divorce and inheritance, hereditory succession, excessiveness and extravagance and luxurious living by the rulers while the populace

suffered in abject poverty, insecurity, ignorance, disease and hunger.

When the Shaikh emerged, he directed his teachings not only on religious reform but on all the evils prevalent in the society at his time. Consequently, he won large following. As a result, he was accused of double standards both by the rulers and the Ulama of the time.

Refering to Shaikh's replies to his critics in his work; Ifham-al Munkirin , KANI A.M. suggests that there is a clear indication to show that the Shaikh was introducing himself to the people not only as a social reformer or an intellectual but as a mujaddid of his time. Writes the Shaikh:

> Allah exalted is He has destined that He would send to this community at the begininning of each century a scholar (Alim) who would renew their religion for them and that scholar must endeavour to command good and forbid bad, reform people's conditions, establish justice for them, support the right against the wrong, revive the sunna, extinguish the 'Bid' a and bad customs. Ultimately his conditions would contradict those of his contemporaries of the 'Ulama' and he would be stranger among them....

Commenting on the above, KANI A.M. (1981) opinned that this

> statement is a clear testimony that the Shaikh was not just interested in introducing reforms in his society but he was rather bent on transforming the whole socio-political

> set up of that society. It also suggests that, the agents of change would only emerge from within the Jama'a of the Shaikh and not from elsewhere.

Though this paper relates to the present study in a number of ways, the objectives of the present study goes beyond the identification of the various historical process and the socio-political and economic conditions that led to the Jihad but it is an independent study to justify the Jihad as a political necessity that was long over-due in the Hausaland.

Journal of African History Vol. VI.No.3 (1965) (pages 334-335) The Fulani Jihad: A reassessment' by Marilyn Robinson Waldman (1965).

This article according to the author, is a re-evaluation of the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio.

This article attempts to explain the all embracing nature of the Jihad movement, though, from a parochially based generalisations. The political, social, economic and ethnic values present in the Jihad movement which accounts for the difficulty of this class of historians to justify the Islamicity of the movement, is referred to by the author as "the seemingly self contradictory nature of the Jihad". She then admits that all these factors were present in the Jihad but

failed to see that it was the nature of Islamic religion around which the movement revolved, that accounted for the presence of these variables in the movement.

The Jihad of Sokoto, according to Marllyn, "was accidental". Arguing that the movement was not "a conception complete, in his (Shaikh) mind from the start of his preaching, but as one which unflded itself in three gradual stages...". She went on to say that the outbreak of the Jihad was due more to a disdained relationship between the Shaikh and Sarkin Gobir, where she says:"... when, because of a crisis in his relations with the Sarkin Gobir, Usuman changed his goals and called for political overthrow of the Hausa system rather than for reform within it...."

Tracing the history of Islam in the Sudan, from Askia of Songhay, to Hausaland, and the patronage of scholars to the time of Shaikh by the kings, the author (Marilyn) suggests that Shaikh Uthman only wanted such a patronage, probably beyond the condonable level, in the absence of which, he (Shaikh) suddenly changed his decision for a religious reform to a violent and rebellious clash with the authorities, just on personal

conflicts between the Shaikh and the Sarki.

Evidently, this article is aimed at presenting the Jihad as a movement that is devoid of orientation and direction, and was viewed not as an ideological movement with a definite objective of establishing the ideal Islamic political system in Hausaland, but accidental, and as an opportunist movement, that gave them the avenues to avenge the various grudges they might have against the Habe Kingdom.

No doubt, Marilyn (1965) in her article tried to undermine the Islamic values in the sokoto movement. Her apparent prejudice and inability to explain and present the socio-economic and political issues raised by the sokoto movement and reconcile such issues with the Islamic revivalism is a deviation from the purpose and object of history.

2.6 SUMMARY

From the foregoing, the literature considered for review in this chapter are of two categories. These have been referred to in this study as the primary and secondary sources.

Whereas the primary sources were the accounts of the Jihadists themselves on the reasons, objective and the outcome of the Jihad, the secondary sources were the accounts of post-Jihad writers. This (secondary) sources is also of two kinds, First, the Islamically inclined writers who tried to examine the Jihad of sokoto as an Islamic movement with far-reaching social, economic, political and educational results. Secondly, the writers, mostly missionary historians and colonialists, who examined the sokoto Jihad outside the periphery of ISLAM, and used non-Islamic yardsticks to examine a purely Islamic movement. This partly account for technical errors, and contradictory conclusions on the sokoto Jihad,by the post-Jihad writers.

The sokoto Jihad was a literary movement. It left documentary accounts, relating to all aspects of the Jihad. The reasons for, and objectives of the Jihad as stated by the Jihadists, form the basis for determining the Islamicity of the Jihad. The post-Jihad

works mostly written by the non-muslims, either out of prejudice or lack of information, failed to understand the all-embracing nature of 'Islam' as a 'religion', and 'Islamic movement' as a 'revolution'.

If the sokoto Jihad is examined from the Islamic perspective, then, the revolutionary characteristics of the movement would be appreciated by all.

2.7 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it is obvious that alot has been written on sokoto Jihad. A significant observation worth noting is the disparity between the works of the Jihadists particularly on the objectives of the Jihad and some write ups in the secondary sources earlier described. The observed discrepancies are testimonies to the fact that the Sokoto Jihad movement was not appreciated by some writers as a movement committed to fighting injustice and oppression, and to establish a Government committed to social justice and equity, but (saw the Jihad) as a racia movement committed to the establishment of Fulani hegemony over Hausaland.

It is also obvious from the above that there are many studies undertaken on different aspects of the Sokoto caliphate. But evidently, the political values

of the movement have all along been treated with a kind of apology, as if the transformation of the body politic of a people, with established social norms and political institutions in the name of Islamic revivalism, can ever take place without alternative political ideologies.

The Jihad of sokoto was an Islamic movement. Politically, it was aimed at presenting the Islamic political alternative to the inadequate political institution of Hausaland. Consequently, the caliphate was established and lasted for a century before European imperrialism. Even then its political significance and relevance to the present day Nigeria would continue to be appreciated.

This study therefore, is an attempt, unique in itself, solely committed to appreciating the political values of the sokoto Jihad and viewed the political dusts raised by the Jihad as a political necessity.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

-1 Zahradeen, M.S. (1976) Abdu-Allah Elbn Fodio's contributions to the Fulani Jihad in 19th Cen- Hausaland. Pages 98-99.

-2 Eminent among them were Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio himself, his brother and the first Waziri of Gwandu Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio, and his son, the first Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad Bello.

-3 Kano Studies: A Bayero University Journal of Savanna and Sudanic research. New series vol. 2, No. 1 (1980) page 4.

-4 Abdullahi, Shehu Umar (1984) On the Search for a viable political culture. Page 19.

-5 Journal of the African Society Vol. 13, 1913-14 page 408.

-6 Ibid page 412 - 413

-7 Ibid page 414

-8 Borno, Kano, Katsina, Songhay, and parts of Zazzau were muslim lands among others. But even then, it was referred to as a land of 'Kufr' because Islam was accepted and practiced among the masses other than kings. The kings in most cases were animists.

-9 It is Kufr to mix Islam with anything in worship. The Shaikh states this to justify the religious basis of his Jihad against the Habe rulers and views the challenge as a political necessity since ungodly leadership is at the root of all evils afflicting humanity.

-10 Hiskett, M. An English translation of Kitab-al-Farq of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. Journal of Hist. Society Vol. page 567. The principle of 'Consultation' is the corner stone of Islamic political system. The Qur'an stated as follows: "Those who hearken to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; (who conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation); who spend out of what we bestow on them for sustenance." (Q. 42:38).

-11 This is the practice where the highest bidder gets the judgement in his favour whether he is the wrong door or wronged.

-12 Jahiliyyatul - Ula refers to the ignorance of the first days of ignorance in the period before the early Jahiliyya, polygamy was not restricted to four wives like in Islam. Then men could

marry any number of women agreeable to them. The 'Kitab al-Farq' shows that such a thing was happening in Hausaland before the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio.

-13 'Kitab' and Sunnah' literally means the Qur'an and the traditions of the prophet (S.A.W).

-14 El-Masri, F.H. Bayan wujub al-Hijra ala al-Ibad, A draft translation, page 18.

-15 Ibid. pages 12 and 13

-16 Bashier Zakaria (1983) Hihra: Story and significance , (1983) page 90.

-17 Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-Waragat Edited with translation and introductory study of the authors life and time page 86.

-18 Ibid page 85

-19 Ibid page 86

-20 Last, M. (1967) The Sokoto Caliphate page 12

-21 Abdullahi S.U. (1980). The life and ideals of Shehu Abdullahi ibn Fodio. Being edition and translation of his work Diya-al-Siyasat. Page 28.

-22 Arnatt, E.J. The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani. Being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of INFAKUL-MAISURI (1922) page 124.

-23 Ibid pages 11 - 13

-24 Ibid page 21

-25 Ibid page 21 - 22

-26 Ibid page 26

-27 Ibid page 47

-28 This led to the famous proclamation of Sarkin Gobir, Nafata, that:

-1 No one should preach to the people except the Shaikh himself.

-2 Nobody should accept Islam except he who had inherited it from his parents.

-3 That those who did not inherit Islam should return back to the religion of their parents which they inherited.

-4 Men should no longer wear turban

-5 Muslim women should not veil themselves.

-29 Opcit. Page 30

-30 Bivar, A.D.H. (1961) The Wathicat ahl-al-Sudan: A manifestee of the Fulani Jihad. Journal of African History 11,2, (1961) page 242.

-31 For details, see Bivar, (1961) A Manifesto of the Fulani Jihad, paragraphs 11 and 12 among others. Journal of African History 11,2, (1961) page 240.

-32 Ibid page 240 paragraph 3.

-33 This phrase ...."To take the Government from him is obligatory by absent", is repeated four times in paragraphs 12 to 15.
This was giving a signal of War with the Habe Kingdom.
The aim of which was to change the leadership and the political system of Hausaland.

-34 Opcit page 240. Paragraph 15.

-35 Kitab al-Farq, Wathiqat ahl-al-Sudan, all of Shaikh Uthman and Infaq-al-Maisur of Muhammad Bello in particular.

-36 Crowder Michael (1962). The story of Nigeria. page 71.

-37 Johnston, H.A.S. 1967. The Fulani Empire of Sokoto page 24.

-38 Murray Last (1967). The Sokoto caliphate page 1xi

-39 Ibid pages ixiii and ixxxii.

-40 Journal of Historical society (JHS) Vol. vi. No.2 Kitab -al-Farq') Page 570.

-41 Hiskett, M. Tazyin al Waraqat , English translation page 105.

-42 Abdullahi, Shehu Umar (1980). The life and ideals of Shehu Abdullahi bn Fodio. Being translation and edition of his work: Diya-al-Siyasat.

-43 Ibid page 27

-44 Ibid page 21

-45 Arnett, E.J. The rise of Sokoto Caliphate. page 122.

-46 Ibid page 123.

-47 Murad Khurram (Ed). The Islamic movement, Dyanmics of Values, power and change, or Mawlana Mawdudi (English translation and edition) page 71.

-48 Ibid page 84 with reference to Ibn Abd al-Barri in Kitab al-Ilm, and Abu Nu'aym in Hiyah al-Awliya.

-49 'Webster, J.B. and others (Ed) 1967) The revolutionary years of Western African since 1800 page 5.

-50 Crowder, M. (1962) The Story of Nigeria page 73

-51 Ade Ajayi (Ed) and others. A Thousand years of West African History page 270.

-52 Arnett, E.J. (1923). The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani. Being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of Infaqul-maisur page 62.

-53 Ajayi J.F.A. and others (Ed) 1974. History of West Africa. Vol. 1,2. page 4

-54 Murad Khurram. The Islamic movement, Dynamics of values, Power and change. Page 11

-55 Ibid, page 71/72

-56 Murad Khuram (Ed). Mawdudi's Islamic movement' page 79.

-57 Hiskett, M. 'Kitab al-Farq of Shaikh Uthman English Translation page 570. Also see Qur'ani 6:153.

-58 Ibid page 571 - 572

-59 El-Masri, F.H. 'Bayan al-Wujub al-Hijra...' A draft translation page 35.

-60 Ibid page 37

-61 Ibid page 37

-62 Ibid pages 39 - 40

-63 These qualities as listed in the 'Bayan' are:-

-1 Muslim

-2 A just man

-3 A male

-4 A Free man

-5 Adult

-6 Of sound mind

-7 One qualified to give independent judgement (Mujtahid) both in 'roots' and branches of the law, if such a man can be found, if not a 'follower' (Muqallid) will do.

-8 Courageous - not afraid of facing bad penalties (hudud).

-9 A man of sound judgement and diplomacy in handling affairs, capable of being strict when necessary and lenient where leniency is required.

- 10 A man able to execute his decisions and commands.

-11 The supreme human to be from Quraish.

-63 Abdullahi S.U. (1980) The life and ideas of Shehu Abdullahi Ibn Fodio, being edition and translation of 'Diya'al Siyasat' page 27.

64 I bid page 21

-65 Arnett, E.J. (1922): The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani (Infaqul Maisur') pages 62 and 123.

-66 KANI, A.M. The political and Social basis of the Sokoto Jihad, page 2.

-67 J.A.H. Vol. VI, No.3 (1965) page 334. The Fulani Jihad: A reassessment By Marilyn R. Waldman.

-68 International seminar on history of central Sudan before 1804 (unplublished) January 1979, Zaria page 1.

-69 KANI, A.M. The political and social basis of the Sokoto Jihad pages 6 - 7.

-70 Hiskett, M. 'Tazyin al-waraqat' page 108.

-71 J.A.H. Vol.13, 1913 - 14. 'Tanbih Al Ikhwan' page 54.

-72 Arnett, E.J. (1922). 'The rise of the Sokoto Fulani' page 124-5

-73 Last, Murray (1962). The Sokoto Caliphate page 63.

-74 Crowder, M. (1962). The Story of Nigeria page 82.

-75 Johnston, H.A.S. (1967) The Fulani Empire of Sokoto page 111.

-76 Ajayi, and others (Ed) 1974 History of West Africa Vol.2 page 23.

-77 Ibid page 27

-78 Ibid page 26

-79 Crowder, M. (1962) The Story of Nigeria page 83.

-80 Malumfashi, U.F. The Life and ideas of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio.
Being editin, translation and analysis of:
1 Rawd-al-Jinan by Gidado B. Laima, and 'Al-Kashf Wal-Bayan....' by Gidado B. Laima page xiviii.

-81 Usman M. Bugaje A Comparative study of the movements of Uthman Dan Fodio in 19th Century Hausaland and of Muhammad Ahmad Al-Mahdi in the 19th century Sudan page iv.

82 Gwandu, A.A. (1977) 'Abdullah' bn Fodio as a muslim Jurist. Page 93.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methods used to gather data for the production of this work.

The research method used is the historical research. This study is an explanation and evaluation of the events that brought about the Sokoto Jihad of the 19th century Hausaland with a view to understanding better the political values of the Jihad movement as an integral part of Islamic revivalism, and to justify the political actions of the Jihadists from the context of Islamic concept of Tajdid . The research is purely historical and requires the historical approah towards solving the problem statement.

3.2 RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The source of data for this research have been categorised thus:

-i Primary sources

-ii Secondary sources

The primary sources are the personal accounts of the Jihadists of Sokoto. In view of the fact that most of the Senior participants in the movement were

dead[1] at the fruiction of the movement, and because the sources of the study of the pre-Jihad Hausaland are mainly the works of the Jihad leaders,[2] and for the reliability of the sources,[3] only the works of the following have been considered.

-1 Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio (d. 1917)

-2 Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio (d. 1928)

-3 Sultan Muhammadu Bello (d.1837)

The works of the Jihadists of Sokoto are numerous,[4] covering different aspects of life of the society and written at different times for different purposes. These works have been classified into three periods.

-i The formative or pre-Jihad period.

-ii The period of the establishment of the caliphate.

-iii The post-Jihad period5

In my search for data from the primary sources therefore, only works written within the course of the movement, that have direct bearing to the objectives of the Jihadists have been considered. Other works of the Jihadists were consulted, but the above have been specifically selected for this research.

These books, though are a selected few of the works of the Jihadists, they adequately relate to

the present research. In addition, the reliability of these books, their authenticity and the specific times and purposes for which they were written sufficiently provides necessary informations about the political ideals of the Jihad movement.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

These are the sources written by those who were not eye witnesses to the Jihad of Sokoto and those materials were obtained indirectly. For the purpose of this study, these sources have been categorised as follows:-

-i Published books

-ii Post-Graduate studies

-iii Journals, Seminar papers, and articles.

3.3 THE POPULATION

This is a historical research. It is analytical and descriptive of events in the nineteenth century Jihad of Sokoto.

The population of the primary materials or sources are the writings of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio, his brother, Abdullahi, and his son Muhammed books, post-Graduate studies, journals, articles and seminar papers related to this study.

3.4 SAMPLING AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The purposive sampling technique' is employed to aselect materials for this research.

In selecting the materials, a careful study of the contents of the earlier works, (Books, studies, journals and seminar papers) were done. Those related to the statements of objectives of the Jihad of Sokoto were selected. In the primary sources, the list of selected works from which the objectives of the Jihad from the Jihadists accounts are found, are as follows:-

- Kitab al-Farq....
- Wathiqat ahl-al-sudan
- Tanbih al-Ikhwan
- Bayan Wujub al-Hijra
- Najamal-Ikhwan
- Tazyin al-Waraqat
- Infaqual-Maisur.

Apart from the above, other works of the Jihadists that are relevant to this research were consulted.

The variety of the materials from the two sources described above, would no doubt provide the necessary data, and ensure a greater reliability of the findings of this study.

3.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The problem of this research is historical. The informations gathered are analysed and accurately interpreted within the context of this research without resorting to statistical means.

The instruments of this research are therefore records of sources and materials on the Jihad of Sokoto in the Libraries, personal collections, National archives, book sellers/Bookshops; and reading through literatures of related events and personal experiences.

The sources for the collection of data that were personally consulted were K.I.L, A.B.U. Zaria; History Departmental Library, A.B.U. Zaria. Document section of Bayero University Library, (Old Campus), Kano. National Archives Kaduna, and Usman Dan Fodio University Library, Sokoto. My personal and family collections heavily supplemented these sources.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

-1 According to Murray Last (1967) other notable helpers of Shaikh were dead before the Shaikh divided the caliphate between his brother Abdullahi and his son Muhammad Bello. See Last, M. (1966) 'The Sokoto caliphate page. 40.

-2 Zahradeen M.S. (1976) Abdullah bn Fodio's contributions to the Fulani Jihad in 19th century Hausaland pages 98 - 99.

-3 Abdullahi S.U. (1924) On the search for a viable political Culture page 19. Kitab-al-Farq, Bayan wilay at ahl-al-Islam wa bayna wilayat ahl al-kufur, by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, Tazyin al-waraqat' by Shaikh Abdullahi Dan Fodio, and Infaqual maysur by Muhammad Bello..... were and are still the most reliable sources of information pertaining to life in all its ramifications in the pre-Jihad Hausaland.....'

-4 Kano Studies: A Bayero University journal of Savanna and Sudanic research. New series vol. 2, No.1 1980 page 1. Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio is reported to have written more than a hundred works written over a period of forty years covering social, political and economic issues raised at his time.

-5 Ibid. page 4.

internicine warfare was so devasted that it affected not only trade abd cinnerce, but created a chaotic social atmosphere characterised by political instability, succession disputes and inter-state wars. These situations strengthened the attachment of the people to animism and ungodliness. This consequently created a class of people given to magic, socery and game of chance, using religion as their yard-stick. This must have probably contributed to the emergence of a class of scholars referred to in the works of the Jihadists as Ulama'U-Su-i .

According to Shaikh Uthman, the pre-Jihad Hausa-land was dominated by people majority of whom were non-muslims. The muslims were at the mercy of unbelieving rulers gone astray. The people followed their rulers in sin, ignorance and idolatory. The majority were animists, as there was a complete absence of the Islamic values and systems of life.

The Habe Kings at the time of Shaikh, were guilty of idolatory, accresion and syncretism. The kings, according to Shaikh, professed Islam verbally, perform the ceremonious prayers such as the I'd prayers, join the muslims to observe the salat , yet they

mixed Islam with traditional believes, and practices. The Government of the Habe kingdom was a Kufr government and Hausaland therefore a land of Kufr . This is because the Shaikh, in the Tanbih al-Ikwan asserted that the Islamicity of a Government or country is determined by the religion of its ruler. "If the king is a muslim, says the Shaikh, "his land is muslim, if he is an unbeliever his land is a land of Kufr."[2]

The pre-Jihad Habe Kingdom was, according to the Jihadists, irrespectible and oppressive. In the Kitab al-Farq , Shaikh Uthman accused the Habe kings of mal-administration, injustice and oppression. The Habe government was built not on the basis of justice and equity, but on people's lives, honour and possessions. The primary purpose of the government was to satisfy the lusts and desires of the Kings. Positions of authority were not viewed as a challenge or trust, but as a means for materialism and oppression. This partly accounts for the series of succession disputes and instability in the political system. Shaikh, in the Kitab-al-Farq referred to this when he says that one of the ways of their Government is succession to the emirate by hereditory right and by force to the exclusion of consultation. Bribery and corruption, disrespect to lives and property, over-taxation,

extravagance and luxurious living, confiscation of peoples' property, violation of 'Shari'ah' laws and injustice were part of the allegations of illegalities of the Jihadists against the Habe rulers. These illegalities, says Murray Last (1967), "are likely to be substantially true, because they are familiar features of the Habe kingdom."[3]

Shaikh Uthman in the Bayan Wujub al-Hihrah 'alal-'Ibad, classified Bilad as-Sudan into three. These are:-

-1 The land where unbelief predominates and Islam rerely found.

-2 The land where Islam predominates and unbelief is rare such as Borno, Kano, Katsina, Songhay and Mali. These lands, says the Shaikh, is also a land of Kufr since Islam in these lands is among the masses while their sultans were unbelievers, even though they professed Islam.

-3 The third is the land of Islam, which, according to the Shaikh, was not existing in the Sudan at his time.[4]

This is why the Shaikh, in the Bayan-Wujub al Hijrah, emphasised the need for the muslims to emigrate from the lands of Kufr to the lands of Islam. He says

that it was obligatory for the muslims to emigrate from the lands of unbelief to the lands of Islam so as to attain paradise and be companions of our ancestor Ibrahim and the holy prophet (S.A.W).[5]

Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio affirmed that Hausaland was a land where Kufr predominates. According to Shaikh Abdullahi, the pre-Jihad Hausaland was a land over whose people ignorance was supreme, the majority of its people had not smelt the scent of Islam.[6] Because of this, Shaikh Uthman, in his missionary activities, travelled to all parts of Hausaland calling people to the religion of God (Islam) through his preachings and Qasidas , and destroying customs contrary to the Shari'ah .

The pre-Jihad Hausaland was a country where paganism, and dark ignorance prevails; where ignorance and lust and irreligion were usual. The ignorance of God and the disbelieve in His religion - Islam, was wide-spread in the Hausaland among all classes of the society.

Sultan Muhammad Bello, in the Infaq al-Maisur gives a greater account of Hausaland before the Jihad . Writes Bello:

> Among the Hausas, were people who believe not in the unity of Allah, they do not pray, they paid no 'Zakkat'. They did not fast. There were among them also heathens who worshipped trees and stones and spirits. They called each other heathens but did not pray or fast or pay 'Zakkat' and they spoke evil of God. These people were the majority in the (Hausaland) land of Sudan.

The major tribal groups in the pre-Jihad Hausaland were the Hausas and Fulani. From the works of the Jihadists, it is discovered that their allegations of idolatory, heathenism and irreligiousness were not only directed against the Hausas to the exclusion of the Fulani. The preachings of Shaikh was therefore aimed at salvaging and alleviating the generality of the people in the land from heathenism and ungodliness to the light of Islam. The Shaikh preached in both Hausa and Fulani. His Qasidas and poems were composed in Hausa, Fulani and Arabic. The Shaikh's message was therefore detested not only by the Hausas but the Fulanis as well. Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio, in the Tazyin al Waraqat says:

> When I saw most the country, the common people and the nobles coming to Shaikh Uthman, profiting by his admonitions and becoming influenced by his

> good manners, and entering into his community in groups, but did not see that in the majority of our tribe, though they were most fitted to it; I composed a Qasida.... and I sent it to them in order that they might ponder upon what was in it, and hasten to help the religion of God most High. 7

From the above, the Jihad only seemed to be a war between the Hausa Habe rulers and their followers against the 'Fulani' Shaikh and his faithful supporters. What accounted for this was that the Hausa kings took the lead in their obstinacy and opposition to the preachings of the Shaikh and the reformist movement championed by him. Sultan Muhammad Bello also affirmed the obstinacy of the Fulani, their heathenism and ungodliness when he says:

> There were also Fulani obstinate in character in the land of Hausa and Tuareg. Some of them used to pray and fast and pay Zakka, but they were not whole-hearted in it. They mingled fetish customs which they had inherited from their fathers with Islam. So also most of the chiefs of the country, continued Bello, 'they used to pray and keep the fast and pay zakka and speak the name of God. But they were not whole-hearted in it. They also observed their evil customs. They remained in their ignorance. Such were most of the Fulani. 8

These accounts does not mean that all the muslims in

Hausaland were guilty of accresion and syncretism. According to Bello, there were some true muslims in the suddan, but the greater number were backsliders. Some made their ablutions properly and prayed and fasted and paid Zakka,..... They were very few in the Hausaland at the time of Shaikh.[9]

The practice of mixing Islam with traditional beliefs and practices in the Sudan is as old as the history of Islam in the Sudan. This is attested to not only in the works of the Jihadists of Sokoto, but even the works of scholars in the sudan that preceded the Shaikh's movement. For instance, sultan Muhammad Bello, quoting Shaikh Jibril bn Umar, in the Infaq al-Maisur says:

> What happened in the countries of Suddan was mingling of heathen and muslim practices. The Hausa chiefs did not begin it themselves nor did they make the change. It was something they inherited, for we do not hear that they were ever free from this mingling of practices. Had they ever been so we should have heard of it. They are in fact as they were when they first received the revelation of prayer and fasting and confess on of faith. The ignorant and those of little knowledge imagine that they are muslims but they are not. 10

The Shaikh's movement in Hausaland, to my mind, succeeded largely due to three factors. These are:-

-1 The Shaikh's sincerity, clarity of purpose and the will-power to withstand the challenges of his time, and leadership qualities to carry the people along.

-2 The general laxity, redundancy, and lack of courage of the masses to support their kings in opposition to the Shaikh. This was largely due to the general distisfaction of the people with the Habe Kingdom because of the king's excessiveness, Mercilessness, Heavy taxation, social evils and moral corruption; coupled with unstable political order of the time. This factor justifies the religious cum-political necessity of the Jihad.

-3 Above all, what accounted for the success of the Jihad was the help of God. Allah Most High promised His assistance to all those who struggle in His cause. The Qur'an says: "God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause); for verily God is full of strength, exalted in Might, (able to enforce His will.) (Q. 22:40)

It is a fact established in the Qur'an and Sunnah that Allah will never grant to the unbelievers a way of victory over the believers. That the Jihad succeeded in Hausaland was a divine testimony to the puritanical objectives of the movement, free from materialism and inordinate ambition.

The Shaikh's preachings were centred not only on religious reform, but on the reform of the social and economic situation of his time. The Shaikh's indifference to materialism and corruption, demonstrated by his rejection of the 'official' Sallah gifts at Magami; his popularity and increase of his followership thereafter, signified the general discontentment and disatisfaction of the masses in the pre-Jihad Hausaland. This suggested the need for a change in the socio-economic and political structure of the time.

The religious, political and social significance of the Sokoto Jihad could be appreciated only if the socio-economic and political situations of the pre-Jihad Hausaland are clearely identified. It is only then that the political values of the Jihad would be realised and religiously justified. The all - embracing nature of Islam is the pivot around which the seemingly contradictory objectives of the Jihad are explain. The Jihad of

Sokoto was therefore a re-action to the oppressive situations in the pre-Jihad Hausaland. Equally, it could be viewed as an Islamic alternative or solutions to the socio-economic and political undertones of the time.

4.2 WAS THE SOKOTO JIHAD POLITICALLY MOTIVATED?

The nineteenth century Jihad movement of Sokoto was a religious movement. It was a puritanical revolution primarily internded to spread Islam, free Islamic ideals from innovations, local particularism, and heathenism. The Jihad established Islam in Hausaland, for the first time, on the basis of the Qur'an and Sunnah . It also brought about a social, economic and political change; a change that could be described as a 'revolution' in Hausaland.

From the outbreak of the Jihad in 1804 to the fall of Alkalawa in 1809, different interest groups joined the movement. Whereas, the classes of people that joined the movement because of their conviction and faith in the reform preached by the Shaikh demonstrated their readiness to welcome, patronise and accommodate change in the society, others viewed this development as necessary justifications for the political and economic objectives of the Jihad.

The inability of some writers to justify the religious basis of the Jihad seems to emanate from their difficulty in analysing the religious motives of the Jihad in isolation to the traditional friction animosity which they said existed, between the so-called 'Hausa inhabitants' and 'Fulani immigrants'.

They based their generalisations over the grazing lands, the severity with which the Jangali (cattle tax), is assessed and collected. Over-taxation, and social discrimination in the treatment of the Fulani 'settlers' and 'pastorialists' on one hand, and the Hausa inhabitants on the other - by the Habe rulers. That many Fulani and Hausas, even non-muslims joined the Jihad for motives other than religion, and as such, the Jihad to the orientalists, was fought for reasons other than religion. This is a too narrow yard-stick for measuring the objectives of a movement by people who were not eye witnesses to the Jihad; and whose evidences were derived from sources other than primary. Such generalisations are usually based on prejudice, speculation, and ignorance of the motives of the Jihadists of Sokoto.

In identifying the motives of the Jihad, what should be the pivot around which our conclusions should revolve? Should we identify the objectives of the Jihad from the goals of the Jihadists, particularly Shaikh Uthman and his close lieutenants, or from those who were said to have joined the Jihad on grounds other than religion? Whereas, the Jihadists left documentary evidences as to the motives of their movement,

there were no evidences on the contrary, from those who participated in the Jihad for political or economic reasons. Even thougt it is not unlikely to have such elements in a mass movement involving large number of people, that was destined to change the socio-political and economic structure of Hausaland; yet it would be a complete deviation from the purpose of history to judge the Jihad on secondary issues to the complete negligence of the primary issues.

There is no evidence whatever, in the life of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio, to prove that he was politically ambitious and had planned the Jihad to achieve that ambition. On the contrary, evidences abounds of his Islmicity and desire to reform the lives of the Muslims of his time in accordance with the Islamic ideals. In addition, as a muslim scholar/preacher, he invited all to the faith of Islam. That, in his attemnt to convince the people and win them over to Islam, he made references to the social evils, moral decadence, injustice and oppression, political instability, break-down of law and order prevalent in the society was only a matter of Hikmah , (wisdom) and necessary Da'awa methodology to enable the people opt for the Islamic alternative. The Qur'an says:

> Invite (all) to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious. For thy Lord knows best, who have strayed from His Path, and who receive guidance. (Q. 16: 125)

The works of Shaikh that had political bearings such as Kitab al-Faro...', Bayan-Wujub al Hijra..... , Wathiqat ahl-al-Sudan , Tanbih al-Ikhwan and others, appeared only when a clash between the Jama'a and the Habe rulers became eminent. For instance, in the Kitab al-Faro , the Shaikh talked about general reforms of the society and the responsibility of the authority to uphold the principles of Amr bil Ma'ruf, Wan-Nahyi'anil Murkar - (to enjoy what is right and forbid what is evil).[11]

The Shaikh, in his Da'awa activities that transformed the nineteenth century Hausaland was guided by his religious motives alone. A close examination of his life and career brings this to light. For instance, Shaikh, at the Magami I'd festival between 1788/9, turned away from the material gifts and worldly glory, by rejecting the gifts of Sultan Bawa. Instead, he made the famous requests, seeking for concession for his followers and the masses. Shaikh Abdullahi, refered to this when he said that the other scholars

were satisfied with the gifts from Sultan Bawa, on the contrary, Shaikh and his Jamā'a were satisfied only with the concession granted them to freely practice their religion and spread the faith in the land.[12]

In Islam, Jihad is not self suicide. Islam permits muslims to defend themselves against their enemies. If the Shaikh and the Jamā'a were not attacked, the pattern of the movement would have been different. On the contrary, muslims were prevented from observing certain religious ordinances[13], they were attacked,[14] and driven from their homes.[15]

The Jihad of sokoto was purely a religious movement, because according to Shaikh Abdullahi, it was in self defence, to spread the faith, and establish justice on the land.[16] Sultan Muhammad Bello gave three reasons for the Jihad. These are:-

-1 In self defence. He argued that the muslims did not begin it; and the beginning he says, was the stand they made when they repulsed the army of the Sarkin Gobir at the time when he was oppressing them. "The Habe kings began the fight, they

ros rose up and attacked the muslims, the muslims fought them and overcame them."

-2 Secondly, the Jihad was fought according to Bello, to revive and spread Islam.

-3 Thirdly, to aid truth against falsehood and strengthen Islam.[17] The Jihad of 'Sokoto was in no way motivated politically. The Jihad was fought to remove obstacles against the natural Islamisation of Hausaland. The Shaikh was a teacher, an Islamic educator, who tried to educate the muslims to live a life of complete submission to the will of Allah. As a precher, he preached not only to the muslims, but he invited even the non-muslims to Islam. His references to the situations of his time was only a matter of necessity. As a muslim scholar, he had the obligation to guide and lead his people from depths of darkness into the light of Islam. If he was politically ambitious, he would have certainly not taken the pains to educate the masses. For more than two decades, he preached an Islamic reform. His references to the moral decadence, social disintegration, political instability, over-taxation and oppression of

his time were pointers to the convincing evidences of the suitability of Islamic ideals in the society. The masses, though convinced of the Shaikh's message, hesitated to declare their support for the movement because of their fear of being persecuted by the Habe rulers. Those of them who were courageous enough to declare their support for the Shaikh, suffered persecution. The case was similar to that of Prophet Musa (A.S.) and Fir'aun, which the Qur'an related thus:

> But none believed in Moses except some children of his people, because of the fear of Fir'aun and his chiefs, lest they should persecute them, and certainly, Pharaoh was mighty on the earth and one who transgressed all bounds." (Q. 10:83)

4.3.1 THE ISLAMIC SPIRIT OF SOKOTO JIHAD

Jihad of war-fare is resorted to in Islam only as the last alternative to the peaceful Islamisation process at any given time. Islam guarantees the safety of lives and property of the entire mankind. Peace is viewed in Islam as the Pivot around which the stability, and progress of mankind revolves. The Qur'an states:

> There has come to you from God a (new) light and a perspicuous book; wherewith God guides all who seek His good pleasure to ways of peace and safety, and leads them out of darkness, by His will, unto the light and guides them to a path that is straight. (Q. 5:17 & 18).

This is why the word Islam, according to Afzalur-Rahman (1980), stands for peace, submission and obedience to the commands of God, who is the creator and sustainer of the whole Universe.[18]

All the Prophets sent by God were men of peace, with the mission of establishing peaceful and harmonious co-existence between mankind on the basis of Shari'ah. The prophets of God never return fire for fire except when it is the only alternative. The Prophet (S.A.W) for instance, was abused, molested, victimised and even physically attacked. At a point when the Prophet (S.A.W) was convinced that the people

will not believe, he was yet commanded to be peaceful and remain a symbol of peace. Reads the Qur'an:

> (God has knowledge) for the (Prophet's) cry; 'O my Lord: Truly, these are a people who will not believe!' But turn away from them, and say "peace"! But soon shall they know. (Q. 43: 88-89)

The Qur'an laid the foundation for the sanctity of human life.

> ....Take not life, which God has made sacred, except by way of justice and law.... (Q.5:151)

> Those who invoke not with God any other god, nor slay such life as God has made sacred, except for just cause, nor commit fornication, and any that does this (not only) meets punishment. But the penalty on the Day of Judgement will be penalty to him, and he will dwell therein in ignominy.... (Q25: 68 - 9).

The first case of manslaughter in the history of mankind was the murder of 'Habila' by his brother 'Qabila'; two children of Adam (A.S). The Qur'an narrates this saying:

> The (selfish) soul of the other led him to the murder of his brother; he murdered him and became (himself) one of the lost ones. On that account. We ordained for the children of Israel that if any one slew a person unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land, it would be as if he slew the whole people. And if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he save the life of the whole people.... (Q5 : 33 and 35).

The prophet (S.A.W), in the fare-well sermon said:

> O men, your lives and your property shall be inviolate until you meet your Lord. The safety of your lives and of your property shall be as inviolate as this holy day and holy month. 19

These divine evidences emphasise the sanctity of life in Islam. This is essential for the safety and security of human race. Peace is therefore a foundamental phenomenon in Islam because it is only when there is peace that the purpose of the creation of makind coould could be realised. But when the lives and property, the faith and religious freedom of muslims are threatened on account of their faight, fighting becomes not only compulsory but obligatory on the muslims. Even then, Jihad, from the Quranic perspective, does not only mean physical battle as is perceived by the non-muslims in particular and some muslims as well. It includes any form of peaceful struggle in the cause of God to establish His ways of life on earth. For instance, the Qur'an says:

> O ye who believe! Do your duty to God, seek the means of approach unto Him. And strive with might and main in His cause: That you may prosper. (Q5:38).

The phrase: WAJAHIDU FI SABILIHI , in the above verse mea s 'to struggle with might and main in the cause of God.[20] From the above, Jihad, in most cases,

is a peaceful struggle in the cause of God, to live a life of submission to God - most High.

> And if any strive (with might and main), they do so for their own souls. For God is free of all needs from all creatures. (Q29:06).

However, when the peaceful Islamisation process is obstructed on any ground, then it becomes obligatory on the muslims to remove the obstacles at all cost.

Jihad of war-fare, becomes necessary in Islam, to restore conditions of peace and order, so that people may live in peace and practice their religion without fear or coersion. The Prophet (S.A.W) had to wage war to defend his people from the aggressors who opposed him and obstructed him and his companions in their efforts to obey the law of God and invite others to it.[21]

According to Afzalur-Rahman (1980), fighting (Jihad) is prescribed on the following grounds:

-1 To end the state of persecution and oppression, and establish peace and order so that ordinary people may live a peaceful and quite life and practice their faith without interference or obstruction from anyone.

-2 It is prescribed to proclaim the rule of law and justice, so that all people, rich and poor weak and strong, are able to seek justice and enjoy their legal, economic, social, religious and political rights on an equal basis without distinction or favour. ....Thus, Muslims strive in the cause of peace and justice, and when it (peace and justice) can not be secured in ordinary ways, then they have to wage war to defend this foundamental principle of Islam, because without it peaceful living, and even preservation of life itself, is not possible.[22]

The prophet (S.A.W) has directed muslims saying:

> Never desire fighting, but pray to God for peace and security. And when you have to fight the enemy, fight with steadfastness and know that paradise is under the shadow of swords.

A close examination of the biography and works of Shaikh Uthman, would reveal that he was not politically ambitious. His sincerity of purpose and commitment to the Islamic ideals is attested to even by his adversaries. That the Jihad which he led was fought strictly in line with the Shari'ah provisions governing the conduct of Jihad in Islam, is a fact

that is abundantly derivable from the history of the Sokoto Jihad movement.

When the Shaikh preached in Hausaland, he preached religious reform. In the process, he won large followership. When the religious and political influence of the Jamã'a was viewed as threatening the social and political structure of the time, the Jamã'a were subjected to series of persecutions. These persecutions, at a time, became so serious that people were prevented from accepting Islam. And the Muslims had their religious freedom curtailed.[23] Then the Jama'a was attacked, and the Shaikh was himself threatened. Some muslims were attacked and killed.[24] Then the Habe Kingdom expelled the Shaikh from his town. When the Shaikh and the muslims migrated to Gudu in February 1804, some were attacked, plundered, and robbed. Even thereafter, the Jamã'a at Gudu were again threatened. In the face of all these, it became necessary for the Shaikh and the Jamã'a to rise up, with their might and main, not only in self-defence, but to surpress oppression in the land, and uphold and propagate the principles of their believe.

To fight in self defence is permitted in Islam. To curtail oppression and injustice is a task upon the muslims. To spread the faith of Islam is a primary right of all believers. It is around these, that the shaikh's Jihad revolved. And it is around it, that the Islamicity of his Jihad could be determined. The Qur'an says:

> To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. (Q22:39)

> Fight in the cause of God those who fight you. But do not transgress limits; for God loved not transgressors. (Q2:190).

> And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God. But if they cease, let there be no hostility excent to those who practise oppression. (Q2:193).

> Narrated Abu Musa (R.A): A man came to the Prophet (S.A.W) and asked; "A man fight for war booty; another fights for fame and third fights for showing off; which of them fights in Allah's cause?" The Prophet (S.A.W) said: "He who fights so that Allah's word (i.e. Islam) should be superior, fights in Allah's cause. 25

Evidences abounds that Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio did not fight the Jihad for wordly glory, nor for material

acquisition. On the contrary, he fought the Jihad to establish and strengthen Islam. These divine evidences provides the pivot around which the religious basis of the Sokoto Jihad revolved.

However, the non-muslims and the orientalist writers, partly from prejudice and partly due to ignorance and lack of information, failed to justify or appreciate the religious necessity of the Jihad. Their problems to my mind, arises from their inability to explain the social, economic and political outcome of the Jihad, which they thought, was a religious movement and as such should have nothing to do with the political, social and economic aspects of the lives of the people. But, Islam, as a whole, is the embodiment that make up the entire segments of human society. Political, social, economic and religious values in Islam, are so interwoven that they can not be separated, and one can not be treated in isolation with the significan others.

4.3.2 THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOKOTO JIHAD

Even though the sokoto Jihad was fought on religious grounds, its outcome was as political as it was religious. The political outcome of the Jihad could be justified firstly, from the revivalist nature of Shaikh's Jihad, and secondly, the political challenges of the Jihad, to the Shaikh and his Jamā'a

The Shaikh was acknowledged as a Mujaddid . The sokoto Jihad was therefore a revivalist movement. By implication, Tajdid or revivalism is Islam, entails a complete revival or renewal of Islamic teachings in all aspects of human life. Islam as an institution, is as political as well. Revivalism in Islam can not be effected on the ritual aspects alone in isolation to the other segments that make up human society. The Qur'an says:

> But seek, with the (wealth) which God has bestowed on thee the home of the hereafter, nor forget thy position in this world; but do thou good, as God has been good to thee and seek not (occasions for) mischief in the land, for God loves not those who do mischief. (Q28:77).

Mawdudi, S.A. (d. 1979), on the objectives of Islamic revivalism says:

> The objectives of the Islamic movement in this world is revolution in tendership. That a leadership that has rebelled against God and His guidance and is responsible for the suffering of mankind has to be replaced by a leadership that is God-conscious, righteous and committed to following divine guidance. 26

To Mawdudi therefore, Islamic revivalism does not involve purifying the religious aspects or rituals alone, but entails a complete change of leadership at all levels; moral, technological, social, economic and political, and the re-organisation of human life to accord with the ideals and values revealed by God for the guidance of mankind. To my mind, this must have been one of the salient issues of the Shaikh's Jihad. The Prophet (S.A.W) said:

> There are two classes in my Ummah, if they are right, the Ummah is set right; if they go wrong, the Ummah goes wrong. They are the rulers and the scholars. 27

> Ziyad bn Hudayr says: Umar (R.A) said to me; 'Do you know what will destroy Islam?' When I said that I did not, he said: 'It will be destroyed by the mistakes of Scholars, the arguing of hypocrites using the Book, and the government by leaders who are in error. (Da'imi).

Political power is promised by God to those of His servants who are righteous. The Qur'an says:

> God has promised, to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that He will, of a surety. grant them in the land inheritance (of power). as He granted it to those before them, that He will establish in authority their religion - the one which He chosen for them, and that He will change (their state) after the fear in which they (lived), to one of security and peace. They will worship ME (alone) and not associate anything with Me. If any do reject faith after this, they are rebellious and wicked. (Q: 24:55).

To enjoy right and forbid evil is the pivot around which the functions of political authority revolves in Islam. The Qur'an says:

> They are those who, if WE establish them in the land, establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid wrong. With God rests all end (and decision) of (all) things. (Q22:41).

The object of political authority in Islam is to guide mankind to commit themselves to the worship of Allah, ensure that Shari'ah is the law by which people live their lives, and set out to fight injustice and oppression, eradicate those evils that incur God's anger and promote those virtues

and social values that is loved and approved by Allah. These objectives, according to Mawdudi (d. 1979), can not be realised so long as power and leadership are in the hands of disbelieving rulers gone astray, and the followers of Islam confine themselves to worship rites only, this too, depending on the often arbitrary support and patronage of those very rulers.[28]

> Ubadah bn Samit (R.A) says: We pledge to Allah's messenger (S.A.W) to hear and obey in difficulty and ease, in what we liked and what we disliked. To give way to others' interest, not to dispute with the ruler unless we saw them denying Islam; yet, to say what was right wherever we were, not fearing whatever blame one may put on us in the way of God. (Bukhari & Muslim).

In another Hadith, the Prophet (S.A.W) was reported to have said:

> Surely, Allah will raise up for this community (of muslims) at the commencement of every century, one who will reform their religion. (Abu Da8ad).

To reform the religion, to the minds of the non-muslims, it seems, means only purifying the worship rites of the muslims alone. And should have nothing to do with the social, economic, political and even educational aspects of the peoples'

lives. Tajdid - the reforming, or reviving the religion from the context of the above ahadith, to my understanding, implies an organise struggle by the muslims, under a leadership that is responsible and upright, to Islamise all the socio-political and economic institutions of man. This is probably why Mawdudi (d.1979) opined that:

> Those who surrender themselves to God should strive to wrest control of all centres of power and authority from those in rebellion against God, not for themselves but to bring them under God; for ungodly leadership is at the root of the evils afflicting humanity. 29

From the foregoing, it could be established that Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio's Da'awa activities in Hausaland were aimed at reforming the religion such that the message of Islam could be infused in all aspects of life. The Jihad which he inevitably fought had a destined political outcome which was not however unexpected. The Shaikh, took over the control of political power in Hausaland, not for himself, but to establish an authority representative of Allah's sovereighty on earth. This is one of the salient but intended objectives of

the Islamic movement, and it goes a long way to justify the political implications of the Jihad in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

The second dimension from which the political implications of the Sokoto Jihad could be perceived is the challenge it posed to the Shaikh and his Jama'a. The fall of Alkalawa in 1808 marked the end of the Habe kingdom in Hausaland. Sarki Yunfa was killed. The 'Jihadists were victorious. This victory was a big challenge politically, to the Shaikh in particular and the Jama'a in general. The death of Yunfa and the fall of Alkalawa meant the total collapse of political power in the land. Significantly however, the Shaikh, in his capacity as Amir al-Mu'minin (Commander of the faithfuls), became the indisputable religious and political leader of the land.

The immediate political challenge of the victory of the Jihad to the muslims was evolving an alternative social and political order in Hausaland. That the Jihad of Sokoto turned out to be more political at a time was only a matter of necessity. A necessity that arose out of the primary

responsibility of the muslims to wrest control of all centres of power, - political, social, educational economic and military, so as to re-organise human life to accord with the ideals and values of Islam.

The level of corruption and injustice, tyranny and oppression, and the mis-use of human knowledge and resources for destruction instead of human welfare and enlightenment are all due to bad leadership. It is in the light of this that, Jihad (as a revivalist movement), whenever successfully undertaken, is geared towards effecting a change at the centres of power. The fall of Alkalawa and the death of Yunfa did not just mark the end of the traditional Habe hostilities against the Jamā'a , but meant that the Shaikh and his Jamā'a should take control of all centres of power to free men from subserviency to beings other than Allah. That the Shaikh was conscious of this challenge, and the fact that he took up the challenge and ushered in a new social and political order in Hausaland justifies the political significance of the Sokoto Jihad.

4.4.0 A REVIEW OF SOME MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS IN THE SOKOTO JIHAD

The Sokoto Jihad was full with events of historical significance. Some of these events had political bearings, on account of which the Jihad was conceived by some writers as a movement that was more political than religious. But a close examination of such events would show that though political in nature, they were dictated by the circumstances of the time. In addition, these events were no evidences whatever, that the Shaikh launched the Jihad for reasons other than religion. On the contrary, such events were testimonies to the revivalist nature of the Jihad and demonstrated the Shaikh's desire to realise an ideal Islamic Ummah in the nineteenth century Hausaland.

4.4.1 THE MAGAMI SALLAH FESTIVAL

The magami Sallah festival between 1788-9 C.E, Shaikh Uthman, along with other scholars were summoned by King Bawa to Magami for Id'al-Kabir Festival.

The objectives of sultan Bawa was not precisely known. At the end of Id prayers, the sultan gave his traditional Sallah gifts to the Ulama . The purpose of this gift is also not clearly stated. But experiences has shown that such ceremonious gifts are given, either to ackno ledge the contributions of individuals and group of persons to the society; or to soften the hard-line approach of identified radicals and revolutionary elements in the community through official bribery, usually viewed as good gestures of the people in authority to the persons concerned.

There is no evidence that the Magami Sallah gifts to the scholar was the first of its kind in Hausaland. This must have probably accounted for the general laxity, reluctance and the inability of the scholars in the land to effect positive changes in the land before the Shaikh's time. It is this class of scholars that were refered to in the works of the Jihadists as Ulama as-su'i , the devilish scholars.

Sultan Bawa gave the Sallah gifts to the scholars present at Magami. All of them accepted the

gifts with thanks, except the incorruptable Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio. Rejecting the gifts, he said: "I and my community have no need of your wealth."[30] In place of the gifts, he requested for the concessions, and Bawa granted him all.[31]

This action increased Shaikh's prominence politically and religiously. King Bawa was said to have publically made a declaration that there would be no more than a local heads of Aljalawa after himself.[32] The Magami incidence increased Shaikh's popularity in the land. It made him dearer to the people more than ever before, and presented him as a committed reformer who was struggling for improved living conditions of the muslims in particular and the masses in general.

Significantly, the Shaikh did not seek for any political recognition. He simply wanted to be free to teach and preach his religion. He also called for the removal of obstacles that militated against the Islamisation process in Hausaland. As a result of his increased influence, his base at Degel became a centre of learning. Students from far and near came to him for religious instructions. Scholars

committed to his cause, came to settle nearby, as a result, a powerful muslim community grew up at Degel.

If the Shaikh, contrary to speculations, fought the Jihad for economic purpose, he would have (no double) collected the gifts at Magami. If on the other hand, he was politically ambitious, he would have sought to use his fame to seek for a share in the government of the kingdom. In that case, he would have been contented if appointed as a Palace scholar, and it would have cost him less time, less resources and lives to organise for a palace coup - than going by the Jihad with all its implications. That the Shaikh did not take to any of these alternatives, is an indisputable evidence that the Sokoto Jihad was purely a religious movement.

4.4.2 THE HIJRAH FROM DEGEL TO GUDU

In February 1804, the Shaikh made the Hijrah from Degel to Gudu. As a result, all followers of Shaikh, from different parts of Hausa-land migrated to Gudu. The Shaikh's Hijrah was in compliance with the examplary pattern of the holy Prophet (S.A.W) when he migrated from Mecca to

Madina in 622 C.E.

The Shaikh's Hijrah could be justified thus:

-1 The religious freedom of the muslims was curtailed to such an extent that it became almost impossible for the muslims to hold on to their faith and practice their religion in Hausaland. For instance, King Nafata's proclamation forbidding all muslims except the Shaikh from preaching, placing embargo on further conversions to Islam, ordering the muslim converts to revert to Kufr - unbelief; and prohibiting the wearing of turbans by muslim men and outlawed the use of veils by muslim women.[33]

-2 The muslims' lives and property were no longer safe in the land. Under King Yunfa, muslims became objects of attack. For instance, the muslim settlement unde the leadership of Abdus-salam at Bimbana was attacked and sacked. Many muslims were killed. Among the dead, says Shaikh Abdullahi, were men, women, and children; including Qur'anic reciters and muslim scholars. Others were taken as prisoners of war. Their property were looted. Their wives and children were captured and taken as slaves.[34]

The local chiefs and their malams also subjected the Jamā'a to series of persecutions leading to minor clashes between the Jamā'a and the local authorities in different parts of the land.[35]

-3 The Shaikh himself was threatened, and an attempt made on his life. Yunfa attempted killing the Shaikh.[36] After the Gimbana episode, sultan Yunfa threatened taking a similar action against the muslims at Degel. Then Shaikh was expelled from Degel with his family. The Shaikh responded and prepared to leave, not only with his family, but with all believers who wished to leave with him. Fanally, the Shaikh and his followers made the 'Hijrah' to Gudu in February 1804 C.E.

These factors were the immediate causes of the Hijrah in the nineteenth century Hausaland. But the Hijrah of Shaikh was viewed by some writers as a 'sparatist movement'.[37] intended (by the Shaikh), to carve out an entity for himself, in order to realise his political ambitions. But Shaikh Uthman was not politically ambitious. Even after

the Jihad was successfully fought, he surrendered the political affairs of the caliphate to his lieutenants.

Hijrah , though a religious movement, has a definite political significance. When the Prophet (S.A.W) made the Hijrah from Makkah to Madina, he did not only became free to practice his religion, but he emerged as the political head of the 'Ummah' at Madina. Shaikh Uthman was the spiritual leader and the Imām of the Jamā'a before Hijrah . After the Hijrah he was chosen as Amir al-Mu'minin - the commander of the faithfuls. This has a political significance. However, what is the religious justifications for the Hijrah of Shaikh from Degel to Gudu in 1804 C.E?

Hijrah is commanded in Islam when conditions of oppression exists in the society. Its primary objective is to free man from subserviency to beings other than Allah. Man is created from the perspective of Islam, as a representative of God on earth. (Qur'an 2:30). The main objective of man's existence is to worship Allah alone. (Qur'an 51:56). In

addition, man is commanded to enjoin what is right and forbid what is evil. Muslims are therefore commanded to fight injustice and oppression. But when the laws of God are undermined, the muslims are oppressed, their religious freedom curtailed, and it becomes almost impossible for the muslims to effect a change either through moral persuation, or physical struggle, and the very lives of the muslims is in jeopardy, the Hijrah becomes binding on the muslims.

However, according to Zakariya Basheer (1983) Hijrah could be undertaken only when the people are duly invited to Islam within a sufficient time, and their rejection of Islam becomes apparent, and every attempt made to remove doubt from the minds of the people concerned, and all possible challenges answered.[38] This is because Hijrah is not a flight from the land of difficulties to the land of comfort and luxury, but as a necessary Da'awah methodology and political strategy. Through it (Hijrah), the muslims free themselves from the domination of their enemies and establish themselves freely on the land. Significantly, the

Shaikh's Hijrah satisfied all the above conditions.

In Islam, the whole world is the property of God alone. Man (Muslim) functions only as the Khalifah of God on the earth. Therefore, the whole earth is the constituency of a believer. Man has the right to choose his place of residence, and to travel freely, in peace and security, on land and sea. "It is therefore logical that human beings should resort to emigration if they find themselves defenceless and helpless in the face of oppresion."[39]

Hijrah is the Sunnah of the prophets of God when the need for it exists. For instance, Prophet Ibrahim (A.S) fled from his parents in the cause of God. Prophet Musa (A.S) fled from Egypt to Madyan first, and secondly, out of Egypt across the red sea. The Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) fled from Makkah to Madina - known as the Hijrah . Similarly, Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio, following the pattern of the prophets of God, migrated from Degel to Gudu. Around this, revolves the Islamicity of Shaikh's Hijrah .

The holy Qur'an strongly recommends Hijrah when the need for it arises, and vehemently condemn

those muslims who fail to migrate when emigration becomes necessary under the conditions approved by Shari'ah . The Qur'an says:

> When Angels take the souls of those who die in sin against their souls, they say: 'In what (plight) were you? They reply: 'Weak and oppressed were we in the earth'. They say: 'was not the earth of God spacious enough for you to move yourselves away(from evil)? Such men will find their abode in Hell. What an evil refuge: Except those who are (really) weak and oppressed - men women and children, who have no means in their power, nor (a guide-post) to direct their way. For these there is hope that God will forgive: For God does blot out (sins) and forgive again and again. 'He who forsakes his home in the cause of God, finds in the earth many a refuge, wide and spacious. Should he die as a refuge from home for God and His Apostle, his reward becomes due and sure with God: And God is oft-forgiving, most merciful.
> (Q4 : 97 - 100).

In Sura eight, the Qur'an states thus:

> Those who believed, and adopted exile (by making a Hijrah), and fought for the faith, with their property and their persons, in the cause of God, as well as those who gave (them) asylum and aid, these are (all) friends and protectors, one of another. As to those who believed but came not into exile (failed to make the Hijrah), you owe no duty of protection to them until they came into exile.....
> (Q8 : 72)

According Zakaria, Bashier (1983), Hijrah becomes obligatory when Jihad becomes imperative to defend Islam and the Muslim community against an aggressor.[40] The Qur'an says:

> Those who believed, and adopt exile, and fight for the faith, in the cause of God as well as those who give (them) asylum and aid; these are (all) in very truth the Believers. For them is the forgiveness of sins and a provision most generous. (Q8:74).

In the light of the above, the circumstances that led to the Hijrah of Shaikh in 1804, show that the Shaikh had no worldly or political ambitions which he intended to achieve through Hijrah. The Hijrah was forced on him and he took to the Quranic alternative and the examplary pattern of the prophet (S.A.W). He made the Hijrah in obedience to Allah and His Apostle, to defend himself and the muslim community and to freely practice his religion and spread the faith of Islam in Hausaland. The Hijrah of Shaikh was not therefore, a separatist movement but a religious movement intended to safeguard the beliefs, lives and property of the muslims from the oppressive rulership of the Habe Kingdom.

4.4.3 TO CARRY ARMS IN SELF DEFENCE IS SUNNAH

The Shaikh, in about 1798, precisely six years before the Hijrah.[41] enjoined his followers to carry arms. It is argued by the Shaikh that to carry arms (in self-defence) is 'Sunnah . Shaikh Abdullahi bn Fodio, in the Tazyin al-Waraqat says:

> Our Shaikh Uthman....., when he saw the greatness of the community, and their desire to break away from the unbelievers, and commence holy war, began to incite them to arms, saying to them 'verily to make ready weapons is Sunnah, and we began to make weapons ready, and he began to pray to God that He should show him the sovereignty of Islam in this country of the Sudan....42

The carrying of arms has a political and military significance. It seems to suggest that the Jihad was an offensive war for political power in the land. However, the Jihadists, though in arms for six years before the Hijrah , were not reported to have attacked any body or group of peopel for either political or economic purposes. The series of persecutions the Jihadists were subjected to in the land, must have probably necessitated the carrying of arms in self defence.

In Islam, muslims are expected to be ready, in self defence against the oppression of their enemies whenever conditions of oppression exists. The Qur'an says:

> Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom you may not know, but whom God does know. Whatever you shall spend in the cause of God, shall be repaid unto you, and you shall not be treated unjustly. (Q8:60).

Commenting on the above verse, Abdullahi Yusuf Ali says:

> In every fight, physical, moral, or spiritual, arm yourself with the best weapons and the best arms against your enemy, so as to instil wholesome respect into him for you and the cause you stand for. There are always lurking enemies whom you may not know, but whom God knows. It is your duty to be ready against all, for the sacred cause under whose banner you are fighting. Be always ready and put all your resources into your cause....43

From the above, Shaikh Uthman's instructions to his followers to carry arms was strictly in accordance with the Islamic injunctions. It was in self defence and necessitated by the constant threats to the lives of his followers in Hausaland.

Although the carrying of arms was a signal of a possitive offensive, yet, there were no 'evidences that the Shaikh's followers attaked anybody or group of people before the outbreak of the Jihad.

4.4.4 THE SHAIKH, AS AMIR AL MU'MININ

Shortly after the Hijrah , Shaikh Uthman was by a concensus of the Jama'a , declared the Amir-al-Mu'minin - (the commander of the faithfuls). Before this time, he was the Imam and the Amir of the Jama'a .

His appointment as Amir al-Mu'minin was only a matter of necessity. A necessity that arose out of the need for the Jama'a to organise themselves in self defence. Abdullahi bn Fodio writes:

> Then the affairs (of persecution) came to the point where they were sendin' armies against us, and we gathered together when that became serious, and appointed the Shaikh, who had previously been out Imam and our Amir, as our commander, in order that he might put our affairs in order....44

From the above, the declaration of Shaikh as Amir al-Mu'minin was only a formality because, he was, before this time, the Imam who led the muslims in prayer, and the Amir', the leader of the Jama'a . This appointment came out of the desire for the

Jama'a to be better organised for defensive purposes.

The significance of this is as political as it was religious. By implication, it meant that the Shaikh, as Amir al-Mu'minin , was no longer an ordinary religious leader to lead the muslims in prayer alone, but a political and military commander as well, an authority to be obeyed in timed of peace and war. The Qur'an says:

> O ye who believe: Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those charged with authority among you. If you differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to God and His Apostle, if you do believe in Allah and the last Day. That is best, and most suitable for final determination. (Q4 : 59)

The Baya'ah - oath of allegience was then given to the Shaikh by the community, first, by Abdullah, Bello and others.[45] With the Bay'ah willingly given to the Shaikh, he now occupies a position of authority. He could (now) command, direct, guide and speak with the voice of Muslim power in Hausaland. Politically, at this stage, the Shaikh, it seems, occupied a position that was at par with the Sarkin Gobir. This implies that there were two independent and autonomous communities in Hausaland. The first being the traditional aristocracy represented by the Habe Kingdom under the leadership of

Sarki Yunfa, and secondly, the emerging muslim power in the land, under the leadership of Shaikh Uthman. This to mind, is the pivot around which the political significance of Shaikh's position revolved. It was also a sufficient threat to the political hegemony of Habe Kingdom in Hausaland. I fell that it was because of that visible danger that Sarki Yunfa decided to launch organised attacks on the new community at Gudu.

From the circumstances that led to the Hijrah to Gudu in 1804, the conditions under which Shaikh was acclaimed as the commander of the faithfuls, and the outbreak of the Jihad, were pointers to the fact that Shaikh Uthman was not politically ambitious. On the contrary, he was a courageous leader, who, despite all odds, was able to, with little resources at his disposal, destroy the clutches of oppression in the land and led his Jama'a to victory.

4.4.5 THE DECLARATION OF THE JIHAD

After the successful 'Hijrah' to Gudu the Shaikh was appointed as the commander of the Jama'a . This marked the beginning of what may be described

as an autonomous political entity that was at par with the Habe kingdom in Hausaland. The skirmishes that followed, resulting from the offensives of the Habe rulers finally led to the wars between the two forces from 1804 to the fall of Alkalawa and the death of Yunfa in 1808.

For six years before the Hijrah, the muslims were armed in self defence as a result of the Shaikh's call that to carry arms is 'Sunnah'.[46] The muslims at this period were persecuted by the Habe rulers and their agents all over the land.[47] After the Hijrah to Gudu, these persecutions were intensified. The aim of these persecutions (now it seems) was to liquidate the Jamā'a . With their lives still threatened, the Jamā'a thought of taking measures to safeguard their safety. It was this point that they appointed Shaikh Uthman as their commander. Then the Baya'ah - oath of allegience was given to the Shaikh. This, to my mind, was the point when the muslims made the intention for the Jihad .

The historic Bay'ah : the Bay'at al-Ridwan - the fealty of God's good pleasure, which was pledged to the holy prophet (S.A.W) at Hudaibiyah ,

was the first of its kind in Islamic history. It was a pledge to the holy prophet to avenge the death of Uthman bn Affan (R.A) whom they thought was killed at Mecca. Bay'ah could therefore be seen as an undertaking, under a leadership that is upright, to avenge the killing of one or more muslims, or to stop the persecutions of the muslims by the enemies of Islam. It could also be undertaken to spread Islam. In the light of the above, the Bay'ah of the Jama'a to Shaikh Uthman could be viewed as a declaration to fight in the cause of God those who fought against them.

Significantly, the Hijrah was forced on the muslims from all parts of Hausaland to Gudu. At Gudu, they were still not safe. It was at this point that they decided to take measures in self defence. This fits in the 'Qur'anic' description in Surat al-Hajj : Thus:

> To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, God is most powerful for their aid; (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right (for no cause) except that they say: "Our Lord is God: Did not God check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches,

> synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of God is commemorated in abundant measure. God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause), for verily God is full of strength exalted in might, (able to enforce His will)." (Q22:40).

Even when the Shaikh was appointed as the commander, the muslims did not take up arms against the Habe kingdom. What they did first, was to dig a ditch, and built defensive walls for protection.[48] Then the muslims were raided and they raided back in relaliation, untill it led to the first open battle between the two forces. Shaikh Abdullahi says:

> Then we built a fortress there; after that we began to revenge ourselves upon those who raided us, and we raided them, and conquered the fortress of Matankari, then the fortress of the sultan of Kunni. Then the sultan of Ghubir, Yunfa, came against us, having collected armies of Nubians and Touareg, and the Fulani who followed him such as none knows except God. The commander of the Believers dispatched for us an army against him....We met Yunfa in a place called Qurdam...God routed his armies by His Grace, and to Him be the Praise, and the thanks. 49

It was after this first victory that the muslims took to the offensive, the purpose of which was to eliminate oppression and injustice on the earth. The Qur'an says:

> And fight them on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God altogether and everywhere; but if they cease, verily God does see all that they do. (Q8:39).
>
> And slay them wherever you catch them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out. For tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter....(Q2:191).

This brings us to the question: who declare the Jihad in Hausaland? Jihad is fought or declared only by those that believe in Allah. It is fought only for the sake of God. Its primary purpose is to suppress oppression and injustice in the land. As a revolution it aims at wresting control of all centres of power and authority from those in rebellion against God, not for themselves but to bring them under God; for ungodly leadership is at the root of all evils afflicting humanity.[50] This does not mean that the muslims in Hausaland started the war. The flag of Fitnah (persecutions was raised by the Habe kingdom for their political, social and economic interests.

The muslims, under the leadership of Shaikh were persecuted on account of their faith. The muslims decided to, despite their numerical and technological inferiority, defend themselves against the

attacks of their enemies. To my discovery, I wish to affirm that the stand of the muslims to avenge the attacks on them marked the beginning of the physical Jihad which overthrew the Habe Kingdom in the nineteenth century Hausaland. Sultan Muhammad Bello, in the Infaq-al-Maisur, says:

> We did not begin it (the Jihad), and the beginning was the stand we made when we repulsed the army of the Sarkin Gobir at the time when he was orpressing us. He began the fight, he rose up and attacked us. When we fought him, we overcame him.

In conclusion, the Jihad of sokoto was a puritanical religious movement. It was necessitated by the socio-economic, political, and religious peculiarities of the time. The Jihad was not politically motivated. Although one can not rule out the presence of political, social and economic factors in the process of the Jihad, yet, these factors are closely interwoven with the religious factor because of the all-embracing nature of Islamic religion. Even though some individuals or group of individuals might have participated in the Jihad for reasons other than religion, yet, the objectives of the movement, I feel, should be determined only

from the perspective of the Jihadist leaders, because all other consideration are secondary. Such actions of the Shaikh, in the cause of the Jihad, that had political bearings, were dictated by the circumstances of the time. These events were not evidences that the Jihad was launched for reasons other than religion. The necessity for such actions are Islamically justified.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

-1 For instance, Crowder Michael (1962): The Story of Nigeria', page 97 says: "Beyond the primary religious motive lay many political and economic factors." J.B. Webster and others, in The Revolutionary years: West Africa Since 1800, on the reasons for the Jihad says: "The grievances of the muslim community, both Hausa and Fulani, against the aristocracy were religious, political and economic".

-2 Journal of the African Society; Vol. 14, 1914 - 15, page 53.

-3 Last, Murray (1967) THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE page 14

-4 El-Masri, F.H. Bayan - Wujub al-Hijra alal-Ibad; A draft translation pages 12 and 13.

-5 Ibid, page 14

-6 Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-Waraqat, page 86.

-7 Ibid, page 98

-8 Arnett, E.J. 'The rise of the Sokoto Fulani being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of'Infaq al-Maisur', page 25.

-9 Ibid. page 25

10. Ibid, page 26

11. Tanbih al-Ikhwan of Shaikh Uthman. Journal

of the African History, Vol.13, 1913 - 14, page 55-56. Also (Kitab al-Farq) Hiskett, M. page 570.

12. Hiskett, M. (Tazyin al-Waraqat), page 88 - 89

13. This refers to Sarki Yunfa's proclamation prohibiting the use of turbans by male muslims and veils by muslim women, as well as ordering muslim converts to revert to Kufr - unbelief (see Last, Murray, (1967) The Sokoto Caliphate, page 12).

14. The Muslim settlement at Gimbana under the leadership of Abdussalam was attacked and sacked.

15. Shaikh Uthman himself, after the Gimbana episode was given a quit order by Sultan Yunfa. This led to the Hijrah to Gudu in February 1804. See Tazyin al-Waraqat Hiskett M., page 108

16. Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-Waraqat, and Diya'us-Siyasat - being an M.A. Thesis of Shehu Umar Abdullahi 1980.

17. Arnett, E.J. The rise of Sokoto Fulani, page 123.

18. Afzalur-Rahman: Muhammad as a Military leader,

page 12.

19. Haykal, M.H. The life of Muhammad, English Translation by Professor Ismail Raji-al-Farraqi, page 486.

20. Abdullahi Yusuf Ali's translation Holy Qur'an, English Translation, page 253.

21. Afzalur-Rahman: Muhammad as a Military leader. page 15 and 16.

22. Ibid. Page 18 and 19

23. This refers to Sultan Yunfa's proclamations denying Muslims the rights to worship freely in the land.

24. At Gimbana, many muslims were killed, among the dead, say Abdullahi bn Fodio, included Qur'anic reciters, men, women and children.

25. Salih al-Bukhari. Vol.4, Hadith 65, page 50.

26. Murad, Khurram (Ed) (1984). The Islamic Movement, Dynamics of values, power and change. pages 71 - 72.

27. Ibid. page 78

28. Ibid, page 79

29. Ibid, page 11

30. Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-Waraqat page 88 - 89

31. Last, Murray (1967). The Sokoto Caliphate, page .

32. Ibid.

33. Opcit, page 12.

34. Arnett, E.J. The rise of Sokoto Fulani. page 125.

35. Last, Murray, (1967) The Sokoto Caliphate page 15.

36. Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-Waraqat, page 107-8

37. Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century page 58, the authors writes: By constituting the Shaikh's followers into an independent polity, the Hijrah from Dogel proved the final phase of the separatist movement which Gobir opposition had forced on the reformers.

38. Zakariya Basheer. (1983): Hijrah: Its story and significance page 89.

39. Ibid. page 91

40. Ibid. page 90

41. Last, Murray (1967) The Sokoto Caliphate page 15.

42. Hisket M., Tazyin al-Waraqat, page 105

43. Abdullahi Yusuf Ali: Holy Qur'an, English translation page 430, Notes 1225 - 7.

44. Opcit page 108

45. Last, Murray (1967) The Sokoto Caliphate page 24; And, Arnett, E.J. The rise of Sokoto Fulani, page 70/71.

46. Ibid. page 15

47. Ibid page 15

48. Tazyin al-waraqat page 108

49. Ibid. page 108 - 109

50. Murrad, Khurram (1984) The Islamic Movement. Dynamics of values power and change. page 11.

51. Arentt, E.J. 'The Rise of Sokoto Fulani page 122.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 WHY THE RESEARCH IS UNDERTAKEN

The Jihad of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio in Hausaland in the nineteenth century changed the social and political order of the time. It brought the fall and collapse of the Habe kingdom and established the caliphate system of Government. As a movement, it was the most significant event politically, socially and economically in the 19th century Hausaland. Though religiously motivated, its outcome was as political as it was religious.

The religious basis of the socio-economic and political conditions that gave rise to the Jihad are either completely neglected, or interpreted outside the periphery of the Islamic values and systems of life. The conventional colonialist, christian and orientalist historical approach predominate the post-Jihad literary monuments committed to the Sokoto Jihad. As such, the Jihad was said to have been fought for political, social economic reasons in the guise of religion. These conclusions, to my mind, exposes either the complete lack of knowledge of Islam

as a complete way of life, or their inability to explain the socio-economic and political outcome of the Sokoto Jihad from purely the religious points of view.

The Sokoto Jihad was a revivalist movement. It was committed to reviving the religious belief and practices of the people, and conform the socio-economic and political values of the time to the Islamic ideals and principles of life. The political developments brought about by the Jihad was not, (in the minds of of the Jihadists) unexepected. From the beginning of the Jihad to the establishment of Sokoto caliphate, many actions of Shaikh Uthman had political bearings and implications, on account of which the Jihad, to some writers, was viewed as a political movement aimed at the overthrow of the Habe kingdom in favour of a Fulani dynasty.

This research is therefore undertaken, to refute this historical misconception, and review certain actions of Shaikh Uthman that had political bearings in the cause of the Jihad and justify such actions from the religious points of view, so as to present the Jihad as a movement that was wholly committed to

the revival of Islamic ideals and to the radical transformation of the socio-political life of the 19th century Hausaland.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This research is organised in five chapters. Chapter one deals with General introduction. It traces the misconceptions about the political outcome of the Sokoto Jihad. The Sokoto Jihad was primarily fought in self defence, to defend the religion and spread the faith of Islam. The Shaikh and his follwers were attacked and they rose up in self defence. They fought the Jihad and were victorious, and established their political hegemony in the land. This research sets out to firstly refute the defective views about the political sides of the Sokoto Jihad and reveal, from the Islamic points of view, the relevance of Shaikh Uthman's political actions to the fruition of the movement. Secondly, it attempts to establish that, the Sokoto Jihad as a revivalist movement, was all embracing, such that the religious objectives are closely interwoven with the social, political and economic values of life. This is why

the Jihad though religiously motivated has a political outcome that was unexpected. Finally, it attempts to identify certain political actions of Shaikh and justify them from the context of Islamic concept of Tajdid.

Chanter two reviews the literatures most relevant to this research. The objectives of the Jihad is the pivot around which the relevance of the materials revolved. Earlier works in this field are of two categories. These are:-

-1 The works of the'Jihadists' themselves.

-2 The post-Jihad literary works on Sokoto Jihad.

There is sharp constrast between the statements of the objectives of the Jihad from the two sources above. While the works of the 'Jihadists' firmly establishes the religious nature of the Jihad, with the singular purpose of spreading the cause of Allah in Hausaland, the secondary sources suggests other ulteriour motives of the Jihad, such that the Jihad was said to be either politically, socially, economically motivated, or a war between the Hausa and Fulani. What makes this conclusion detestable is that it sets out to establish the political, social or economic objectives independent

of the religious objectives. Whereas, in Islam, one can not be separated from the other, at least, for decision making processes.

Chapter three deals with the research methodology. It describes the procedures used for data collection, analysis and interpretation. The data is categorised into two: The primary and secondary sources. The purposive samplin technique is employed to gather data .

Chapter four is analysis of findings. It identifies certain actions of Shaikh Uthman that had political bearings in the cause of the Jihad and justify such actions religiously. The Jihad of Shaikh though had political implications, was truely a revivalist movement committed to the radical transformation of the social, political, economic and religious life of the muslims and the generality of the people in the 19th century Hausaland.

5.3 SUMMARY OF RELIGIOUS JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE POLITICAL ACTIONS OF SHAIKH UTHMAN

The Jihad of Sokoto was an Islamic movement. Its religious spirit can best be ascertained from the Shari'ah evidences that make the Jihad Islamic. The Shari'ah justifications for the political actions of Shaikh Uthman in the Jihad could be summarised as follows:-

-1 The Jihad was in self defence. The Qur'an permit muslims to fight back if they are fought. The Islamic law on retaliation ca also be employed to justify the religious basis of the Shaikh's Jihad. Fighting in self defence is a fundamental right of all human beings. This fact is established in all religious. The basis here is that Shaikh Uthman did not start the war. He was a preacher. In the cause of his preachings he was attacked and fought. He fought back and won, and established the Sokoto caliphate.

-2 Muslims are commanded to fight injustice and oppression. This war could be a moral or intellectual war. This was why the Shaikh vehemently criticised the attrocities, injustice and

oppression perpetrated by the Habe kingdom. The basis here is thall authorities agreed that the socio-economic, political and even religious atmosphere in the pre-Jihad Hausaland was chaotic. Something had to be done which nobody had the courage of doing. Shaikh Uthman emerged and addressed these issues. His justified parameter was Islam and this justifies the revivalist nature of the movement.

-3 Revivalism in Islam entails both religious and political transformations of the muslim society in line with the spirit of Shari'ah. The Sokoto Jihad was a revivalist movement. This justifies the political significance of the Jihad around which the political actions of Shaikh Uthman revolved.

-4 All actions of Shaikh Uthman that had political bearings, such as the Hijrah, the sharing of responsibilities between the key officers, were in conformity with the Qur'anic provisions and the teachings of the prophet (S.A.W.). The conformity of these actions justifies the Islamicity of the Jihad.

5.4 SUMMARY OF ANSWERS TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research sets out to answer significant questions that leads to realising the objectives of the study. These questions and summary of their answers are provided below:

5.4.1 WHAT WERE THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF HAUSALAND BEFORE THE JIHAD OF SHAIKH UTHMAN BN FODIO?

Hausaland, at the time of Shaikh Uthamn, had no centralised system of Government. There were autonomous (city) states independent of each other. These states were, in most cases, at war with each other.

Islam reached Hausaland for more than five centuries before the emergence of Shaikh Uthman. The agents of Islamisation in Hausaland, in most cases, were the North African Muslim traders. Because it is always difficult to do away with familiar customary beliefs and practices, the early muslims held on to their traditional beliefs and practices while maintining their believe in Islam. They offered the prayers, and other ceremonious practices of Islam. The pre-Jihad scholars in Hausaland were either not very faithful in their believes, or indifferent to animism

and syncretism. So the Shaikh emerged, and raised the flag of Islamic revivalism. He was opposed by all classes of the society. His followers were persecuted, attacked and driven from their homes. His followers were persecuted, attacked and driven from their homes. Shaikh migrated with his followers to Gudu in February 1804. The Jihad was launched and by 1808, Yunfa was killed, Alkalawa captured, and the caliphate was established in Hausaland.

5.4.2 WAS THE SOKOTO JIHAD POLITICALLY MOTIVATED?

The Jihad of Sokoto was a religious movement. The religious motives of Shaikh Uthman was not questioned by any authority. If the overall or predominant objectives of the Jihad is to be determined from the intentions of Shaikh Uthman and his close lieutenants, then the religious objectives of the Jihad can not be questioned. If on the other hand, the objectives of those who were said to have joined the Jihad for purposes other than religion is anything to go by, then one may conclude that in addition to the religious objectives of the Jihad, there were other hidden motives which were not very clear in

the process of the Jihad and which came to light only when the caliphate was estbalished. Even then, the religious motives predominate all other considerations.

Jihad as a concept, has a political conotation. When and wherever it is fought, it produces a definite political outcome. 'The Sokoto Jihad was not an exception. Many factors combined together to produce the Jihad. It outcome was as complex as the factors that necessitated the Jihad. This accounts for the difficulty of some writers to justify the Islamicity of the Jihad.

However, the Jihad was fought purely on religious grounds, even though many factors necessitated the movement and its outcome was as political, social and economic as it was religious, because all these factors could be justified from the context of Islamic concept of Tajdid - revivalism.

Above all, the objectives of the Jihad to the Jihadists was not limited to religious rituals alone, but extends to other spheres of life.

5.4.3 THE RELEVANCE OF TAJDID IN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SOKOTO JIHAD.

Tahdid of Islam entails reviving the Sunnah and wiping off Bid'ah in the believes and practices of the Muslims.

To revive Islam implies a complete revival of all segments of life. Islamic religion deals or covers all aspects of the life of muslims. Tauhid, the belief in Allah; Ibadat - worship aspects in Islam; and Mu'amalat - socio-political institutions of man are the essential components of the historical processes around which Tajdid revolves in Islam.

This is the reason why, the Sokoto Jihad, though fought on religious grounds, brought in many political, social and economic developments in Hausaland. The inability of some historians to realise and appreciate these values exposes their ignorance on the religiousness of the Islamic movement and the essential components of Islamic revivalism. This is probably why, KANI, A.M. (1981) opinned that "the 19th century Jihad in Hausaland was preconceived in the minds of the leaders of the Jihad long before the overthrow of the Hausa states and the establishment of a new administration."[2]

Therefore, the political developments brought about by the Jihad were expected political outcome of the movement.

5.4.4 WAS THE POLITICAL VALUES OF THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE BETTER THAN THAT OF THE PRE-JIHAD PERIOD?

The attempt at comparing the political values of the Sokoto caliphate with the Habe kingdom in Hausaland is difficult mainly because our sources of information pertaining to the pre-Jihad Hausaland are the works of the Jihadists themselves. However, the post-Jihad documentary researches in the educational field tend to either wholy or partly agree with the 'Jihadists'.[3]

Significantly, the pre-Jihad Hausaland (kingdoms) had no clearly defined political values or ideals. If any, the extent to which they are pursued is not known. The operational mechanisms of the Habe kingdom were based not even on a written or silent consititution. Because the policy of the state is determined wholly and extensively by the head of the Government. This was probably why the Governments of the Habe Kingdom failed to guarantee the lives and property of her citizens. It partly contributed to the series of inter-state wars,

succession disputes and internal crisis. These crisis were so devastating that it affected social norms, political developments and economic stability of the pre-Jihad Hausaland.

The Sokoto caliphate on the contrary, was built on a defined political ideals. It was a Government committed to the welfare of the society. The unification of the various Hausa states marked an end to the inter-state wars. It established a society governed by Shari'ah. Socio-moral vices prevalent in the society were eliminated. Education for all classes of the society was vigorously pursued. The state was directly involved in all aspect of life; economic, social, political, educat onal, as well as military aspects. The purpose of the caliphate's Government, as conceived by Shaikh, says Abdullahi Smith, was:

> raising the moral tone of the society and providing a social ideology in accordance with Islamic ideals..... General education reform to be accomplished by the training of teachers; economic reform to be brought by the improvement of markets...., the development of communications (by opening roads and bridges)....the strictest judicial transactions of the Government and undertaking all good works....4

In comparison therefore, the Sokoto caliphate was, politically, and otherwise, better organised than the Habe kingdom.

The religious movements that brought the fall of Habe kingdom and the establishment of the sokoto caliphate, should be viewed as a natural way by which organised political institutions and authority succeed each other in time according to changing circumstances.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Muslim students and students of Islamic History, including teachers and curriculum planners should endeavour to appreciate the Islamic values of social change in relation to revivalist movements. They should also adopt an Islamic approach to the study of Sokoto Jihad in our schools and colleges. Finally, Muslims should desist from the apologetic approach in explaining or analysing the social, political and economic changes brought about by the Jihad, since all these are the segments that make Islam a complete way of life.

5.6 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Many studies and researches have been undertaken on different aspects of Sokoto Jihad. But

independent researches on the social, economic or political significance of the Jihad, from the Jihadists' points of view, and its discrepancy or congruence with the Shari'ah provisions are not given due attention.

A comparative study on the social, economic, political and even educational changes brought about by the Jihad from the Jihadists' accounts, and the accounts of the orientalists and missionary historians need to be undertaken. This will show the extent to which the Sokoto Jihad is mis-represented. And it will also change the apologetic approach to the study of Jihad movements by Teachers and students of Islamic history.

5.7 SUMMARY TO CHAPTER FIVE

Attempt has been made in this chapter to put in summary the sources of the data and a summary of the findings of the study. The Shari'ah justifications for the political actions of Shaikh Uthman bn Fodio has also been summarised. Finally, conclusions are drawn and recommendations on the basis of the findings are made. Possible areas for further research have been outlined.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

-1 For instance, Shaikh Abdullahi in the Tazyin al-waraqat says that the objectives of the Jihad were in self defence, to spread the faith, and establish justice on the land. To establish justice on the land requires a political power. (Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-waraqat page 127.) Also, Muhammad Bello, in the Infar al-Maisur says that the objectives of the Jihad were 'self defence; to revive and spread Islam and to aid truth against falsehood and to strengthen Islam." (The Rise of Sokoto Fulani, page 123.) Shaikh Uthman, in the Wathiqat alh-al-Sudan affirmed that to fight the heathen ruler who deny the oneness of God and to take the Government from him was obligatory by ascent! (Bivar, A.D.H'A Manifesto of the Fulani Jihad. (1961), page 240, article 12.

-2 Kani A.M. (1981) The political and social basis of the Sokoto Jihad. History research at A.B.U. Vol.Vi.

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pages 14 - 15.

-3 For instance, according to Murray Last (1967), the allegations of illegalities are likely to be substantially true because they are familiar features of the Habe Kingdom. (The Sokoto caliphate; page 14.)

-4 Abdullahi Smith (Prof.) Nigerian Journal of Public Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1971 page 70.

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