A HISTORY OF MAKARFI AREA C. 1779-1902

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my own research and has been written by me. It has not been submitted and accepted for higher degree in any other university. All quotations have been acknowledged and distinguished by quotation marks and footnotes.

Ahmed Adamu	***Date***

CERTIFICATION

This thesis has been read and approved as meeting the requirements of the Post-graduate school, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late Grand-father, Mallam Garba Jumare (1910-1993) and my Grand-mother Hajiya Diye Garba.

ABSTRACT

This topic "A history of Makarfi area C. 1779-1902," is a study of the Makarfi area. This covers the origin, socio-cultural, political and economic development in the area in one hundred and twenty three years (C. 1779-1902).

The area has been one of the districts of Zazzau Emirate located at the extreme North. It has several towns and villages most of which pre-dated the 19th century Jihad (in the area). Some of these towns and villages became vassals of the Emirate immediately after the Jihad. This indicated the status of the area especially after the Jihad where those vassals, especially, contributed their quota politically and economically to the development of the Emirate.

Makarfi have undergone a process of being transferred from one political system or polity to another. Although, this development had a great impact on the economy and administration of the area, the socio-cultural set up, remained not much affected by the changes.

The period chosen for this study C. 1779 to 1902 covers the years when most of the settlements evolved and assumed the status of full scale settlements, to the period when Makarfi and indeed the Zazzau Emirate fell under British Colonial domination.

Within the period, the area enjoyed a limited autonomy for a very short period, C1779 to 1792, when it fell under the tutelage of Zazzau kingdom.

The whole of the pre-Jihad Zazzau had undergone a general transformation, that is, with the Jihad and the assumption of Islamic system from the traditional, which change even its status from kingdom to Emirate. This affected the general administration, economic and even the socio-cultural activities of the state not only within the Zaria metropolis but also at the vassal town and village levels in the state, Makarfi area inclusive. The Emirate and Islamic system lasted for about ninety-eight years when the British overthrew the Emirate of Zazzau in 1902 and replaced it with the colonial indirect rule system.

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I also have to thank all the District Heads of Makarfi, Ruma, Gazara, Nasarawan Doya, Mayere, Gubuci and Gimi and all the Village Heads and Chiefs as well as all the people who provided me with information and guide on the area of study, their contributions helped me immensely in compiling the History of the area. A special gratitude goes to Mallam Magaji Makarfi with whom I went round all the towns and villages of the area interviewing the informants.

I recognised and appreciate the works of all the authors, scholars, researchers and other people whose works were consulted or used in one way or the other in the course of this study.

I would never forget Mr. Mathias Yayok formerly with Science School Kufena, Zaria, and my secondary school teacher for introducing me to History. Mr. Emmanuel Bakut of Nuhu Bamalli Polytechnic, Zaria can never be left out, for introducing me to advance History during my I.J.M.B. I thank them and others unmentioned very much for their early contribution.

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PREFACE

Makarfi area has played a significant role in the history of pre-colonial Zazzau, which was in culture, agriculture, trade and the security. It is situated at a very strategic location and endowed with soil fertility and was commercially viable that contributed immensely to the growth and development of Zazzau Emirate prior to the period of Colonization.

This area served as one of the food basket to the Zaria metropolis, in addition to its supply of raw materials to the local industries. All these were made possible because of rich arable land that enabled the people of the area to produce so many varieties of crops.

It also, served as a centre for traders within the Emirate and as entrepot for the traders from Bornu, Kano, Gonja, Timbuktu and other places from the North and the North-East of Hausaland into Zazzau Emirate. The area has in addition, served as a checkpoint of the Eastern inlet to the Emirate where caravans pay taxes. It also by the close of the 19th century provided metropolitan Zazzau with security, being at the extreme end to the North, which shared borders with Kano Emirate. The rulers of the area supplied the Zaria metropolis with security information.

This work is divided into five chapters all of which discussed the historical development of Makarfi area within the period C. 1779-1902 A.

D. Chapter one deals with the geographical nature of the area, where it discusses the evolution of group settlements as well as the socio-cultural, political, and economic set-up in the area.

Chapter two focuses on the evolution of the individual settlements of the area and the factors that contributed to the evolution and development of these settlements. It also discusses early settlements neighbouring Makarfi area, which gives an insight of how the inter-community relationship was in and around the area.

Chapter three of the work, covers the period between 1500 to around 1805, it discusses the early traditional culture that flourished in the area before the taking over of its control by the Fulani in 1806.

The fourth chapter is on the *Fulani* activities and the influence of Islam in the area, after the area has fallen to the Jihadists in 1806. This is in respect of the changes experienced within the area as a result of the Jihad. The chapter also discusses the relations of Makarfi area with other areas after the Jihad.

The fifth chapter is on the significance of the Jihad and its impacts on the people of the area. Here, the new political, social and economic set up was discussed in comparison to what was obtained before the jihad in the area.

NOTES ON SOURCES

This is the first study on this area which accounts for the reason why the researcher have to rely heavily on primary source materials like archaeological evidence and the oral interview. Still, some Archival materials and secondary works like the published and unpublished thesis, texts and journals relevant to subject matter were consulted by the researcher.

- **Archaeological evidence:**

Archaeological evidence on the subject matter found in Makarfi area. Here, the researcher resolved to visit all the places (towns and villages) around the area to see and assess all that he was told be they structures, artefacts, tools, utensils, weapons, etc.

- **Archival materials:**

Archival materials from the National Archives, Kaduna, were also used. Here, many files on Zaria Province (ZARPROF), Minna Province (MINPROF), SNP Series, GURDON Papers and EDGER Papers were all utilised in the course of the research.

- **Secondary works:**

Some secondary source materials on the areas which are both published and unpublished thesis, journals and texts from different scholars in History were found very useful. Others were the travellers

and traders' accounts of the 19th and the 20th centuries. These included the narration of Hugh Clapperton, the 19th century traveller, and those traders of the 19th and early 20th centuries whose narrations were collected by Paul Lovejoy. Some relevant literatures were also examined for an insight on this area of study.

Hugh Clapperton a 19th century traveller, in a book, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa: Birth of Benin to Soccato*, gives some relevant detailed geographical, political, economic and cultural account of all the places visited in the course of his expedition from the Coast to Sokoto. Among the areas were Zazzau (Zekzek) and surrounding towns and villages, including Makarfi area. The journey covered the period of two years, from 7th December 1825 to 21st December 1827. He gives a lot of insights into the politics, economy and the socio-cultural set ups of Makarfi area; before and during his expedition to this area.

This work (by Hugh Clapperton) is a monumental breakthrough for subsequent scholars who have research interest in this area. This is because of the vividness and clarity with which he captured

Though a European, Clapperton tried to give detailed information which helps the understanding of his readers. Furthermore, he also gave all his information comparative of one community with another as he visited so many communities across what is known today as Nigeria.

Sometimes, he exaggerated an event or belittled a tradition or any mishap he came across in all the places he visited in the course of his journey. He said *the country at present, on this side of Zaria, looks like some of the finest in England.*[1] Some of what Clapperton said appears questionable in comparison with what was written by the indigenes or other travellers. This seeming contradiction puts some portion of the book in suspicion of European bias. This could be seen in a place he was explaining the condition of Ruma as a whole towns of Makarfi area at the moment according to him, *the present inhabitants do not amount to more than forty, poor, mean, and miserable.*[2] Sometimes he gives his own perception or opinion of an issue, or he draws conclusion without relating to any fact. It has been stated by him that the messenger sent to him called Abdulkarim was a *poor man and, he was very earnest and rather bashful about it for Mohametan (Islam).*[3] All of these could be because he was not a historian as such. Consequently, there was no exhibition of ethics in his writing especially as he was only interested in the interests of his masters and sponsors.

Smith gives an account of the economy of Zaria which shares cultures and tradition with Makarfi area. This was in his work, *The*

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[1] Clapperton, Hugh, *'Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa: Birth of Benin to Soccato'*, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, London, p. 160
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

Economy of Hausa community of Zaria: A report to The Colonial Social Science Research Council. There, he had tried to give an insight into the mode of the economy of the area in the pre-jihad, jihad and post jihad periods which were based on the Habe and Fulani rules in the area. He tried to look at both the external and local economic ventures and opportunities which have operated there.

He also analyses the economy of the area from the British invading of the kingdom in 1902, in which he looks at it in contrast of what was obtainable, prior to the arrival of the British. Makarfi, being a part of the territory of Zazzau, had its economy vividly described by M. G. Smith. It was of immense significance in providing an insight on the economy of this area thereby, stimulating the conduct of this study. M. G. Smith gives a vivid explanation backed up by statistical data of the economy of this area. It equally gives an insight from the micro-economic point of view. The effects of the administrative changes on the economy of Zaria and Hausa land as a whole is clearly spelt out by him.

Among the weaknesses of M. G. Smith's contributions is the pattern in which the book was written. It focussed mostly on the economy of Zaria metropolis. The author does not make any justification on whether the changes effected on the economy of Zaria by the British were either good or otherwise. M.G. Smith emphasised some economic

issues and left others. Making the work less voluminous would have enabled him to write with more concise.

Another work consulted is that of Abdulkadir Adamu, *British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C.1902-1945: A case study of Soba District* (unpublished M. A. thesis, 1992). This work shows how the British Colonial policies of export-oriented agricultural productions were established and developed in Northern Nigeria, with special reference to Soba District. It was the policy that replaced the former system that sustained the internal, socio-economic and socio-political needs of the area.

The researcher argues that the policies became successful with the imposition of new policies on land, labour, production, transport and taxation, which resulted in the monetisation and commercialisation of the economy and the crippling of the local industries in the area.

The study paved the way for this scholar to research on the area, as both the two areas, Soba and Makarfi are situated in the Northern part of the Zazzau Emirate, thereby having majority of their socio-political and economic activities. The information contained in the work under review no doubt assisted this researcher in his study of Makarfi area by enabling the researcher to understand the genesis of the economic predicament being experienced by the communities in Northern Nigeria. It contained a lot of statistical data which provides a

clear picture of the economic ventures and the changes which took place under colonialism. It has been the only but recent study on the northern part of Zaria which, apart from the economic information, gave elaborate historical information on the area. It has the short coming of not precisely focusing on Makarfi area as such; it could not answer all the questions of the present researcher on Makarfi.

Another weakness of the study hinges on its inability to cover the period leading to 1960 which marked the close of the colonial era, and having the period of the study terminating in 1945 leaves lot of questions unanswered. Consequently, the study can be said to be inconclusive. The researcher declined from capturing the role of indigenes in promoting the colonial economy in the area, since all the policies of the colonial masters could not have succeeded, without the local collaborators.

Paul Lovejoy's *transcribed papers* which are a collection of tapes from the interviews he made in 1975-76, which were transcribed. This is a collection of transcribed tapes in a booklet form for easy usage and for avoidance of damages to the tapes. The booklets contained information derived from interviews with some of the caravans of the 19th century who were conducted on different areas, particularly on Northern Nigeria. It was an insight into the history of those areas, more so that it provided

by eye witnesses, participant or even members of the community where the event occurred.

The interviews conducted on this area of study. Makarfi was particularly centred on the economic aspects of the area. This was conducted with Mallam Tukur Kwarbai in 1976, Limamin Riruwai Aliyu in 1976, Mallam Jibril Riruwai 1976 and Mallam Abdulkarim Hunkuyi 1975.

This collection has given an insight into the history of the area as it entails the history of most parts of Northern Nigeria. The information derived from the interviews seems reliable because the informants were either participants, eye witnesses or the members of such communities where the incidents occurred. Another significant point was the nature in which questions relating to the history and development of the affected areas (prior and after the coming of Europeans) were asked.

Regarding its weakness, the information given were more or less like oral tradition, and because the informants were illiterates, it was difficult for them to cute with accuracy the dates for the incidents and events they mentioned during the interview. Furthermore, the booklet carries no table of content which makes use rather difficult.

Also, we know only but little about the interviewers and the interviewed, only the year and place for the conduct of the interview was stated in the book. The non-Hausa users of the materials will find it difficult as it was transcribed in Hausa.

Mortimore M. J. edited a collection of papers in 1970. It was titled *Zaria and its Environs: A Savanna City and its Environs.* The work is a general survey of Zaria and its environs. It deals with three major areas: the Geography, History and Economy of the Zazzau kingdom. It further highlighted the geology, landforms, landscapes evolution, weather and climate, soils, flora and the fauna of the area. There is, in addition, an explanation of the historical evolution and societal developments of Zaria and its environs, as well as the economic development of the area. All these were done with special reference to the Pre-Colonial period.

This collection is particularly important to the introductory aspects of this study since it discusses virtually all the geographical aspects of Zazzau area which covers the Makarfi area. It also highlights the societal development of Zazzau; this in addition, helps to shape readers' understanding of Makarfi and the developments within it. Although a collection of papers from different intelligentsia, the work under review is very educating and informative; that is why virtually all the researchers on any part of Zazzau consult it. The book provides clear information on every aspect of human life within the vicinity of Zazzau.

The work covers only the recent study of the geographical aspect of Zazzau nothing is said about the geography of the area before the period. Also, it comments only a little on the economy of the area, compared to the geographical aspects. Attention is focused more on

Zazzau central (Zaria and environs) and Zazzau south, but there is little or nothing said about the Northern part of Zazzau.

Safiyanu Aminu, *The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A case study of the Zaria Native Authority. C. 1902-1945* (unpublished M. A. thesis, 1991) examines the role played by the traditional institution i.e. the Native Authority (N.A.), in the success of the Colonial Economy, which made possible the perpetuation of Colonial subjugation, subordination as well as, the eventual successful exploitation of the socio-economic system of the region. The researcher focused on this with a special reference to Zaria Native Authority, from 1902-1945. The author argues that N.A. system aided Colonialism in all its ramifications in all the provinces in Northern Nigeria where the traditional institutions served as stooges that ensured the achievement of Colonial objectives in the area. The thesis under review provides a lot of information about the fringes of Zazzau of which Makarfi is a part. Although the scope and period of this thesis is differs from that of this researcher, it discusses the socio-cultural, economic and political developments within the Emirate or the Native Authority (N.A.). The study has successfully uncovered the roles played by traditional rulers in the success of colonial exploitation as against the notion hitherto held that the Europeans unilaterally exploited Africans. It is a concrete study which was backed up with data derived from the source. The period covered by

this study should have extended to 1960, to cover the entire period of the colonialism. This is because N.A. activities ran from the beginning of colonialism in Zazzau in 1902 to the end of it in 1960. Another scholar Abdulkadir Adamu captures the shift in the food economy in Zaria metropolis under the Colonial administration, from 1902 to 1960. The work is entitled *The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study of food production and distribution in Zaria metropolis C. 1902-1960*' (unpublished PhD thesis, 2001). Then, the production and distribution was totally been transformed from the Pre-Colonial food crops to the Colonial cash crops production. This was, according to the researcher, done with the establishment of the Colonial economy and transportation in the area which marked the incorporation of Zaria into the world capitalist economy. The thesis further, explains the general consequences of this shift to the people of the area since the system was commercialized. Consequently, there was a reduction in the production as well as the distribution of the food crops and its efficiency to the masses in the area.

Having discussed the economic aspects of Zazzau especially, in relation with food production and distribution, the thesis becomes a useful source of information in issues pertaining to food economy in Makarfi area since it is part of Zaria. With this, the information provided

by the researcher will certainly assist this scholar in his study of Makarfi area.

This study has uncovered the reason for the predicament of food shortages in the country which was perpetuated by the activities of the colonialists. It also explained the reason for the shift from the food production to that of cash production and its consequences on Africans. The study further covers the period of colonization in the area, as such, it provides full information as far as the food economy is concerned.

The study ignores the local capitalism that took place in the area prior to the advent of colonization. The researcher only makes a little on the role of transportation in the perpetuation of colonial economy in the area. Arthur Vukile Dhliwayo in, *A history of Sabon Gari Zaria, 1911-1950, A Colonial Urban Administration*, (unpublished PhD thesis, 1986), demonstrates how the Colonial political economy fosters the emergence and development of the new centres, away from the already existing pre-colonial settlements, one of which is Sabon Gari in Zaria.

This urbanization was studied with reference to the emergence of Sabon Gari, Zaria; from 1911-1950, that was established to promote the interest of the Colonial Administrators. The role it played as a centre for the subordination, domination and exploitation of the peasant producers was systematically achieved by the colonialists through the politico-administrative and economic means.

The researcher saw Sabon Gari Zaria as a centre for the exploitation and plunder of the pre-colonial peasants' economy and, replacing it with the cash crops production that was linked with the activities of the expatriate companies. This, coupled with the introduction of taxation, as well as the role of Africans as intermediaries between the Colonialists and the peasant producers made the domination and exploitation successful. There was also the provision of social facilities and utilities, and the establishment of Government Reservation Area (GRA). There was growth of petty-bourgeois in the society and the role they played in promoting the colonial economy and the Nationalist struggle during and after the Second World War.

Though this thesis post-dated the period of my study and the areas are different, both focused on the same Emirate of Zazzau. The thesis shall provide me with some statistical data and information on the area, especially the pre-colonial peasants' economy, which could be of great significance to the study.

The strength of this study is the nature in which it provides us with clear information on the motives behind the establishment of Sabon Gari Zaria and the role it played in serving the purpose it was meant for. It has also shown how the area became a centre of political aggrandizement especially, for agitation for independence as against

the motives of perpetuating the domination and exploitation of the colonialists.

The weakness of the study is that centres only in Sabon Gari and ignores other areas surrounding it like Chikaji, Muchia, Marmara, Tsugugi and others, which were also established about the same time to serve the same purpose. Another thing is that the researcher has dissipated much energy discussing Zazzau.

Another scholar, Enoch Oyewola Oyedele, in *Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960,* (unpublished PhD thesis, 1987), focuses on the colonial establishment and development of Kaduna as the Capital of Northern Nigeria, from 1912.

The Thesis examines urbanization and the motives behind the Colonial decision for the establishment of Kaduna, which in turn, saw the development of the once 'small settlement' into a 'cosmopolitan colonial City,' as well as, the changes undergone by the process of this development to 1960. It has also explored the deliberate and unknown decisions and actions of Nigerians as contributions to the development of the area especially, regarding the colonial economy and administration, which had two effects on the area: exploitation and development.

Oyedele equally highlights the differences in the colonial urbanization of newly established colonial centres like Kaduna and the

already pre-Colonial existing areas like Kano and Zaria. He initially sees Kaduna as a garrison town, the Capital of Northern Nigeria and later, as an industrial centre in the region which made it to serve social, political and economic importance within the period of study.

A lot was discussed in the thesis pertaining to the pre-colonial life in virtually all the nooks and crannies of Zazzau Emirate, including the Makarfi immense significance and usefulness to this researcher.

One of the strength of this thesis is the depth with which the researcher analyzes the concept of Urbanization. The study will, in addition be useful to those who might be conducting research on the urbanization of other towns and cities established by the Europeans as they were based on the same motives.

This researcher should have started his period of study in 1902 when the British first stepped into the place not when they made the place the new capital from Lokoja. The researcher does not take sides on either of the two results of the colonial urbanization of Kaduna, exploitation and development. Another contribution is Smith, M.G. (1960) *Government in Zazzau*. The author gives a vivid description of the system of administration in the area under the Fulani rule and the Caliphate, which was after the conquest of the kingdom by the Jihadists in 1804. Smith highlights the socio-political and economic activities in the Emirate under the Habe rulers. This is distinct to what was

obtainable in the area prior to the conquest in 1804 under the Islamic system, and what was later to replace the Colonial conquest of the Emirate in 1902.

Both Zazzau and Makarfi had undergone the same trend of being under different polities, the *Habe*, the Fulani and later the colonialists. To this respect, the two areas will be discussed in relation of having the same set ups which will make the thesis to give insight information to this study. The book could be said to be a comparative analysis of administration between the *Habe*, the Fulani and the Colonialists in Zazzau from 1800-1950. It highlights all the distinctions and similarities that existed among them. This he clearly points out in his conclusion.

The work of Smith, M. G. however, is not specific regarding when the study of administration began, under the *Habe*. The author failed to indicate some of the changes in the system which could have been of immense importance to subsequent researchers.

Paul Staudinger in his two volumes entitled *In the heart of the Hausa States* (Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56) he narrates his expedition into the Hausa land, particularly the areas covering Zazzau, Kano and Sokoto kingdoms, from 1885 to 1886. He was a member of a group, the Afrikanische Gesellschaft in Deutschland, sent to the Caliphate on commercial, diplomatic and scientific missions. The narration was translated into English from

German by Johanna E. Moddy. The book gives an account of the political, economic and social set ups of the areas visited by the group within the Caliphate. Staudinger attempted to state and explains the things he saw with as much clarity and vividness as possible.

Sometimes, he tends to exaggerate issues or emphasise them so as to make the suit to their purpose of coming to the area especially as the group was in Hausa land at the period of the scramble for the African continent, by the Europeans.

This historical piece is of great importance to my study in the sense which Makarfi area is a part at the period. The book therefore, provides me with an insight of first-hand information from an eye-witness' account about the area.

Abdullahi Mahdi, *The State and the Economy: The Sarauta system and its Roles in Shaping the society and Economy of Kano with particular reference to the 18th and 19th Centuries,* (unpublished PhD thesis, 1982). The Thesis discussed many aspects of history, pertaining to Kano during the era of both the kingdom and emirateships. This is particularly on the economy and the society under the *Sarauta* system.

In this Thesis, Mahdi examines the evolution of the state and the *Sarauta* system which paved way for the system of economy adopted by the rulers and the ruled within the society. He makes us to understand the origin of this type of economy which initially centred on the

agricultural commodities and the livestock that eventually gave room for the inception of the local industries as well as commerce in both local and long distance trade.

Mahdi had in addition explains the factors of production and the process of production in the pre-jihad Kano, which became the mode of the growing industries in the area. He equally dwelled on the pattern and the factors that contributed to the development of trade locally and internationally. Makarfi area directly and indirectly partook in the trade and commerce with Kano as either the consumers or suppliers of one commodity or another through the traders from Kano.

Kano and Zazzau *Habe* administration was basically the same prior to the jihad of 1804 and the area of study is situated in between them. Makarfi was situated on the trade route between the two kingdoms. Another thing is that some `*Habe/Maguzawa*` residing in this area who incidentally were among the early settlers in the area were from Kano. This has in turn, precipitated the `*Maguzanci*` cultures in the area and later, the Fulani from the 19th century further strengthened the socio-economic relationship between Makarfi area in Zazzau and Kano. With this, no doubt, this thesis was of immense significance to my study on Makarfi.

In his contribution Alhaji Sa'idu Sani, in *The Foundation of Fulani Rule in Zaria 1750-1955,* (unpublished B. A. Project, 1972) gave an

enormous explanation on the foundation of Fulani rule in Zazzau, between the 18th and the 19th centuries. This work, although is a B.A Project, it was very rich as, it explains the origin of Fulani stock in Zazzau kingdom, prior to the coming of the Jihadists into the area by 1804. It clearly states the role played by the Fulani under the *Habe* administration for many centuries. This role ranges from the economic to the political and then the social. The changes that occurred during this administration started from 1804, when the Fulani assumed the leadership of the state and its environs.

The researcher examined the factors that led to the collapse of the *Habe* administration which laid the foundation of the Fulani rule in Zaria, and which, according to him, gained root from about 1750. The Fulani of Zazzau having scattered around Zazzau, its environs and Makarfi before the jihad. Having lived within the *Habe* stock, they share the same political, social and economic experience with their counterparts in the city.

Even though it contains just a few pages, the work shall give this scholar insight on the state of the Fulani of Makarfi area since it is part of the Zazzau kingdom and Emirate around 1806. And it is one of the few best works one could find on the Fulani in Zazzau.

d) **Oral interviews**

Oral interviews were conducted by the researcher. The researcher went round to conduct a verbal interview with the people who are believed to have been acquainted with the knowledge of the subject matter. This oral interview was conducted with individuals and groups who were directed by the traditional rulers to give the information because of their historical knowledge of the area. Sometimes, the traditional rulers themselves or, those that the researcher believed to have known some thing about the area were interviewed.

This is a source of history of the area that embodies the customs, traditions, beliefs, tales or saying, which has been unreflectively preserved among the people. It has provided a bulk of historical evidence on the origin, cultural, economic and political development, which is of immense significance to the study of the area in general.

Oral tradition in Makarfi area has the strength of being the most widely source found in every nook and crannies of the area unlike written source, which is almost completely absent in the area. It is equally the most accessible source that one can simply get without stress unlike the other sources. An insight on tradition of this area was given by this source which gave an ample opportunity for the further research on the area. It has in addition, complemented and corroborated

the historical evidence given by the other sources on the communities in Makarfi area.

In spite of this strength of oral tradition in the study of this area, there were also some weaknesses recorded. Virtually the information provided is bulky, complicated and confusing in assessment. It is often contradictory. All these are possibly due to the problem of memory of the past, exaggeration of events for selfish interest, inter-communal politics, distortion, concealing of the historical facts among others. These shortcomings have generated difficulty in the compilation of the historical facts from the historical evidence gathered from the information given. It was also found to be time consuming.

Another thing is being that most if not all, the informants were not acquainted with the historical ethics; they provided the researched with all source of information among which were irrelevant hence the need for scrutiny. There was the problem of interpretation and translation of the interviews conducted in Hausa and Fulfulde languages into English.

Glossary

Allah (SWA)	- The name of God among Muslims
Agalawa	- Legendary Sahara traders who settled in parts of Hausa land.
Achakwa	- Carrier that natives of Makarfi carried the British in 1902.
Ardo (pl. Ardo`en)	- The Fulani Chief.
Addinin gargajiya	- Traditional religion
Alkali	- The Judge
Attajirai	- The Rich
Asbinawa (*Taureg*)	- The people (tribe) from the desert (Mali, Niger, Mauritania, etc)
Barebari (*Kanuri*)	- People (tribe) from Borno (Bornu).
Bara (*pl. Barori*)	- Servant
Bawa (*pl. Bayi*)	- Male slave
Baiwa (pl. Bayi)	- Female slave
Birni	- City
Bori	- Relating with spirits (traditional cult).
Bakaken aljannu	- Evil spirits
Bugaje	- One of the tribes of the Sahara (Fulani).
Buzu	- Animal skin use for praying

Dakaru	- Warriors
Dungurum	- Lokoja (as referred to by the people of Makarfi area).
Ed-Fitr	- Muslim annual festival (Sallah)
Ed-Kabir	- Muslim annual festival (Sallah)
Ed-Maulud	- The Muslim commemoration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) (celebration)
Fatake	- Caravans (long distance traders).
Fulanin gida	- Settled Fulani.
Fulanin kiwo	- Nomadic Fulani.
Fulani, Fulbe	- The people who speaks Fulani language and practice Fulani cultures and traditions (tribe).
Fulfulde	- Fulani language
Fararen aljannu	- Good spirits
Galla	- Some farm produce giving to the farm owner annually for using his land
Ganuwa	- The town/city wall
Giya	- Local beer (see Tsuwara)
Gobirawa	- People from Gobir area
*Hakimai (*sing *Hakimi)*	- District heads
Haraji	- Tax
Hausawa	- The people who speaks Hausa language and practice Hausa

	cultures and traditions (tribe).
Non-Muslim Hausa	- The Hausawa who remain in their cultures and traditions after the coming of Islam that is the Maguzawa
Hausa Muslims	- The Hausawa who converted to Islam.
Habe	- Hausawa in Fulani dialect.
Hari	- Raid
Iskoki	- Spirits.
Jagaban bauta\addini	- Chief Priest
Jihad	- Islamic religious war.
Jizya	- Tax paid by non-Muslim residing under the Islamic administration
Kanawa	- People from Kano Emirate.
Katsinawa	- People from Katsina Emirate.
Kabawa	- People from Kebbi area
Karofi	- Place for dyeing
Kwazo (work)	- Work done by the boy for the acceptance of the girls` parents in marriage
Kauye (pl. *Kauyuka*)	- Village
Kadi	- Spinning
Kasuwa	- Market
Kasar Hausa	- Hausa land

Liman	- Imam (who presides over prayers)
Mujahidun	- Those who carry out Jihad.
Mai unguwa (pl. *Masu unguwa)*	- Village head
Makera	- Blacksmiths
Maguzawa	- Non-Muslim Hausa who refused to accept Islam and continue with their cultures and traditions.
Mahauta	- Butchers
Majema	- Tanners
Maigida	- House hold
Mijin giya	- Substance added when making *Giya*
Mallawa	- Some people from Zazzau Emirate (one of the ruling houses)
Mallamai	- Scholars
Masu sarauta (*sing. mai sarauta*)	- Traditional rulers
Masu hannu da shuni	- The wealthy.
Masallata	- Muslims (as referred to by the Maguzawa/ Non-Muslim Hausa)
Nufawa (*Nupe*)	- People from Nupe land.
Rokon arziki	- Soliciting for the girl's hands of marriage from her parents.
Rumada (*pl. Runji*)	- The Slave camp
Samame	- Surprise attacks
Sullubawa	- Some people from Katsina

	Emirate (one of the ruling houses).
Sallah	- The Muslim annual festival.
Sarkin bori	- The man who initiate others into *bori* traditional cult.
Sarauniyar bori (Magajiyar bori)	- The lady who initiate others into *bori* cult
Sharo	- Fulani youth annual cultural festival.
Saki	- Local clothing material made through weaving.
Taki	- Manure
Tsafi	- Ritual or magic.
Tokarawa	- Legendary Sahara traders who settled in parts of Hausaland.
Talakawa	- Commoners/Masses
Turoso	- Dung or animal drops use as Manure
Ubangida (also *Maigida)*	- Master
Ushira	- One tenth collect in cash or kind as tax by the rulers.
Walki	- Loin
Yaki	- War or battle
`Yan bori	- The people who are engaged in traditional cult
Zanko	- The hair kept across the head as a

symbol of male adolescence.

Zango - Resting place or trading centres for the caravans.

Zage-zagi - People from Zazzau Emirate.

Zamfarawa - People from Zamfara area

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U	Ahmadu Bello University
C.M.S	Church Missionary Society
D.O	District Officer
H.R.A.A.B.U	History Research at A.B.U
I.D.R	Institute for Development Research
I.U.P	Ibadan University Press
J.H.S.N	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria
K.I.L	Kashim Ibrahim Library
L.G.A	Local Government Area
MINPROF	Minna Provincial File
N.A.K	National Archive Kaduna
N.H.R.S	Northern Historical Research Scheme
NNAK	Northern Nigerian Archive Kaduna
SNP	Secretary, Northern Province
ZARPROF	Zaria Provincial File

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CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF MAKARFI AREA

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter shall examine the general geography of Makarfi area as was obtainable prior to the advent of Colonialism into the area by c.1902. Being situated very close to Zaria, Makarfi has virtually all its geographical features almost, if not the same, with that of Zaria.[1] These similarities notwithstanding, we shall still examine all the geographical features to confirm or discover the differences if there are, and accounts for such differences. Here, we shall examine the land (*kasa*), climate (*yanayi*), flora (*tsire-tsire*), fauna (*dabbobi*) and the people of the area *(mutanen wurin)*. Alogoa states that:

> *Geography.....assists historians to understand the spatial and physical factors in human life*[2].

Geography is very significant to history. A history of an area can be understood within the context of a sound understanding of the geography of that area. In the light of this therefore, the geography of

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[1] Makarfi area is about fifty kilometers east of Zaria city see map 2.
[2] Alogoa, E. J., 'The Relationship Between History and other Disciplines' in Rangers T. O., et al (Eds), *The Historical Method*, Longman Group of Company, London, 1978, P. 13.

Makarfi has become very vital to our understanding of the place. Alogoa further argues that;

> *It is fairly easy to see the relevance to History of the study of the land, domestication of animals and crops. Geography and biological sciences are relevant in such studies of History.*[3]

This has clearly shows that land, plant and animal are of significant role in our understanding of the historical development of an area like Makarfi. This is because they are the basic ingredients for initiating as well as developing in all its ramifications, the cultural heritage of the people.

The area which constituted the pre-colonial Makarfi lies between Longitude 7° 58' to 7° 82' North and Latitude 11° 10' to 11° 42' East. It has the total area of over 484 square kilometres.[4] It was bordered to the East and North-East by Kano Emirate and, to the North by Katsina Emirate, while it shared borders to the West with Zaria and to the South by Wuchichiri.[5]

Up to 1916, Makarfi area has the following towns and villages under it (as districts), Basawa, Dan Bami, Dan Dako, Dan Damisa, Dan

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[3] Ibid, P. 20
[4] Clapperton, H., *Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, London, 1966, P. 161.
[5] Mortimore M. J, *Zaria and Its Region - A Nigerian Savanna City and Its Environs*, Occasional Paper No 4, Published for the 14th conference of the Geographical Association of Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria., 1970, P.13

Guzuri, Doka, Dorayi, Gangara, Garu, Gazara, Gimi, Gubuci, Gwibi, Hunkuyi, Kaura (wali), Kwatakware, Kudan, Lafiya, Likoro, Mahuta, Makarfi, Meyere, Musawa, Nasarawa, Rahama (wali), Ruma, Sakadadi, Taban Sani and Zabi (Kudan).[6] This division was based on historical reasons. Some of these towns and villages are currently not with Makarfi District or even within Makarfi Local Government Area, but could currently be found in Sabon Gari, Kudan or Ikara local Government areas.

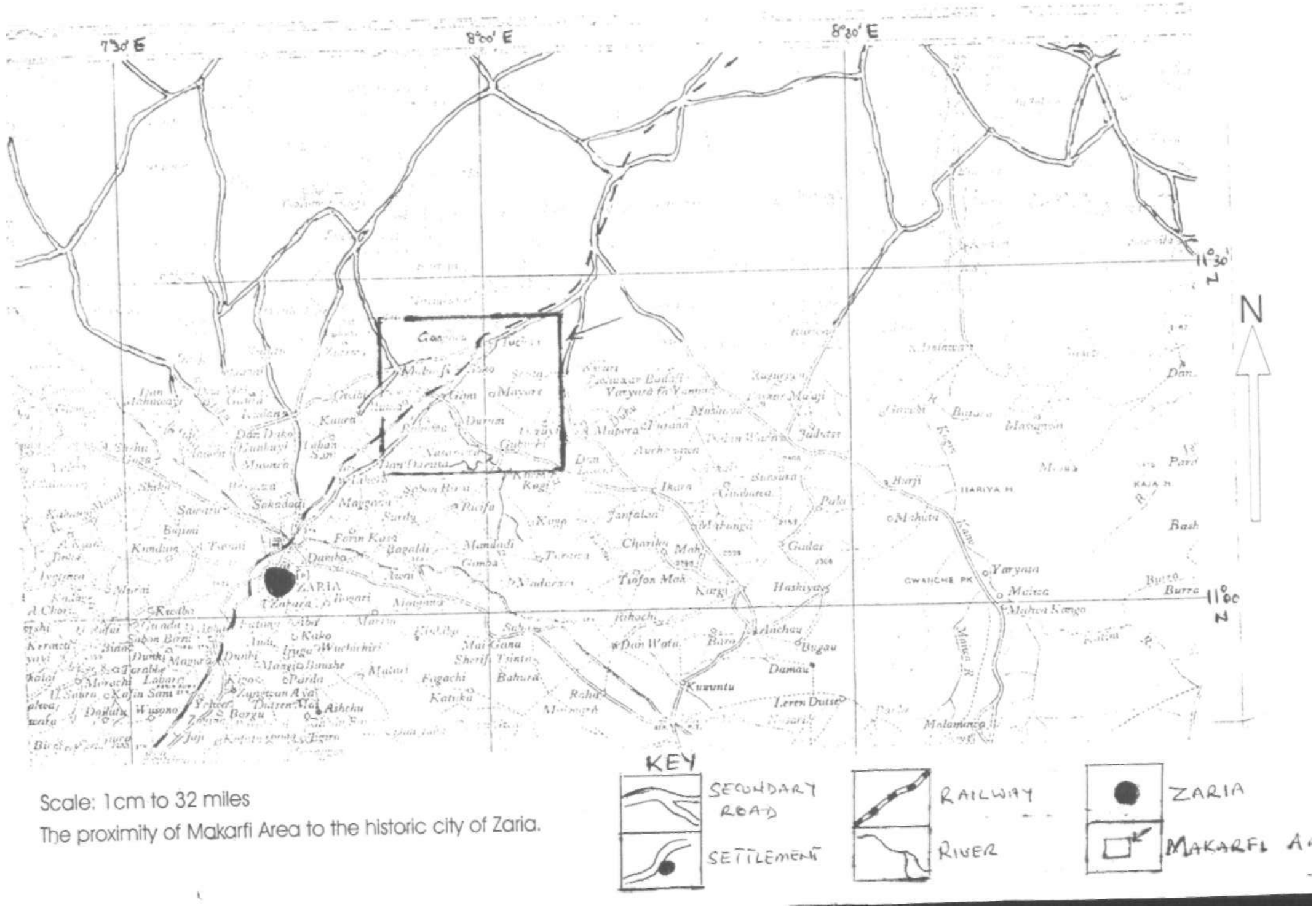
At present, this area of study cuts across four Local Governments in Kaduna State, namely; Makarfi, Ikara, Kudan and Sabon Gari, with many other districts within them. We shall in this study however, examine seven districts among them which are situated in Makarfi Local Government. These districts include; Makarfi, Gazara, Meyere, Ruma, Nasarawan Doya, Gimi and Gubuci and their surrounding towns and villages.

1.1 THE LAND

In discussing the history of a particular area, there is need for a thorough explanation of the geographical set up of the area. This is in view of the fact that, some of the socio-economic and political activities

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[6] List of Villages under Makarfi District 1916-1931, NAK \ZARPROP \378, See map 1



Scale: 1cm to 32 miles

The proximity of Makarfi Area to the historic city of Zaria.

of a society are usually influenced by the environmental conditioning of that particular area.[7] In the light of this, therefore, it has become imperative to discuss the environmental aspects of Makarfi, because they affect the life of the people of the place. In the light of this, we shall discuss the aspect of environment as a prelude to our examination of that society and its historical movements before 1902.

Makarfi area lies on a gentle undulating plain.[8] This is in view of the anticline and syncline nature which makes it to have the feature of a rugged land with the highlands (*tuddai* sing. *tudu*) and lowlands (*kwazazzabai* sing. *kwazazzabo*) stretching to all directions in the area. Thorp states that:

> *...within the range of 50 miles from Zaria the plains vary in eight from 1800 to 2350 feet (above the see level)*[9]

The land covered by Makarfi settlement is a productive plain with highlands above 2000 feet, found at intervals. These include the Soko, Gazara, Daudau, Mahangi, Dantamage, Tsaunin Kufan Mallam Nayaya, Munkaila and Katukawa hills. These highlands are made up of the old and new laterite ironstone (*marmara*) which covers about 70% of the total land of the area. And,

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[7] Op cit, Clapperton, H., P.162
[8] Op cit, Thorp, M.B., 'Landforms,' in Mortimore M. J, p.22
[9] Ibid. p.25

> *both the older and younger laterites are red and 15 to 20 feet thick (on the flat plain), and are relatively free from being impure.*[10]

Even though that the land is laterites in nature, the soil is a very rich arable land (*saura*) for agricultural production. This is further proven by the amount and variety of crops produced annually in the area, in comparison with other areas within and outside the Emirate of Zazzau. Thorp further confirms that, east of Galma (river),[11] the wide inter-fluvial areas covered by laterite ironstones,[12] while the remaining part of the area is covered by the rich black loamy soil (*fadama*) that is used mainly for the dry season agricultural production.

Beside their pre-occupation with crop production, the people of the area have for a long time been using their land as a grazing pasture (*makiyaya*). Commenting on the rearing of animals in the area around Ruma, Clapperton remarks that:

> *towards sunset several large herds of cattle came in from grazing in the neighbouring woods.....*[13]

This was Clapperton's observation of the area around 1824, which was facilitated by the explanation of the nature of the land by Thorp. It

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[10] Op cit, Wright, J. B., et al, 'Geology,' in Mortimore M. J, P.9
[11] That is, east of Zaria.
[12] Op cit, Thorp, M.B., 'Landforms' in Mortimore M. J, P 23
[13] Op cit, Clapperton, H., P.161

has further given an insight to our understanding of the nature of the environment as it were.

Beside its rich arable soil, the area is equally blessed with a rich drainage system penetrating towards all directions. Notable among rivers (*koguna* sing. *kogi*) and streams (*rafuka* sing *rafi*) are: Karara, Zaria, Gazara, Galma, Sansanya, Malami, Waga, Kusfa, Daniniya, Gulbi, Kwakwa, 'Yar Zara, Sabana and Kamanda rivers and streams. These are used for various purposes ranging from fishing to irrigation, among others, especially, around Makarfi itself. Thorp notes that the streams are widely spread; their banks virtually ungullied[14] and their floor marshy and alleviated.[15] The drainage pattern in the area is dendritic in nature which has always been seasonal with slumping and rain-wash erosion increasing the width of the rivers/streams.

It is good to note that the seasonality of these rivers and streams in Makarfi area depends on their size, the degree of permeability of regolith, the size of the flood plain, and the gradient of the land surface. The rivers and streams are of various lengths and sizes with Karara, Galma, Waga, Daniniya and Kamanda as the major ones. Thorp further stated that the:

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[14] Shallow.
[15] Op cit, Thorp, M. B. Landforms,' in Mortimore M. J, P.23

> .....*North of Zaria (most of which is Makarfi area) in the vicinity of the regional watershed, valleys are wide, shallow and snot incised.*[16]

This has further allowed for a very wide range of areas covering several thousand of hectares of land serving as land for irrigation (*fadama*). This could clearly be seen at Makarfi and Gazara, among others.

1.2 THE CLIMATE

The climatic condition of Makarfi area cannot be separated from that of Zaria. This is because both of them lie on the same latitude. Geographically, all areas on the same latitude are liable to have the same climate.[17] The aspect of the climate is related to this study of the area are rainfall, temperature, and wind, which will be examined in turn. This area lies within the region which has a tropical savannah climatic with distinct wet season (*damina*) and dry season (*rani*).[18]

In the area, the dry season is practically rainless. The total annual rainfall in the area is not high. It has a mean rainfall of about 43.0 inches per annum.[19] During the rainy season, the area is completely green while, the vegetation absolutely turns dry in the dry season, since there

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[16] Ibid p. 15
[17] Ibid. p 32
[18] Jackson, E. C, *The Physical Geography for Tropics*, Longman, Accra, 1972, P.72.
[19] Hore, P.N., `Weather and Climate` in Mortimore M. J, Op cit, P. 41

is usually no rain, except in the *fadama* areas of Makarfi. Sometimes, rainy season sets in early April [20] in Makarfi area.

In terms of wind, this area is invaded by two distinct air masses: one dry the other moist. Air mass from the North dries the continental wind (*Iskar kaka*) that originates from the Sahara desert to the North. And the other air mass is from the Atlantic Ocean in the South; it is moist and is cool Equatorial *Maritime* wind (*Iskar bazara*).[21] The dry continental air mass invades Makarfi area from November to April. It tends to come along with haze (*hunturu/hazo/buji/buda*), dust (*Kura*) and cool (*sanyi/dari*). This is called (*rani*) in the area. While the Equatorial Maritime invades the area between May to October it is usually moist. It is called *damina* in the area.

According to Hore, dry season which is winter is also the period of Harmattan when the *hunturu* is, especially, in this area; that is from November to February. The hot season (*zafi*) is from March to April, May to June, and is the season of the thunderstorm and squalls (*bazara*) while, July to October is the wet season (*damina*).[22] By this, we realised that, there are two basic temperatures in the area of Makarfi as all other

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Mallam Jibo Meyere. It was also found in the account of Clapperton H. where, he said, 'the country at present, on this side of Zaria, looks like some of the finest in England, about the latter end of the month of April. All around is green and beautiful..... (Clapperton H., *Journal of Second Expedition Into the Interior of Africa*, London, 1966, P 161)
[22] Op cit, Hore, P. N, P. 32

parts in Zaria. The first one is the hot season (*zafi*) that sets in as from March to April each year, while the other is the cool winter known as Harmattan (*hunturu*). During the other remaining part of the year the temperatures is moderate.[23] In the hot season the temperature especially around March and April is 100°F and above, while in the cold season, the lowest temperature is usually recorded in the months of December and January with 46° F and 47°F, respectively.[24]

This climatic condition is very significant to the life of the people of the area. This is because it directs a lot of occupational activities within the area, especially agriculture. The raining season is used mainly for farming while in the dry season the people of the Makarfi area engage in other occupational and cultural activities[25] like the trade and commerce (*kasuwanci*), building (*gini*) as well as the traditional cultural festival of hunting (*farauta*), wrestling (*dambe*), among others.

1.3 THE FLORA

This explains the type of vegetation of the area, which in some cases, differs from the plant species of some other parts of Zaria. Soil is one of the determinants of vegetation of the area. This could be seen in

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[23] This was further testified by Mallam Ya'u Auchan and Alhaji Abdulmumini Yusufu Dogarawa. It has also been stated by Ango Shimmi Sarkin Maguzawa.
[24] As added Mallam Sa'idu Gazara.
[25] Op cit, Hope, P.N., `Weather and Climate,` in Mortimore M. J, pp.46-49

view of the fact that, in other parts of Zaria especially, the soil of the western and southernmost parts of Zaria that is black loamy soil[26] is different from that of Makarfi area which is rich literate. This could be seen in areas like Gazara, Gimi, Gubuci, Ruma and other places to the west and the south.

The vegetation of Zaria (and its environs) is largely indigenous and includes mainly self-established and long established species. There are also non-natural communities like the economic trees which are those established by man for their importance to him. All the species are mostly found in the towns and villages within Makarfi area.

The flora of Makarfi area is divided into various categories; these include the trees, weeds (shrubs, flowers and grasses) and crops. The species are scattered all over the area as most of the species of plants found in the savannah are found in Makarfi area.[27] According to Jackson:

> *The long history of occupation in the area (Zaria) and its villages (Makarfi inclusive) has had an impact upon the plant communities.....*[28]

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[26] Op cit, Mallam Jibo Meyere
[27] Ibid, Weather and Climate, in Mortimore M. J, pp. 5-13.
[28] Op cit, Jackson, G., Vegetation around the City and nearby villages in Zaria, in Mortimore M. J This is also testified by Mallam Ya'u Auchan.

This shows that the major occupation of the area which is farming has some effect on the vegetation of the area, whereas, all depends on the savannah belt as well as the climatic condition of the area. Varieties of trees with different economic importance are found in the area of Makarfi, which scattered all over. Notable among them are; *ficus vogilii* (*gamji*), mahogany *khaya senegalensis* (*madaci*), locust bean *parkia filicoidea* (*dorawa*), *diospyros mespilifomis* (*kanya*), *acacia* (*gawo*), *butyrrospermum parkii* (*kadanya*), silk cotton *eriodendron* (*rimi*), *bombax* (*gurjiya*), *pseudocedrela kotsohyi* (*tuna*), *isoberlinia* (*doka*), and *prosopia* (*kirya*). Others are *osmosia laxiflora* (*makarho*), *borassua aethiopica* (*giginya*), *anoma* (*gwandar daji*), *and anogeissus* (*marke*). There are also *adansonia digitata* (*kuka*), *mangifera indica* (*mangwaro*), among others.[29]

In terms of crops, there is, in abundance, the following crops planted in the area; sugarcane *sacchanum officinarum* (*rake*), guinea corn *sorghum guineense* (*dawa*), maize *zea mays* (*masara*), millet *pennisetum* (*gero*), cocoyam *colocasia esun* (*gwaza*), sweet potato *ipomoea batatas* (*dankali*), okro *hibiscus esculentus* (*kubewa*), rice *oriza sativa* (*shinkafa*), tomatoes *lycopersicum esculentum* (*tumaturi*), onion *allium cepalenta* (*albasa*), pepper *capsicum frutescens* (*barkono*),

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[29] Ibid, Jackson, G., P. 61

among others. These crops are planted both in raining and dry seasons, especially with the availability of *fadama* found in virtually all the communities in the area. Food is obviously a very important commodity to mankind from any point of view.[30] McCall said that:

> *historians have generally paid too little attention on the importance of food and food production.*[31]

What McCall was trying to portray here is that the nature of economic activities that went on in the past can indicate the type of civilization that occurred in the area at different period. This is consequent upon the kinds of implements devised to carry out these activities. An agrarian society like that of Makarfi tends to explain the actual uses of plants by various people. He further argues that:

> *the region where some worldwide cultivated crops originated can be identified by looking at places of great variation of culture or where it grew naturally. This will go along way indicating the geographical region where the plant was domesticated.* [32]

In terms of weeds, this area is blessed with various categories which have different economic importance, ranging from being food to both human and animal, providing medicine and manure to crops, to its use

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[30] NAK\ZARPROF\ 1522, Jackson, G., 'Vegetation around the City and nearby villages in Zaria,' in Mortimore M. J, pp 61- 71, Mallam Ya'u Auchan
[31] McCall, D. F., *Africa in Time Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1969, p. 89.
[32] Ibid, p 88

as materials for roofing or making shelter and protecting the soil from erosion. The weed found in the area also provide us with an insight into this society considering that the study of weeds can give a researcher historical lead.[33]

This could be seen in the light of how most, if not all, of the dwellers of a particular community in the Hausa land engage in such activities like farming, traditional medical services, building, animal husbandry and many others. The species of weeds found in Makarfi area of Zazzau, which is virtually savannah in nature include; gamba *cynodon specie* (*gamba*), carpet grass *axonopus compresus* (*kiri-kiri*), spear grass *touperata cylindrica,* (*aya-aya*), among others.[34] McCall states that the history of weeds is the history of man.[35] The plants found in the area are divided into two groups: those with long life span, mainly trees while, and those with short time span, usually months. The latter include the grasses and shrubs.

The vegetation of Makarfi area is very significant in many ways. Beside the provision of food to the teaming population and animals of the area, it provides the people of the area and its environs with raw materials needed for their local industries, thereby supporting the other occupational and trading activities within and without the area. The

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[33] Ibid, P. 10
[34] Ibid, P. 98
[35] McCall, D. F., *Africa in time perspectives*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p.231

vegetation has in addition been providing the area with medicinal roots, herbs and others for the treatment of ailments. It equally accorded the area the opportunity to have energy; that is, firewood for the dwellers of this area. All these are found in all nooks and crannies of the communities.

1.4 THE FAUNA

In many places, in his account Clapperton made lots of reference to different animals available in Makarfi area that range from cattle *bos taurus/bos indicus* (*shanu* sing. *saniya*) to guinea fowls *anas platyrhyncha* (*zabi* sing. *zabo*), donkeys *equus asinus* (*jakuna* sing. *jaki*) and horses *equus cabalus* (*dawaki* sing. *doki*).[36]

Makarfi area in Zaria is among those places with many species of both wild animals (*dabbobin daji*) and domestic animals (*dabbobin gida*). This is made possible with the vegetation of the area which is of the savannah type, characterised with light forest and moderate height scattered trees all over the vicinity. The area exists a considerable variety of habitat types like the nature and variety of degraded savannah (*daji/karkara*), good farmlands (*gonaki* sing. *gona*), fringing forest (*labi*), *fadama* and open streams (*koramu* sing. *korama*). McCall is of the view

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[36] Op cit, Clapperton, H., PP. 162-163, as supported by Mallam Musa Dan Guzuri

that animals used by man can also be studied in a similar manner and this can yield us historical inferences.[37]

The fauna of Makarfi consists of species of larger mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes and insects. This is in the light of how this area is endowed with the abundant forest, rivers, streams, highlands and other environmental factors that makes it conducive for the different species of animal live and thrive there.

The insects of this area are of various varieties, mostly with short distinct and similar life cycles. These insects are found in both wet and dry seasons, among which are; different types of flies, ants, arthropods etc. Notable among these insects are; housefly *muscidae* (*kuda*), ants *formucidae* (*kiyashi*), bruchid beetle *acanthoscelides obtectus* (*kwaro*), moths *lepidiptera* (*manyan kwari*), honey bees *apis mellipera* (*zuma*), termites *isoptera* (*gara*), grasshoppers *zonocerus* (*fari* sing. *fara*), centipedes *scolependra* (*sha jini*), among many others.[38]

In terms of birds, Lewis states that about 370 different species of birds are found in the Zaria area of which 225 are said to be of the area. Out of this number, more than half are found in the Northern part of the area (Makarfi area),[39] found there are bird species like vulture *necrocites*

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[37] McCall, D. F., *Africa in Time Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1969, Op cit. P. 102.
[38] Lewis, J. G. E., 'Fauna of Zaria with particular reference to adaptation to the savanna habitat, ' in Mortimore M. J, Op cit, PP.72-74
[39] Ibid

monachus (*angulu*), turkey *cathartes aura* (*talo-talo*), duck *anas platyrhynchus* (*agwagwa*), crow fly *corbus albus* (*hankaka*), guinea fowls *anas platyrhyncha* (*zabi* sing. *zabo*), pigeon *columba livia* (*tattabara*), turtle dove *streptopelia* (*kurciya*), namaqua dove *oena capensis* (*halbiya*),[40] among others.

Regarding mammals, Makarfi area is well known for its cattle *bos taurus/bos indicus* (*shanu*), horses *equus cabalus* (*dawaki*), donkeys *equus asinus* (*jakuna*), goats *capra ibex* (*awaki*), sheep *ammotraqus lervia* (*tumaki*),. dogs *hycoan pictus* (*karnuka*), monkeys *certopithodae* (*birai*), duiker *sylvicapra grimmia* (*gada*), hyenas *canis lupus* (*kuraye*), and other domestic and wild animals.[41]

Be that as it may, Makarfi is among the areas blessed with abundant rivers and streams, different types of fish and other aquatic mammals. Among the species are; frog *rhacophoridae* (*kwado*), grey mullet *mugil cephalus* (*minjirya*), *tilapia rendalis* (*karfashe*), African catfish *clarias spp* (*tarwada*), etc.[42]

Reptiles are equally found in the area. They range from snakes *genus philathimuus/genus duberia/ genus aparallatus/ genus dasypeltus* (*macizai* sing. *maciji*), lizards *varanus exanthematicus* (*kadangaru* sing.

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[40] Mallam Musa Dan Guzuri.
[41] Ibid
[42] Interview with Sarkin Baka Talle as confirmed by Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi Op cit.

kadangare) to tortoise *geochelone pardalis* (*kunkuru*) and many other species of reptiles.

The fauna of Makarfi, like that of every other place, has a lot of economic importance to the people of the area and even beyond. For instance, the dwellers of this area use the fauna as the source of food, medicine, income earning and environmental conservation[43] among others. It is however true that, the area was blessed with lots of hunters (*maharba*), fishermen (*masunta*), herbalists (*masu magani*), and farmers (*manoma*),[44] the services of whom are of great benefit to the people of the people of the area.

1.5 THE PEOPLE

The view is that before colonial conquest the peoples in this country lived in what is called "traditional societies". These "traditional societies" are all seen to be made up of tribes and ethnic groups of various sizes and degrees of relationship with one another.[45] These societies are spread all over the vicinity of what came to be known as Nigeria. Makarfi area is one of such societies situated right in the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate.

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[43] Alhaji Alhassan Ango Dogarawa and Mallam Musa Dan Guzuri
[44] Ibid
[45] Usman, Y. B., History, Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th Centuries, a public lecture at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, April 1977, P.7.

Makarfi area is a conglomeration of towns and villages that constituted places of both similar and distinct origins most of which pre-dated Makarfi town itself. These towns and villages are: Gazara, Durum, Meyere, Gimi, to, Nasarawan Doya, Ruma, Rahaman Wali, Dan Bakwa, Anguwan Madaki, Kwatakware, Dan Damisa, among others.[46]

The early settlers were the towns and villages that constituted the two main groups of people: *Hausawa* and *Fulani*. There are some other minority groups in the area which include the *Kanuri, Tauregs, and Nupe. The Hausawa* were the initial group to dwell in the area; they were of long time traditional origin, and they were non-Muslims and practiced of religion known as 'traditional religion', after the coming of Islam and colonialists. This is mainly to the fact that it was the only religion prevalent in this area prior to the advent of Islamic religion.[47]

They (*Hausawa*) firstly resided at Old Durum. And other sets of *Hausawa* subsequently came to the area with the advent of Islamic religion into Kano, Katsina and Zazzau kingdoms around the 15th century that was with the resentment of Islam.

Beside this groups however, there were some *Hausawa* Muslim traders from the Hausa ancient states of Zazzau, Kano and Katsina,

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[46] This is the list that contained all the towns and villages in the Local Government at present. It could be different with the one presented earlier in this chapter which was the British presentation.
[47] Op cit, Usman, Y. B., History, Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th Centuries' a public lecture at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, April 1977, p 12.

who have settled in this area together with other traders from different parts of West Africa like those from Gonja, who introduced the Islamic religion into this area as from the 15th century.

Hausawa is such general term applied to all Hausa speaking people who practise Hausa cultures and traditions. Prior to the coming of Islam, all the *Hausawa* were purely non-Muslims who practised traditional religion that was based on Hausa cultures and traditions. By this it can not be mistaken to characterised all *Hausawa* of Hausa land before the Islam as `*Maguzawa*` who practiced `*maguzanci*`[48]

With the introduction of Islamic religion into this area, some of the *Hausawa* embraced it mainly from the middle of the 15th century.[49] This made them to ceased being *non-Muslims* but *Muslims,* thereby calling themselves *Muslims* that is, *Hausa Muslims.* The rest of the *Hausawa* who remained in the tradition became non-Muslims being that they continued to practice 'traditionalism'. Going by this, we got to realise that the genesis of the difference between the two was based on the religious affiliation of either of them with the advent of Islam into the area.

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[48] See Krusuis, P., *The Maguzawa* in: Archiv Fur Anthropologie, NF, Vol. xiv, 1915, and Greenberg, J., *The Impact of Islam on the Sudanese Religion,* monograph of American anthropological society, vol. x, ew York, 1946, for detailed explanation on the Hausa land before Islam as regards `*Hausawa*` and `*Maguzawa*` relations.

[49] In an interview with Ango Shimmi Sarkin Maguzawa

They the *Hausa Muslims* calls the non-Muslims `*Maguzawa*`, the term that was applied to them by the Europeans. To this we say that `*Maguzawa*` are non-Muslims *Hausawa* but who still adhered to some of the tenets of the pre-Islamic traditional religion. [50]

Despite that the, *Hausawa*, before the 15th century in other areas in Hausa land and, from the 18th century in Makarfi area were one. With the conversion of some section of them into Islam, they began to differentiate themselves from their fellow *Hausawa* who remained in the tradition. They are not regarding themselves as non-Muslims (*Maguzawa*). This is because of the element of religion that made a sharp distinction between them even though that their language and cultures remain the same. Efemesia explains:

> *....there is at least one group of Hausa people, the Maguzawa, who are not Muslims. This is important because it emphasises the persistence of older ideas and beliefs in spite of the introduction and even the general acceptance of the new religion. However, although the Hausa may privately accept that they are descended from the Maguzawa who have not been converted to Islam, they would not publicly regard Maguzawa of today as Hausa. As the matter of fact they would, for instance, prefer to regard the Islamised (linguistic and culturally distinct) Nupe and Kanuri as Hausa, rather than the Kutumbawa or Maguzawan Katsina.*[51]

The fact is that one cannot separate the two culturally because up till now, their language and cultures are virtually the same.

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[50] Ibid Ango Shimmi Sarkin Maguzawa
[51] Efemesia, C. C., in Ajayi, J. F. et-al (Eds), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1965, p 93.

The *Muslim Hausa* use the term `*Maguzawa*` for all the Non-Muslim Hausa speaking people under their rule.[52] The `*Maguzawa*` are typical Hausa people being that the:

> *'(Non-Muslim Hausa) are practically identical in language and material culture with the Moslem population that surrounded them. It is only in certain aspects of their social organization and religion that they indicate significant differences as compared to the Moslem Hausa.*[53]

Greenberg testified that there are only two major differences between *Hausa Muslims* and *Non-Muslim Hausa* religion and social organization.[54] He further testified that their cultures are the same by making it clear that, they are known to have visual marks similar to early natives that ruled Kano and Katsina under the Kutumbawa lineage.[55] This is to the fact that they are found in the areas of Katsina, Kano and Zazzau.[56] This view refers to the Non-Muslim Hausa of pre-Jihad period.

This view was further buttressed by Krusuis where he says, the 'real people' and yet 'real pagans' that is what the `*Maguzawa*` (*Non-*

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[52] Ferguson, D. E., *Nineteenth century Hausa land: Being description by Imam Imoru of His Land, Economy and Society of His People*, PhD Thesis University of Califonia, Los Angeles, 1973, p. 165
[53] Smith, M. G., *Government in Zazzau*,. Oxford University Press, London, 1960, p.80.
[54] Op cit, Greenberg, J., *The Influence of Islam On Traditional Religion*, J. J. Augustine publishers, New York, 1946, p 23
[55] Ibid, p 12
[56] Op cit, Krusuis, P., p 3

Muslim Hausa) are. They are `fugitive` who refused to have any dealing with *salla* and *azumi* (ritual prayers and fasting).[57]

Although the words of Krusuis sound hard on the *Non-Muslim Hausa*, partly that he referred the people with religion (traditional) as pagans and fugitive yet, he made us to know that they are really *Hausawa* who are not different to the *Hausa Muslims* only in religion. He was also quick to state that `*Muslim Hausa'* and `*Maguzawa*` are both convinced that they originated from the same root (*Hausawa*`).[58] This cleared all doubt on whether the *Non-Muslim Hausa* are culturally different to *Hausa Muslims* or not.

It has equally been certified by Krusuis that, *Non-Muslim Hausa* are not comprised of individual `pagan` (non-Islamic) group but are real people[59] with full scale culture and tradition. This indicated that they are part and parcel of the *Hausawa* people and tradition even with the Islam in the area. Yet, the non-Muslims were branded with the word `*Maguzawa*` (heathens or pagans) or `*Maguzanci*` (fugitive) by the *Hausa Muslims* which was to be continued by the whites on their coming.

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[57] Ibid, p ii
[58] Ibid, p 2
[59] Ibid, p 2

In fact, scholars are still searching of the actual way in which this word `*Maguzawa* (sing. *Bamaguje*) ` came up in the Hausa land. Trinmingham explained this as:

> *BaMaguje (pl. Maguzawa)`is derived from Arabic 'Majus' and, `Maguzanchi` means the way of the majus or heathenism.*[60]

Krusuis also explained it as, the Arabic word `*majus*` is referred in Hausa as `*Majusi*` (pl. *majusawa).* It is likely this word that was given to the *Non-Muslim Hausa* who resented accepting Islam by calling them `*Maguzawa*`. The Hausa *Majusawa* was gradually turned to *Maguzawa* over time.

On another way, there was an English word `*Magic*` which the noun of it is `*Magician*`. The Arabic and English words of *Majus* and *Magician* both of them meant a person who practices magic. It possibly means the reason why the *Hausa Muslims* saw the non-Muslims as `*Maguzawa*` (heathens) for not accepting one of the Islamic rules of not practicing magic (rituals and other traditions). This is because magic is one of the great sins in Islam that separate man with God as it is stated

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[60] Op cit, Ferguson, D. E., p. 164

in Holy Quran, where it says, `But the evil ones (shayateen) disbelieved, teaching the people magic....'[61]

By this, the *Hausa Muslims* under the religious circumstance regard the *Non-Muslim Hausa* who are mostly ritualists to be heathen in spite of their common origin.

Another thing that is obvious in the Makarfi area is the all the *Hausawa* are living intimately and peacefully which denotes the long time relationship that existed between them.

It is obvious that, Europeans on their coming accepted and further consolidated the application of the terms `*Maguzawa*` and `*maguzanci*`. This is to perpetuate the discrimination against the *Non-Muslim Hausa* within the *Hausawa* communities of Northern Nigeria in actualizing the system of divide and rule. It is however, another way of creating confusion between the brother and sisters of the same origin being that, religion is a sensitive mechanism capable of causing disunity within the communities. They have in addition, used that to ensure the penetration of *Hausawa* so as to be able to disrupt their long standing cultures and traditions. This made them to introduced Christianity as a substitute to their traditional religion. In the words of Ajayi, they wished to destroy the traditional religious beliefs and substitute Christianity along with

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[61] Holy Quran, Al-Baqara, 2:102, extracted from Muhammad Bn Uthman Adh-Dhahabi, *The Major Sins*, Bayreuth, Dar El Akar, 1993, p. 29

European education, social habits and economic ideas.[62] This is done in view of the fact that, these non-Muslims are the custodians of the *Hausawa* traditions being that, they remained adhered to it even after the consolidation of Islam. The tradition among the *Muslims Hausa* was distorted being that it mixed with the Islamic cultures.

We can simply say that the British manipulated the religious issue among the *Hausawa* to ensure disunity for the achievement of their colonial aims from the beginning of the 20th century.

We should note that all the British activities were impossible without a thorough understanding of the political, social and economic condition of the communities. Hence, the political officers were constantly on tour of the `pagan` areas accompanied by military or police patrols and, like spies, they studied every aspect of the communities` lives, sending `intelligence reports` to the protectorate government. [63]

It is obvious that independent polities have existed in this area by about 1779. Notable among them are: Gazara, Durum, Gimi, Meyere, among others.[64] It is good to note that it is not true that people did not

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[62] Ajayi, J. F., et al, (Eds), *A Thousand Years of African History*, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1965, p. 252

[63] Sa`ad Abubakar, 'Northern Province under colonial rule 1900-1959', in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 2006, p 466

[64] This is supported by Sarkin Gangara Alhaji Abubakar Muhammadu Zaidu, the wall evidence and traveler's accounts (Hugh Clapperton, 1924)

live in the area prior to 1779 as a lot of evidence available have revealed that there was, very much evidence of existence of people long before then; only that they lived at the family level and were very small communities which were unorganized in nature.[65] They were also seen as uncoordinated administratively. This did not allow them to have rulers and a well structured socio-economic organization. By 1779, some of these polities were able to become organised with rulers' political system and socio-economic structures.

Available information reveals that the early settlers of this area were the *Hausawa* who dwelled in most parts of the area. They practised agriculture and were said to be traditional religious followers. Even though that Islamic religion had already been introduced into the area before 1806, not much recognition was given to it, which only some sections of them became adherents of Islam. By 1806 when some of the settlements fell under the tutelage of Fulani Jihadists controlled Zazzau. There was an extension of the jihad into Makarfi. The Jihadists of course, were mostly Fulani and Muslims. Oyedele states that the settlements of Gimi and Ruma and, Dhiliwayo added with Durum were

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[65] As states the informants like Mallam Hamza Godai and Sarkin Gangara Alhaji Abubakar Muhammadu Zaidu. This was apart from Durum settlement which was believed to have been in existence for more than a millennium but, this is allowed for more Archaeological study in the area before coming to a conclusion.

subdued by Zazzau to the status of Vassals by 1806.[66] This has great impact to the area among which is the conversion of many *Hausawa* into Islamic religion and the consolidation of the already converted ones as well as making it administrative religion.

All those who have made hypothesis regarding the evolution and development of communities in respect to urbanization in especially Hausa lands have followed the hypothesis of Abdullahi Smith found in Kwanashie (Ed). There, it can in fact be surmise that there was a time when the independent family groups (*gidaje*), each under its household (*maigida*) and recognising no superior authority, were common among the Hausa-speaking people. But we have no direct knowledge of these times, and family groups seemed not to have lived together in nucleated hamlets (*kauyuka, anguwoyi*) where, kinship relations are still the basic means of enhancing social cohesion in the society. Rather there was the *mai unguwa* who might only be distantly related to some members of the community (which might in addition contain families of settlers of foreign origin). Still we cannot say there existed and a state-like organization. But, the big change comes when a ward (*unguwa*) becomes a settlement for many unrelated immigrant lineages (because it is a centre

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[66] Oyedele, E. O. *Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960,* PhD Thesis ABU, Zaria, 1987, P 85 as confirmed M.G. Smith in '*Government in Zazzau,* Oxford University Press, London, 1960 and Dhiliwayo, V. A., *The History of Sabon Gari Zaria, 1911-1950: A Colonial Urban Administration,*' PhD Thesis Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, p. 97.

of attraction for some reason) and becomes a (*gari*) or town requiring a ruler, *Sarki,* maintained by the support of *masu unguwa*, and a type of government whose authority altogether transcends that of individual family groups in the community.

These town governments are the embryonic state governments and the full development is realised when the authority of *masu gari* is extended over the surrounding country sides-*Kasa,* to embrace many *kauyuka* and even *garuruwa*. The expanding town *gari* then becomes the city *birni*: the capital, with its substantial industrial and commercial populations, its dependant arable land and its developed fortification wall *ganuwa*.

The establishment of the *birni* with its dependent towns and hamlets marked the final stage of development of the Hausa state. Thereafter, expansion is merely a matter of gaining control of additional territory and its inhabitants ('*yan kasa*).[67] It is along this line that, Y. B. Usman who was Smith's student sees the phenomenon of urbanization in Hausa land. He cites an example with the *traditional* society of Katsina long before the advent of Islam in the area.[68] The area was believed to be the place of origin for most of the early settlers of Makarfi

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[67] Op cit Usman, Y. B.,

[68] Smith, A., Some Consideration Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland, in Kwanashie, G. A., et al (Ed) *A Little New Light, Selected Writings of Abdullahi Smith'* Centre for Historical Research, Zaria, 1987, p 67

area. Here, Usman Y.B. follows the same suit with Smith in explaining the manner of urbanization in Hausa land.

Oyedele looks at the same phenomenon towards the same direction when he argues that urbanization cannot be understood in isolation from social differentiation, political conflict, the operational of government and the dominant economic system.[69] He, in addition acknowledges Smith's view of urbanization, which he saw as a breakthrough to the understanding of the manner of state's evolution in Hausa land.

The two main approaches to the study of urbanization were further postulated by him (Oyedele). These were the evolutionist and political economy or Marxist approaches.[70] Like others, Oyedele dwells on the aspect of city (*birni*) which is the peak of the all the approaches cited by him. Here he opines that the *birni* in this period (18th century) became the centre of population, religion, governance, military industry and commerce. It was therefore, characterised by the palace, a regular central market and a mosque with *Liman* and an *Alkali*. These features further show the importance of the political status of a settlement that is referred to as *birni*.[71] He argues on the same vein that:

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[69] Op cit, Oyedele, E. O.,
[70] Ibid
[71] Ibid

> *'From the 18th century, Birni came to denote a settlement that was The political capital, where the ruling class-The Masu Sarauta (rulers) resided.*[72]

These scholars' view on the urbanization of the Hausa land are out rightly indisputable especially as their citing is based on the mode of the formulation of ancient Hausa states; that is, the states of the Hausa land like Zazzau, Kano and Katsina. It also based on the long period of time that relates to the origin of the Hausa stock and the *Sarauta* system in Hausa land. In the light of this, the only settlement that has directly affected by their description in the Makarfi area is old Durum.[73] And the features stated particularly by Oyedele are perfectly in line with the mode found in Durum settlement of Makarfi area.

We highly acknowledge the fact that more studies are still on by historians on the evolution of settlements in Hausa land and, Smith's hypothesis has stimulated further studies and debates on the state formation in Hausa land.[74]

Beside this hypothesis, which does not directly apply to the entire settlements of Makarfi area but only on just a settlement, we can say that migration is the factor responsible for the establishment and

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[72] Ibid
[73] According to oral tradition Durum is said to have been in existence for more than a millennium.
[74] See Oyedele, E. O. Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960, PhD Thesis ABU, Zaria, 1987, P 48

development in the area.[75] There has been the breaking up of some communities within the area to form new ones while, many other settlements were formed out of intrusion of migrants from other areas into the area. It should be noted, however, that the migration this researcher is talking about is different from the migration stated in the Hermitic hypothesis of Abdullahi Smith. This is because Hermitic hypothesis is the migration of an absolutely different race from the other parts of the world to another place in Makarfi area. This movement is the migration of the same *Hausawa* possibly from the same areas of Katsina, Kano and Zazzau with the same cultures into Makarfi area. Mahdi Adamu makes it clear that some *Katsinawa* and *Kanawa* (*Hausawa*) migrated into the rural areas of northern Zaria,[76] which is the area under study.

Virtually, all the *Hausawa* settlements of Makarfi area relate their origin to the renowned ancient states of Kano, Zazzau or Katsina in particular.[77] This was based on their history and culture. All the *Hausawa* of Makarfi area have attributed their history to the migration of their ancestors from those ancient Hausa ancient states. The migration

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[75] Interview with Sarkin Gangara Alhaji Abubakar Muhammadu Zaidu
[76] Op cit, Mahdi Adamu
[77] Last, D. M., 'Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma) and its successor states', in Usman, Y.B., (Eds), *Facts and Values: Essays in honour of Abdullahi Smith*, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1980, p.169.

which began around 1500 AD[78] was due to with the acceptance of Islam as a state religion in those ancient Hausa states,[79] especially around 1448 during the reigns of *Sarki* Muhammadu Rumfa of Kano, *Sarki* Muhammadu Korau of Katsina and *Sarki* Muhammadu Rabo of Zazzau.[80]

The migration was to the south and west from Kano and Katsina through Zazzau, where they finally settled at their individual locations in Makarfi area through the 18th century. Usman, Y. B. confirms their insinuation of originating from the ancient Hausa ancient states where he relates some Hausa settlements in Zazzau to the ancient *Hausawa* of Kuambana of Katsina area:

> *Kuambana settlement an ancient Hausa settlement in Katsina about 80 miles south of Dutsen Kwatarkwashi had its many physical features of resemblance of Hausa of the ancient settlements of the plains of Zazzau.*[81]

Usman's view reveals that there is Kofar Kuyambana in Zaria,[82] which could possibly be named in remembrance of their original home in Katsina by the section of the early *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Zazzau.

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[78] As stated by most of the informants especially Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[79] Interview with Sarkin Makarfi Alhaji Kabiru Abdullahi
[80] Op cit, Efemesia, P 94
[81] Usman Y.B., *The Transformation of Katsina*, PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1981, PP.8-9
[82] Ibid

One thing that become obvious here is the fact that even though changes made it imperative for the two groups of *Hausawa*, *Hausa Muslims* and non-Muslims, to become different on the basis of religion, their origin was virtually the same, going by the light of Usman's view. They both hail from the ancient Hausa States. This is now made clear considering how the two groups accepted each other and continue to practise the same tradition in spite of religious difference. Furthermore, despite the difference in religion, *Hausawa* who were predominantly Muslims became closer to *Non-Muslim Hausa,* who were all adherents of traditional religion.

The *Non-Muslim Hausa* are said to be non-Muslims who believed in consulting supernatural being (*Iskoki*) and cult of spirits possession (*bori*), among others. They are people who worshipped various things believed by them to be god or goddess (*iskoki*). This is especially so in some parts of Makarfi area.[83] It could be the reason why they are always around the hills, rivers or forests. Usman, Y. B. argues that:

> *The duwatsu that spread throughout Hausa land were believed to be the aboder of spirits Iskoki who were believed to be active beings directly influencing human affairs. In this particular case, it was the centre for the worship of the great iskoki, rituals and festivities....These duwatsu are associated in the pre-Islamic religious beliefs of the Hausa speaking peoples with the iskoki*

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[83] Ibid, p. 9

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> *(spirits) which are some of the active being which directly influence human affairs..... Kasar Hausa became centre for the worship of iskoki and for religious festivities over and above those of dangi (patrilineal clan).*[84]

It should be noted that one of the attributes of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Makarfi is having their towns and villages established near hills (*gindin tsaunuka*), forests (*dazuzzuka*) and rivers (*koguna*).[85] This reflected the live style of their ancestors. With this, we can relates that the early *Non-Muslim Hausa* of this area inherited their traditional belief and religion from their ancestors in the ancient states of Hausa land; precisely the states of Kano, Zazzau and Katsina. It was the tradition they continued till the advent of Islam into the area through the jihad of 1806.[86]

Another ethnic group in Makarfi is the *Fulani*, which was the next group to move into the area.[87] They were pastoralists who move from one place to another in search for grazing pasture for their livestock.

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[84] Ibid.
[85] This was the case with the other `*Hausawa*` and `*Maguzawa*` tradition all over their settlements even at the ancient Hausa cities of Zazzau, Katsina and Kano. Also see , Usman Y.B. *the Transformation of Katsina,* Op cit, also in Last, D. M., *Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma) and Its Successor States* Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1980
[86] Oyedele O. E. *Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960,* PhD Thesis ABU, Zaria, 1987, Op cit P. 58. And Jihad reached up to this area by 1806 with the subjugation of some towns like Gimi, Ruma and Durum in that year by the Jihadist from the Zazzau Emirate.
[87] Interview with Ardo Balele

Their movement into the area were in two phases: the early phase and the late phase.

The early *Fulani* movement was the one stirred by the need to satisfy their quest for the good grazing pasture for their cattle;[88] this was between about 1400 to around 1806 A.D.[89] Among the early migrants are Ardo Bado, Ardo Mamu and Sarkin Fulani Sheshe[90] while the second movement was between 1806 and around 1902.[91] This could be seen in the light of the consolidation of the administration of majority of the towns and villages of this area into the hands of *Fulani* with the formal extension of the jihad into the area through Zaria in 1806.

There were some *Fulani* in this area who were resident for centuries before the jihad. And some of them were *Muslims* while others were *non-Muslims*. It was however, the triumph of the Jihadists in the area as well as their subsequent impact to the area that accorded the *Fulani* more prominence.

The *Fulani* occupying this area before the Jihad were more of temporary dwellers than permanent which were for rearing cattle due to

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[88] Ibid, Ardo Balele and Galadima Waje

[89] This was when the second phase of the movement began with the taking over of some towns from Zazzau by the Jihadists.

[90] That is when the Fulani Jihadists began to take over the area by subduing some of the old town to vassals. See Oyedele E. O., *Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960* PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1987, P.85 as confirmed by Smith M. G., *Government in Zazzau,* London, OUP, 1960.

[91] That is when the British took over the area.

the availability of grazing pasture and water.[92] Some of these *Fulani* cattle rearers stayed there temporarily for some period of the year, while others stayed permanently even though they formed neither formal villages or settlements nor any socio-political order at the initial stage.[93]

By the nature of their life style, the *Fulani* rears their cattle in any of the provinces of the Hausa country. As their number increased and influence widened in Makarfi they began to form communities in every town or village by the end of the first quarter of the 19th century.[94] That was the reason for their permanent residence with their cattle.

After the Jihad and the successful conquering of the area by the *Fulani*, more and more *Fulani* trooped into the area increasing the number of the ones residing there already. They moved freely and as such established more formal settlements and formulated a new socio-political and economic order within the area.[95]

Islamic religion was formally accepted as another religion, in addition to the traditional religion that had already been flourishing in the area. Many of the late *Fulani* were Islamic scholars and traders who moved into this area to settle because of the *Fulani* control of the area.[96]

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[92] Ardo Balele.
[93] Ibid
[94] Ibid
[95] Interview with Sarkin Rahaman Wali Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu and Abdullahi Aliyu Secretary Makarfi District
[96] Ibid, Sarkin Rahaman Wali Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu

They either traded or taught within the range of the area. Most of these *Fulani* settlers became traditional leaders in many towns and villages[97] as against the few that were traditional leaders prior to this time.

The *Fulani* traded with the *Hausawa* in addition to their traditional livestock keeping. The trade was hitherto mainly on agricultural produce (*amfanin gona*) like guinea corn, millet, sorghum etc, and other domestic items (*kayan aikin gida*) like tools and utensils, as well as livestock (*dabbobi*). The transactions within the area, was to be extended with the trade not only on the mentioned items but, also on livestock and many crops with other places outside the Makarfi or even the Emirate.[98] This was because, all the towns and villages and even the Emirate were under the Fulani rule; that is, the same leadership and system. These make them to enjoy the political and economic trading freedom and opportunity.

The clans of *Fulani* stock who originated from various areas in northern Nigeria for almost four centuries prior to the jihad, entered into the area as cattle rearers but eventually became settlers, especially with the jihad of 1806 in Makarfi area, this gave the opportunity to most of them who were traders or scholars (apart from being cattle rearers) to

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[97] Ibid
[98] Ibid

trooped into the area and establish many towns and villages. Michael Crowder explains:

> *Fulani were intellectually superior to the Hausa. Six hundred years before the Fulani rising, Fulani were teachers, administrators, councillors, judges, high Priests and soldiers. The domination of the Hausa land had been half completed in the 18th century. But it was not until 19th century that they achieved the final political and military supremacy.*[99]

The members of *Fulani* inter-married with the *Hausawa* they met in this area, most especially the Muslims among them. They mingled with them in commerce and politics, and further spread Islam and its culture within the area.[100] Even among the *Fulani*, there were non-Muslims who have equally been mingling with the non-Muslims associates in the area in general life endeavours[101] like their Muslim counterparts. All these continued to attract more and more *Fulani* into the Makarfi area. They were found in virtually all the nooks and crannies the vicinity of Makarfi by the time of the European invasion in 1902.[102]

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[99] Crowder Michael, et al, *Nigeria - An Introduction to Its History,* Longman, Lagos, 1974, p 154
[100] Interview with Sarkin Rahaman Wali Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu, Abdullahi Aliyu Sakatare and Sarkin Fada Goma
[101] This does not mean that Fulani are strangers in Makarfi area before 1806; available evidence revealed that Fulani were in the area for over four centuries before then. It is good to note that despite the fact that they were there with their cattle, they were too few as compared to the other groups and lives at the outskirt of the villages as well as mingled less with the other people in almost all the aspects of human life. This was confirmed by the people we interviewed on their relationship with one another before the jihad in the area in 1806.
[102] Alhaji Adamu Aliyu.

There are also some minor groups in the area like the Kanuri (*Barebari*), the Nupe (*Nufawa*) and Tauregs (*Asbinawa*), who were believed to be in this area for two centuries on the instance of trade. This was because the area was on the famous trans-Saharan trade route.

Barebari are said to have come from Bornu and Kano, through Madobi, then Bebeji and Paki, to Auchan, down to Gimi on their way to Zaria on their trade of potash (*kanwa*) while they bought horses (*dawakai*) and weapon (*makamai*) in exchange.[103] Gimi which was one of the towns within the area under study formed one of the commercial camps (*zango* pl *zango-zango*)[104] along Kano to Zaria caravan trade route.

Nufawa appearance into this area was equally as a result of trade. They came through Zaria and are believed to be a section of the *Nufawa* found in Zaria city, *Anguwan Nufawa.* They moved into the area to take advantage of the business fortunes they saw there.[105] They brought items of trade from Nupe land and other areas of the south-west (Yoruba land) to the Makarfi area in exchange for grains.

The *Asbinawa* of Makarfi came from Maradi in present Republic of Niger through Katsina enroute Maska, to Hunkuyi, to Ruma and

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[103] Ibid
[104] Ibid
[105] Op cit, Alhaji Musa Goma

Danguzuri all in Makarfi.[106] Some also came through Kano. They brought items of trade like date (*dabino*), cloths (*tufafi*), weapons (*makamai*) etc, in exchange for the Makarfi grains (*hatsi*).[107]

These three groups are found in some portions in the area: Kanuri (*Barebari*) and Nupe (*Nufawa*) are found mostly in Makarfi town while Tauregs (*Asbinawa*) are found in Dan Guzuri and Sabon Garin Dan Guzuri respectively. They were said to have been there because of the fortunes of trade and the fertile nature of the area which eventually made them to settle there permanently.[108] The *Asbinawa* are divided into two, the *Agalawa* and *Tokarawa* all of whom are traders of the same origin, the Sahara belt of Africa.

As we have seen, these groups entered into this area from different directions but about the same time, from the 18th century. It has become obvious that, the Kanuri (*Barebari*), the Nupe (*Nufawa*) and Tauregs (*Asbinawa*) were all preceded by the *Hausawa* traditionalists and farmers and *Fulani* pastoralists.[109]

The population of the area continued to increase with the intrusion of more people into the area especially this area; this was with the tremendous increase in the number particularly after 1806, when Islamic

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[106] Op cit, Mallam Aminu Umaru. This is confirmed Mallam Musa Danguzuri. The Asbinawa (Tauregs) are found mostly at Danguzuri village in Makarfi area. See chapter two for details.
[107] Ibid
[108] See chapter two.
[109] Sulaiman Badamasi.

religion regained the control of the greater percentage of *Fulani* stock after the jihad. The number of people has since multiplied to what Clapperton described as "being populated" around 1824.[110] The population of Makarfi area to 1902 was made up of those groups of the same and diverse origin; most of whom were migrants, and other settlers from different places within and without the Hausa city-states. All other groups like the Yoruba, Igbo and the rest have settled in the area after the British have subdued the sequel to the conquest of the Emirate of Zazzau in 1902.[111]

1.6 CONCLUSION

The geography of Makarfi helped greatly in situating the people in the area and shaping their lives. The information given above gave us an insight into the people of Makarfi. It also revealed the rapport that existed between man and his physical environment, be it the soil, relief, drainage, vegetation, minerals, fauna, among other things. It further clarified the nature of the people, their background as well as their reasons for settling in that particular area which has in turn made it possible the establishment of the settlements there.

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[110] Op cit, Clapperton, H., p.162

[111] This was gathered from the interviews conducted which highlighted the different people of the area the times they arrived, and the purpose of settlement in Makarfi area.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENT IN MAKARFI AREA

2.0 INTRODUCTION

From around the 5th century, when it is believed that people began to reside in the area of Makarfi to about 1792, the area witnessed a lot of dramatic change particularly in the formation of settlements.[1]

By the period around 1792 Makarfi area reached the zenith of this development with the establishment of the old major towns like Gazara, Gimi, Durum and Ruma which became big, organised and autonomous cities by the time. Gimi and Gazara were particularly believed to have emerged from the old Durum while the people of Ruma were from Katsina.[2] They possessed a formidable socio-political and economic order and were highly fortified by walls. They generally resembled the ancient states of Hausa land like Zazzau, Katsina and Kano.[3]

The need for togetherness is an expressed tendency in man due to his social nature. This need for togetherness is always propelled by

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[1] Old Durum was the first settlement in Makarfi area which is dated according to oral tradition to 5th century A.D., and the famous legendry Amina the Queen of Zazzau kingdom defeated the Old Durum some time between 1509 to 1536 during her reign and constructed what came to be called *'Ganuwar Amina'* and *'Rijiyar Amina'* in the area which are still present in the area. This is an indication of how the settlement was fully established with all the structures and super-structures between the 5th and the 16th centuries.

[2] See the history of these areas ahead in this Chapter.

[3] Clapperton, H., *Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, Frank Kass and Co. Limited, London, 1966, p.162

the need to surmount some common obstacles in the course of human struggle to conquer nature. It is in the course of trying to satisfy the multi-faceted needs of man ranging from economic, social, political, religious and security needs, etc; that human settlement evolved.

It is in the light of this however, that many scholars[4] have made postulations about the factors that led to the evolution of human societies particularly in Hausa land. Some of them attributed the economic factor to such a phenomenon. They saw it as the reason for the mass attraction of people into an area. The social factor is another reason postulated by scholars like McCall, who saw the socio-cultural activities of an area as being driving force of attraction of people into the areas. Religion is also considered to be a factor. This is because religious activities play a vital role in especially the lives of Hausa people. Other factors postulated by scholars are political, geographical and ecological.

However, of all the factors that determine the evolution of human settlements, many scholars saw the economy as undoubtedly the most

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[4] Among these scholars are Abdullahi Smith, 'Some Consideration Relating to the Formation of States in Hausa land, in Kwanashie, G. A., et al (Ed) *A Little New Light, Selected Writings of Abdullahi Smith*, Centre for historical research, Zaria, 1987, Yusuf Bala Usman in *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883 A.D., PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1981,* Ade Obayemi, The Kargi Manuscripts and Its Perspectives on Pre-Jihad Zazzau, *Historical Research At ABU(HRAABU), vol. iv, 1979/1980,* Murray Last, Before Zaria: Evidence of Kankuma (Kangoma) and its successor states, in Usman Y.B. et al (Eds), *Facts and Values : Essays in honour of Abdullahi Smith*, Department of history, ABU, Zaria,1980 and, Ade Ajayi, J. F., et al (Eds) *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan,1965, among others,

crucial. Abdullahi Smith in Kwanashie et-al (Ed) explains the evolution of the human society by making it clear that the formation, development and progress of all human societies right from the earliest times was inextricably tied to economic potentialities. He further opines that the evaluation of the formation of settlements among the Hausa communities will either vindicate or repudiate the assertion of Marx that the economy is the major pillar supporting the entire super-structure of every human society. That is economy is always the sector that shapes the socio-political and other dimensions of the super-structure.[5]

Smith has in the same book, quick to acknowledge the fact that it not only economic conditions that influence the emergence of a state; it seems to contradict a view he earlier expressed. He rather pointed at other factors like religion in playing an important role in the formation of states. He states that there was the role of the spirit of 'Dala hill' in providing the cultural condition that made Kano a centre of power and therefore a centre of attraction for people.[6]

In the same vein, McCall sees the religious factor as the reason for the establishment of settlements; this according to him is in addition to the ecological, physical, and anthropological factors, among other. He

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[5] Smith, A., 'Some consideration relating to the formation of states in Hausa land', in Kwanashie, G. A., et al (Ed) *A Little New Light: Selected Writings of Abdullahi Smith,* Centre for historical research, Zaria, 1987

[6] Usman, Y. B., *Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883,* PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1981, p 8

looks at religion as a key to understanding the system of values and eliminating the development of rituals which are the central institutions of the society. Religion contracts are often borrowed to offer good evidence of cultural contracts. According to McCall however, religion tends to be conservative, using symbols, rituals and ideological elements and often maintained over a very long periods of time usually longer than the other time used in types of culture traits.[7]

The settlements emerged not so much as a result of the natural increase of a single community rather, as a centre of migration, where a scientific explanation of the foundation of many states must recognise the different types of migration which have taken place over centuries not only into Hausa land from outside but also, within Hausa land itself,[8] as was the case with Makarfi area over time.

On the evolution of human settlements, Abdullahi Smith has acknowledges the fact that, migration plays a significant role in the evolution of many settlements within the Hausa land and, Makarfi area is not an exception to this phenomenon. We can simply see that the basic characteristic of a town is the cosmopolitan nature of its community.

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[7] McCall, D. F., *Africa in Time Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p 103
[8] Op cit, Usman, Y. B., p. 10

The only question here is, why these migrations took place and what precisely is the effect they had? As shall be discussed subsequently, it is always a series of factors that makes an individual, a group, or section of it to move from one place to another. These factors could either be economic, social, political, cultural, climatic or even environmental as the case may be. The factors may differ from one group or individual to another.

The role of migration in the emergence and development of settlement is not peculiar to Hausa land alone. Other societies in the country had experienced the same trend of migrations in the centuries prior to 19th century, which needs some examples to bring the point home.

Some Ijaw oral tradition has indicated the element of migration of some sections of Ijaw from the areas like Ogobiri, Ikibiri, Opoboma, the Apo creek and Obiama at the central Delta for the establishment of Oboloma (Nembe), Oproza, Elem Kalabari, Bonny, Okrika, among others by the beginning of the 18th century.[9] This tradition indicated that there is no plausible place of origin outside the delta, but rather describe migration and expansion over the length and breathe of the Niger Delta.

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[9] Alogoa E. J., The people of the cross river valley and the Eastern Niger Delta, in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 2006, pp 68-69

This development in the delta region was mostly due to the ecological and economic circumstances.

The Yoruba tradition is full of migration in all directions of the land particularly in the 19th century. This saw the evolution of many settlements within the vicinity of Yoruba land.[10] Ajayi, et al put it as massive and intense social and economic changes through the Yoruba wars in the 19th century. One of the leading products was the emergence of new communities like Ibadan, Abeokuta, Oyo (new), Modakeke, Aiyede, Shagamu, etc, all of which were founded as a result of migration and survived to our day.[11]

In Igbo land, the effects of migration pointed out were caused by some factors like the ecology of the area, insufficiency of land and trade.

2.1 MIGRATION AND EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENTS IN MAKARFI AREA

Migrations have occurred throughout the human history, as according to Jones, it began with the movements of the first human groups from their origin in East Africa to their current locations in the world.[12]

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[10] Akinjobin, I. A., Yoruba land up to 1800, in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 2006, pp 142-143

[11] Ajayi, J. F., et al, 'Yoruba land in the nineteenth century', in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 2006, p 299

[12] Jones, B., *Human Migration Guide*, National Geographic Society, U.S.A, 2005. p 1

In Makarfi area, migration has a very long history which is dated back to around the 5th century that is, with the first immigrants into this area. They first settled at the old Durum.[13]

Migration is viewed through different perspectives by different scholars, that is why many different definitions where given to it. Gavin has defined it as the movement of people from one country or region to another.[14] Jones saw human migration as a phenomenon where people move from one country to another and live or habitat there.[15] These two definitions are referring to migration in the modern times; that is why they indeed connects it to the movement in countries or regions while, we looks at it as a phenomenon base on our period of discussion that is, the period between 1779 and 1902.

Migration is however defined as the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi permanent residence usually across a political boundary.[16] This is a definition of National Geographic Society. In another dimension, Encyclopaedia International explained human migration as the movement of people from one area to another.[17]

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[13] This is based on the Oral tradition as little is known yet on this old settlement that is said to have per-dated the Hausa states. The first immigrants were said to have came from Ethiopian highlands according to tradition

[14] Gavin, P. H., *Introduction to Migration*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., U.S.A., 2000, p 3

[15] Ibid, Jones, B., p 1

[16] *The Journal of National Geographic Society*, U.S.A, 2005 P 34

[17] *Encyclopedia International*, Grolier Incorporated, New York, 1975, vol. 12.

Any way one views it, human migration means movement. It is equally a process that involves human being and space and resultant effects over time. As all the above stated definitions indicated, migration is therefore, the movement of people from one point to another; irrespective of whether the point is far or near and irrespective of the political boundary.

Human migration has according to both Jones and Gavin has been divided into two main types, the internal and external migrations.[18] But in Hausa land, migration was divided into three, there is the long distance migration into or away from the Hausa land, then the inter Hausa states migration and lastly the intra-Hausa state migration.

The long distance migration involves the movement of people into or away from the Hausa states. The Berbers invasions of the Central Sudan which is Hermitic hypothesis (according to Abdullahi Smith and other scholars) from the North Africa[19] and other invasions from the East

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[18] In the journal of National Geographic Society, U.S.A, 2005, p 3, the internal migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another *within* a given area while external migration is refers to the movement of people from one place to another *across* the political boundary. This is according to P. H. Gavin. B. Jones stated on the same manner that, internal migration is moving to a new home *within* a state, country or continent while external migration is moving to a new home in a *different* state, country or continent.

[19] See Abdullahi Smith, ' Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausa land' in George Amafe Kwanashie et al (Eds) *A Little New Light: Selected Writings of Abdullahi Smith*, Centre for historical research, Zaria. Although scholars like Cheik Anta Diop in his book '*The African Origin of Civilization*', Lawrence Hill & company, Westport USA, 1974 disputed the accessions of people like Abdullahi Smith.

and Central Africa[20] to the Hausa land. This saw the emergence and the expansion of the Hausa states and the major group like *Hausawa* and others.

There is inter-Hausa states migration, which is the movement of people from one Hausa state to another. Here, people move from any of the Hausa state of Kano, Katsina, Zazzau and others, to the other. To this end, they form their quarters as *Anguwan Kanawa*, *Anguwan Katsinawa*, *Anguwan Zage-zagi* and others, and also saw the emergence of new villages outside the capitals.

Lastly, there is intra-Hausa states migration where, people move from one point to another within a Hausa state. This saw the expansion of the existing settlements and the emergence new ones. This is what was obtained in the Makarfi area, which occurred from the 18th century.

Migration can be seen as a voluntarily search for new and better opportunities or forced to escape negative or dangerous situations. That is why migration is always been attributed to one reason or another.[21]

There are two main factors that propelled migration into or away from an area. These factors according to Jones are the 'push' and 'full' factors.[22] These factors always determine the human migration into or

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[20] See Cheik Anta Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization*, Lawrence Hill & company, Westport USA, 1974
[21] Gavin, P. H., Op cit, p 5
[22] Jones, B., Op cit, p 2

out of an area. The 'push' factors are such reasons for emigrating because of a difficulty like food shortages, war, flood, drought, famine, and epidemic and so on. The 'full' factors are such factors for immigrating because of some thing desirable like good climate, good soil, food supply, freedom, religion, cultures and others. In a nut shell, the push and pull factors as an influencing factors for the movement of people has convincingly been classified into the environmental, political, economic and cultural.

According to Makinwa, there are two main perspectives of theories firstly, that the objective for migration is usually to improve the status and economic well being of the migrants. And secondly, the non-economic factors that effect the decision to migrate such as easiness in transportation, presence of relation at the destination, ethnic compatibility and residual environmental factors.[23]

It is obvious that apart from the above stated reasons, migration could also be taken for economic, social, religious or political reasons.[24]

The assertions of Makinwa have frantically testifies the divisions stated by Jones above and, as at the period of study, the above stated

[23] Makinwa P. K., *Internal Migration and Rural Development in Nigeria*, Heinemann, Ibadan, 1981, p 6
[24] Tijjani, A., 'A Historical Study of Nupe Migrant in Yoruba land', in Dele Afolabi (Ed), '*Reading in the humanities*, Jola publishers, Ilesha, 2002, pp 27-37 Extracted from Tijjani A. Ethnic Relations: A study of Hausa community in Ogbomoso, Nigeria *Journal of Social Science*, 2008, 17(3), pp 253-260

factors are paramount to the movement of people. There Makinwa states:

> *Primitive people often undertook mass Migrations to source new food supplies and more living space, or to escape from natural catastrophes or hostile invaders. It equally involves, mainly individuals, families, or small groups, motivated by religion, political, or economic considerations.*[25]

Migration is a powerful and emotional phenomenon which alters the destiny of both individuals and groups involves and the country (area) in which they land.[26] In Makarfi area, both the immigrants and the area have immensely experienced dramatic changes over time. This was in particular in term of the socio-cultural, economic and political spheres of life. This has been for the fact that people move, their cultural traits and ideas diffuse along with them, creating and modifying cultural landscapes [27] within them and within the area they migrated into.

Migration has always been integral to the human condition and the patterns of movement reflect an ever changing world.[28] Such changes have manifested themselves in Makarfi area over time. This is because it is always the changes in the condition of the human life that

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[25] *Encyclopedia International*, Grolier Incorporated, New York, 1975, vol. 12, pp 78-79
[26] Sorgio Marchi, `What is migration without integration? In *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 24 Issue 4, 2005
[27] Op cit, B. Jones, p 3
[28] Op cit, P. H. Gavin, p 2

warrants it and, it is generally an indication of what the life has been to the immigrant in his place of living and the place of landing.

Human migration affects population patterns and shapes the social and cultural patterns and process, economies and physical and environments. It is indeed a mechanism for the population to grow or population decline within a given area and resulted in the changes in general human life aspects are derived from it.[29]

It is clear that with migration the changes in population distribution became imminent. In Makarfi area, there experienced a resultant increase in the population who came into the area from other parts of Hausa land most especially Zazzau, Kano and Katsina.[30]

The area could said to be a melting point of socio-cultural aspects. This to the fact that there experienced diffusion in cultural and religious aspects of the migrants over time.

Migration has over time, happens to form one of the major ways of establishing inter-ethnic contact. In this area, *Hausawa* who were non-Muslims and farmers, related to the *Fulani* who were pastoralists and scholars in all ramifications of human life.

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[29] Op cit, *Encyclopedia International*, pp 78-79
[30] In an interview with Mallam Hamza Godai

Beside this, it has also resulted in inter religious contacts between these groups in the area where non-Muslims who were relating with the Muslims as in cultural relations.

In Hausa land prior to 19th century, there was frequent Hausa inter-state warfare between the Hausa states.[31] This mainly occurred between the 15th and the 17th centuries. These encounters came up as a result of the rivalry that emanated from their interest for the control of the trade routes through the Sahara. Another reason for the wars was the quest for the territorial expansion by the states.[32] These wars have generated movement of people to all directions within the states most especially among the communities which were behind the walls of the capitals of the cities. These movements have resulted in the migration and the formulation of several settlements and the expansion of many others.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the proliferation of smaller states in Hausa land of which, Islam was not generally the major force.[33] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the movement of Usman Dan Fodio and his people, the *Gobirawa*, the

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[31] Omolewa, M, *Certificate History of Nigeria*, Longman, Lagos, 1986, p 50
[32] Ibid, p. 45
[33] See Muhammadu Bello, *Infakul Maisur* for a vivid explanation on how the wars were fought that resulted a lot of migrations in and around Gobir one of the Hausa states. Dan Fodio himself performs hijra (migration) from Degel to Gudu and to other areas with his people. Also see Ade Ajayi, et al (Eds), *One Thousand Years of West African History*, p 273.

migration of many people and the establishment of many settlement within and outside Gobir and other Hausa states. It also saw the expansion of other settlements around the area.

There were also several migrations to all directions within the Hausa land, which were as a result of famine that struck the area some time in the 16th century.[34] This famine continued up to the 17th century. The famine resulted in the retardation in the production of food (grains) and the animal plague. It resulted in the mass movements of people to virtually all directions in the area in search of water, food and good land for agricultural productions and rearing of animals. The migrants who were either farmers or pastoralists tend to adapt to any area they migrated to easily, which was due to the similarity in soil and climatic condition among all the States in the Hausa land. The movement of people and animals was very easy because, the area is mostly `open` plain. In fact, it was obvious that these migrations made it possible the formulation of large communities.[35]

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[34] Usman Y.B. stated that one of the instances of such famine has been recorded in the song of Bagauda, in Usman Y.B., et al (Eds), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, NNPC, Zaria, 1983, p 191. Usman Y.B. n also suggested the Hiskett, M., *the songs of Bagauda:* A Hausa king list and homile in verse, in the bulletin of the school of African Oriental studies (B.S.O.A.S.) Vol. 28, 1965, p 115. And Ian Espie, *History in West Africa*, in Ade Ajayi, et al, (Eds), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan University Press and Nelson, Ibadan, 1965, p 15. He stated famine particularly in West Africa south of the Sahara some time from 1000 to 1800 A.D. as, one of the factors for the movements of people to different directions in the area.

[35] Usman, Y. B. et al (Eds), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, NNPC, Zaria, 1983, pp 190-191 It has also been indicated in the C. C. Efemesia, `States of the central Sudan`, in Ade Ajayi, et al, (Eds), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan University Press and Nelson, Ibadan, 1965, p 96.

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Another thing however was the fierce military expeditions and ordinary raiding activities which were recorded between Borno and Hausa land particularly between the 16th and the 18th century. Among the impacts of these military encounters on Hausa land was the migration of people. In the light of this, on several occasions, birnin Kano, birnin Zazzau and birnin Surame of Kebbi were besieged by Borno and, a lot of villages were destroyed around these cities.[36] This forced a lot of people to move away to other areas and established themselves as *Kanawa*, *Zage-zagi* and *Kabawa* settlements.

The expeditions carried out by Jukuns (*Kwararrafa*) over Kano from the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th century and, to the other Hausa states notably, Katsina and Zazzau[37] actually destabilised a lot in the states, among the effect was migration to all directions.

Islam had been closely connected with the Hausa aristocracies for almost two hundred years before 1700. To encourage the development

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[36] Usman, Y. B. et al (Eds), Ibid, pp 179-185. Also see Anonymous, *Amina Sarauniyar Zazzau*, Zaria, 1954, p 13. This is for the Borno encounter with Zazzau during the time of Amina. Palmer H.R., *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. iii, pp 112-113, for the Borno encounter with Kano at the time of Sarki Abdullahi Dan Muhammadu Rumfa and Sarki Muhammadu Kisauki. And, for the Borno encounter with Kebbi see Hunwick, J. O., `Songhay, Borno and Hausa land in the sixteenth century` in *H.W.A.I.*, P 222. All extracted from Yusuf Bala Usman, et al (Eds), `A consideration of the history of relation between Borno and Hausa land before 1804 A.D.`, in Yusuf Bala Usman, et al (Eds), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, NNPC, Zaria, 1983, p 205.

[37] Sa`ad Abubakar, `People of the Upper Benue basin and the Plateau before the 1800`, in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 1980, p 169. Also see Ade Ajayi, et al, (Eds), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan University Press and Nelson, Ibadan, 1965, pp 208-209. Then T. N. Tamino, `Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence`, stated that, in the reign of Muhammadu Zaki (1582-1618), the Kororrofa (Jukun) in turn attacked Kano and its inhabitants fled to Daura. Again in 1653, Kano became the target of more attacks by Kororrofa. This resulted in the destruction of *Kofar Kawayi*. Later, much of Kano was destroyed by the *Sarkin Kororrofa* during the reign of Sarki Dadi (1670-1703).

of the royal cult, the Hausa governments welcome all the Muslim immigrants, pilgrims and traders from other areas, Borno and North African merchants and traders.[38] This had immensely contributed to the expansion of the states as well as the emergence of new settlements within the Hausa states.

Migration was the sole mode of evolution of settlements in the Makarfi area, being that, most, if not all of the settlements in the area evolved as a result of movement of a section of people from one community within or outside the area to establish new settlements.

As we have seen earlier in Hausa land, Makarfi area being part of it, migrants could have been complemented by other factors such as geography, ecology, economy, religion etc, as their reason for the movement away from an area or settling at the place they settled. One of the dwellers of Makarfi area testified that, most of the people of the area were immigrants from various places who came into the area because of good farming land, rivers, and streams which they explored for their livelihood.[39]

In Makarfi area, apart from old Durum, it is obvious that, the role played by migration in the formation and development of settlements was long standing. Virtually all the settlements in this area were formed

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[38] Lovejoy P., *The Caravan of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900*, ABU Press, Zaria, 1980, p 53.
[39] Mallam Hamza Godai

as a result of migration of people from one community or another. Future developments particularly the expansion in those settlements mostly depended on subsequent migrations into them. This was because as the population expanded the 'empty spaces' in between groups (communities) were filled in.[40]

As shall be seen subsequently in the chapter, the *Hausawa* group and the *Fulani* group who settled within Makarfi area enjoyed the will of migrations because there observed three periods of migration which were said to have taken place. These were the early migration, the middle migration and the late migration. In the light of this however, three types of settlements were evolved in the area which were: the settlements of the early migrants, the settlements of the middle migrants and the settlements of the late migrants, all of which emerged before 1902.

Regarding the early phase of migration in Makarfi area, there was the migration of *Hausawa* from Durum[41] and other Hausa areas of the North, particularly Katsina, Kano and Zazzau[42] into the area, which saw the initial emergence of settlements in the area. These settlements

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[40] Afigbo, A. E., 'Igbo land before 1800, ' in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 2006, p 73.
[41] The Old Durum was believed to have fallen early in the 18th century and that was the inception of the New Durum.
[42] Last, M., 'Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma) and its successor states', in Usman, Y. B., et al (Eds), *Facts and Values: Essays in Honour of Abdullahi Smith*, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1980.

include Ruma, Gazara, and Gimi, among others. This could be seen to have occurred due to the increase in population and the need for expansion with the Hausaland. These series of early migrations took place from about 1500 to around 1805. It was within this period, precisely around 1779, that most of the major settlements of Makarfi area became established and had their early process of development. Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi remarks as follows:

> *My grandfather told me that his father says he was twenty-seven years old when the Masallata (Muslim Jihadists) took over the leadership of this town (Gimi) by then the town was a complete town with (fortification) wall.....*[43]

The Muslim Jihadists advanced into the area from the headquarters of Zazzau Emirate and took over the leadership of the major towns in 1806, and twenty-seven years before then was 1779. By then according to the sources, Gimi and some other towns[44] were fully established with all the political, economic and social structures in place such that it had even became a walled town by then.

These early settlements were sited either along the rivers and streams (*koguna* sing. *kogi*) (*rafuka* sing. *rafi*), or under the hills (*tsaunuka* sing. *tsauni*) or in the forests (dazuzzuka sing. *daji*), which

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[43] Ango Shimmi
[44] The neighboring towns according to Ango Shimmi are Ruma, Gazara and Durum. But it is confirmed that Durum was older.

indicated the `*Maguzanci*`[45] socio-cultural and political tradition of *iskoki* and *tsafi*. This development has to do with the mentioned places being that, the areas have their physical features resembling those of the ancient settlements of the plains of Zazzau.[46] The settlements were equally sited on a very good terrain, which went along way to support the settlers' economic base that was based on agriculture. Their lives were attached to the land.[47] Another attribute of these settlements was the fortification walls (*Ganuwa*) which were built mainly for security.

From 1806 to about 1860, there was the emergence of the middle migration settlements. This development saw the enormous trooping of the Fulani into the area, individually or in groups. These *Fulani* are said to have started coming into the area long before the 19th century. They came to the area as pastoralists with their cattle from such places as Kano, Katsina and Sokoto. It has in turn, saw the establishment of new settlements and the developments of many others, which were already been established. Here, the *Fulani* took over some communities as well as, dominated others from the *Hausawa* who established them. The towns established include Gangara, Makarfi town itself, Meyere, and Dan Guzuri among others. The *Fulani* stock who arrived before 1806

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[45] `*Maguzanci*` refers to a complete way of life of the `*Maguzawa*` people.
[46] Op cit, Usman, Y. B., P.8
[47] Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci.

very few in this area. They continued to increase in number due to the Jihadists' victory over the *Hausawa* dwellers. It is inline with Omolewa saying that,

> *The Jihadists also brought about changes in population distribution. As a result of the wars, there were population movements and migrations. Many people left their former places of abode and fled for safety .....many settlements were founded.*[48]

More and more *Fulani* have continued to storm the area from Zazzau, Katsina and Kano Emirates, which were then under the full control of the *Fulani* under the Caliphate of Sokoto. By this development, the core *Hausa* traditional way of life was to be challenged by the *Fulani* and Islamic cultures. In some towns like Gimi, the *Fulani* and Islamic cultures replaced existing ones; lots of *Non-Muslim Hausa* were converted to Islam. They lived together while many others did not.[49] But some settlers who had earlier accepted Islam even before 1806 had their faith strengthened by the Jihad.[50] This refers to some sections of *Hausawa* who also came from the ancient Hausa states of Zazzau, Kano and Katsina, who had stayed in this area for not less than two centuries before the jihad and, even when they arrived in the area almost all of them were Muslims. It is good to note that it was not only

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[48] Omolewa, M., *Certificate History of Nigeria*, Longman, Ibadan, 1986, Op cit, p 121
[49] Ibid.
[50] Alhaji Adamu Dan Tsuntsu.

the *Fulani* that participated in the jihad of 1806 in this area; there were many *Hausawa* also, who were not contented with either the political, social or the economic systems in practice prior to the jihad. This section of *Hausawa* assisted the Jihadists in one way or another to achieve the success in their campaign in the area.

Fortification walls (*ganuwa* pl. *ganuwoyi*) were built round the settlements which had existed during the period of war. They were built for the enhancement of security of those towns; that is, to protect them from the external aggressions of the time. It is also an indication of greatness and strength of that settlement and its rulers, considering that a project of this kind was being executed mostly with slave force. More so that slaves would be kept only by wealthy settlements. It is equally obvious that the then economic vibrancy of these areas at the time of the project, that made it possible for these projects to be executed. This is in addition to its significance of showing the area covered by that settlement.

The period 1861 to 1897 saw the inception of the late migration which in turn has produced the late migration settlements. These settlements were formed out of the existing settlements, because of the increase in the population that sought for the need for an expansion in

Makarfi area.[51] This could be seen in the establishment of settlements like Sabon Garin Durum from Durum, Sabon Garin Gazara, Giwaye, and Godai from Gazara, Ghana and Gangara from Kano area, Anguwan Makera, Sabon Garin Dan Guzuri, Dan Bakwa from Dan Guzuri, and many others. These towns were to emanate from the expansion of old settlements. Another factor is the conflicts which occurred between the members of the ruling families or even among the members of the wards within the settlements. Sometimes, some of these people migrated out of the communities to form new settlements elsewhere. An example of this could be seen in the establishment of Gubuci from 1888 to 1897.[52]

There were also some other settlements which were established by the *Non-Muslim Hausa* who, later resented Islamic religion and culture and the *Fulani* culture and administration as well as marginalization after having lived with them for sometime. These *Non-Muslim Hausa* parted with the Fulani and *Hausa* Muslims peacefully to form their new settlements beside the existing ones. Some examples of these settlements were Kusuntawa, Dadin Kowa and some others. This

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[51] Sarkin Gazara Alhaji Muhammadu Mutawakkilu Hassan and Sarkin Durum Alhaji Mu'azu
[52] See the history of Gubuci and other towns in this Chapter where, you are provided with an insight of individual towns.

enabled them to continue with their ancestral traditional religion and cultures.

There were also the establishment of many smaller settlements around the area whose level of development remained as hamlet by 1902. These were the settlements established by the *Agalawa, Tokarawa* and *Kambari* (*Barebari*) traders from about 1850s to 1860s. The settlements, according to Lovejoy, were created in completion of their commercial infrastructure in Zaria.[53] Other settlements were established by the *Fulani* who continued to settle based on their life style and due to such features of the terrain like the climate, the relief, the drainage, and vegetation and good pasture of the area which were all significant to the nomadic culture.

Indeed, we cannot dispute the fact that (*Rumada* pl. *Runji*) system has played a significant role in the evolution of some other smaller villages within the area, particularly around the middle of the 19th century. It was a system where the aristocratic houses from the Zazzau Emirate deployed some slaves to establish some slave camps within the Emirate, and Makarfi area was among the places those camps seem to have been sited.[54] With the abolition of slave trade in 1807, the captives

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[53] Lovejoy, P., *The Caravan of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900,* ABU Press, Zaria, 1980, Op cit, p. 87

[54] Some of these camps - *Rumada* were traced in settlements like Kwatakware and Dan Damisa as were testified by Alhaji Aliyu Ibrahim Kwatakware 23/3/08 and Alhaji Goma Dan Damisa 23/3/08.

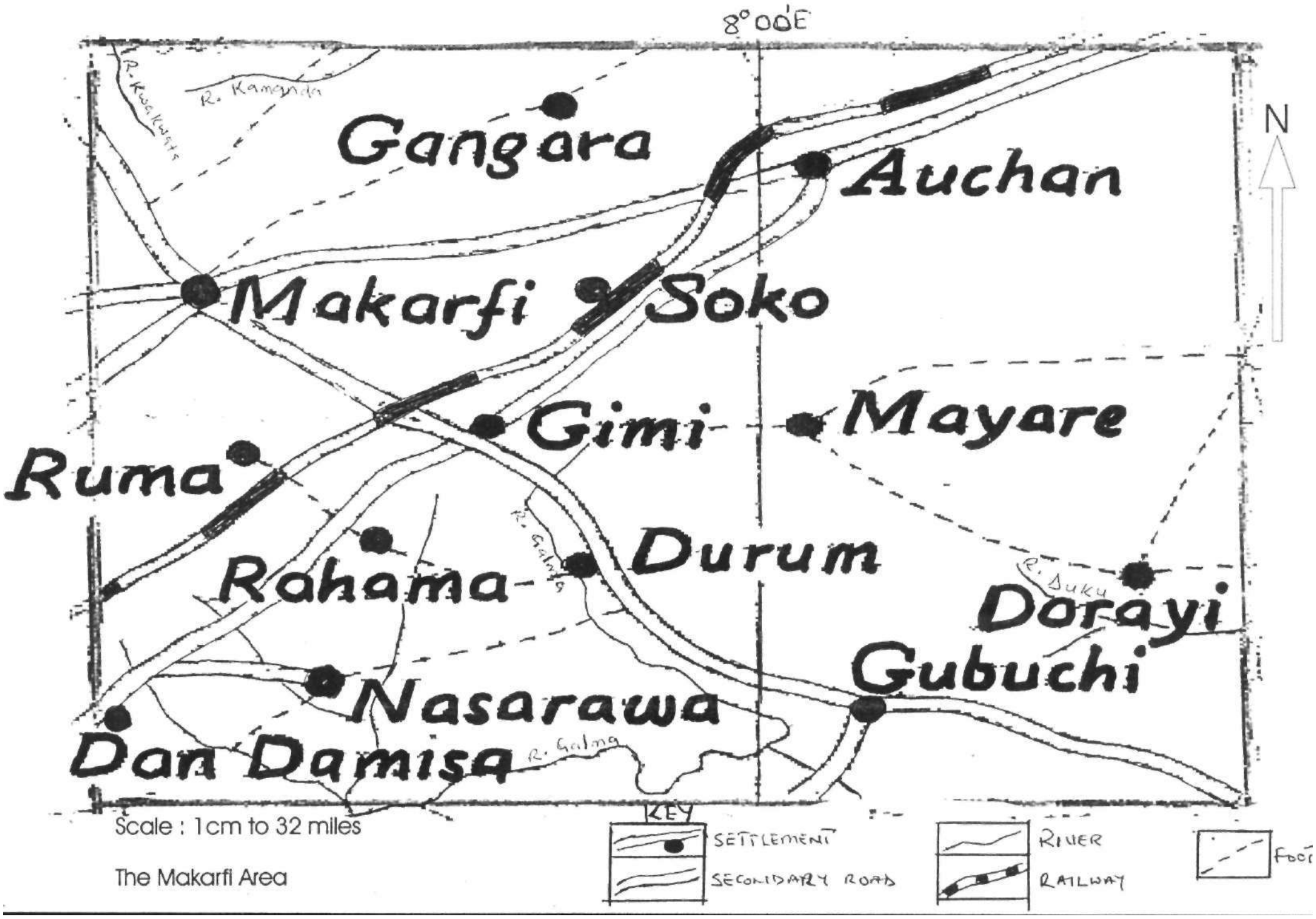
who were in thousands become burden to the overload, this was because they used money to purchased them, they were also responsible for their feeding and general care yet, they cannot sale them to either have they money back or make profit. As such, these slaves were turned to become the suppliers of labour on the established overlords' farms elsewhere in the Emirate instead of being sold to Europeans who became no longer interested in the export of slave labour, since they became industrialised.[55] These captives old and young, males and females were taken and camped on the farms where they at least feed themselves and take the remaining produce to their masters in Zaria city.

It is difficult however, to point out more villages that confirmed that they evolved from the Rumada system apart from the ones closer to Kwatakware and Dan Damisa. There was the emergence of villages which was mainly from the 1850s in the land that was belongs to *Mallawa, Katsinawa or the Barebari* who were believed to be the overlords from Zaria city.

In such villages, one finds a composition of people from different areas whose origin could not be out rightly ascertained and, who cannot be said to have migrated at the same time as was the case with most of

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[55] Buah, F. K., *The World Since 1750,* Macmillan, Lagos, p. 189



The Makarfi Area

the settlements of Makarfi area. These older settlements are believed to have facilitated the establishment of other settlements in the area, either through fission or fusion.[59] Consequently, all the cultures and traditions in all their ramifications in the area became, almost if not similar, in virtually all the communities around the area.

One thing that is obvious is that, virtually most if not all the towns and villages in Makarfi area of today, have lived much longer than the Makarfi town itself. This was because most of them with the exception of Gubuci, Soko and few others lived more than two centuries while, Makarfi town is not up to, and was not in existence before the jihad in the area.[60] There are major towns in the area that existed for a century or more before the Sokoto Jihad of 1804 and the extension of it into area in 1806, while some were established a little after the jihad. Those old settlements are all fortified with walls, with the exception of those established after the jihad as the challenge to the communities and their economy was very weak.

Most of these major settlements like Gimi, Gazara, Ruma and others, were walled, and this is one of the things that signify their pre-jihad existence which enabled them to withstand and protected

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[59] This is migration in and out of the communities and the splitting of the communities to form new ones. Fission is the splitting of the communities while the fusion is the process of coming together by the communities.

[60] See an inside in the history of individual settlements of the area in this Chapter.

themselves from the external aggressions of that period. Those settlements without the fortification wall were mostly established after the jihad or even very much later.[61] There were also some settlements in the area which were to take off just some few years before the advent of the Europeans. These were settlements like Gubuci which had a fortification wall on the instance of Sarkin Zazzau Yero soon after 1888. Sarkin Zazzau Yero was the man who directed the neighbouring settlements to assist Ubangida[62] in the construction of the wall round the newly sited Gubuci, in addition to the manpower and other assistance sent in by the Sarki from the City.

It will be of immense significance if; the origin and nature of some of these towns and villages that made up what was then known as Makarfi area, could be examined as a way of tracing the genesis of the future developments in the area to 1902. In view of this, the researcher resolved to discuss some of these towns and villages below:[63]

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[61] Mallam Musa Dan Guzuri
[62] Who left Anguwan Gubuci Kusallo in present Ikara LGA to establish his settlement, because of the problem between him and Mallam Sani mai Jangali in the last quarter of the 19th century.
[63] Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isah II, Sarkin Gubuci.

1. Gazara

Gazara is situated immediately to the East of Makarfi town, about three kilometres away. It pre-dates Makarfi town,[64] and the founder of Makarfi was said to have been from Gazara.

The early settlers of Gazara were said to be warlike people from Borno who left on a mission west-ward under a man called Goni Doba, some time in the first quarter of the 18th century. They stopped at Mahutan Danranko[65] in Katsina emirate and then at Ruma where they stayed for sometime before they finally got to the present Gazara area.[66] Their final movement to Gazara which was a virgin land at that time was due to the fertility of the soil. Among the early settlers in the area were Abubakar, Madaki Shu'aibu and Ummaru.[67] These early settlers were Fulani Muslims.

After residing in the area for sometime, Umaru went and established Fulatan to the North-West, Madaki Shu'aibu left to establish Sabon Garin Gazara/Anguwan Madaki to the East while, Abubakar who was the eldest among them, continued to rule at Gazara. The name 'Gazara' was named from a renowned arrow called, *'Garzaya'* that is,

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[64] District Head of Gazara
[65] It is presently in Southern Katsina.
[66] Stated by Sarkin Gazara as confirmed by Sarkin Anguwan Madaki
[67] Interview with Sarkin Gazara Alhaji Muhammadu Mutawakkilu Hassan

'run to strike',[68] which has indicated the secrets of Gazara warriors at the time; this was because of its spiritual might and damage to the enemies. Another thing is that when ever invaders approach Gazara, they either met a very vast lake or meet elephant grass *tofa* instead of the town.[69] Gazara town had a fortification walls (*ganuwa),* which had existed for more than two hundred years. There were two town gates, the Eastern gate (*Kofar gabas*) and the Western gate (*Kofar yamma*). Although the early Gazara settlers were warriors, they were as well, scholars (like Mallam Garba and Mallam Aliyu), and their major occupation was farming. Until recently, morality in the area was very high to the extent that no harlot (*karuwa* pl. *karuwai*) or praise wisher or singer (*maroki* pl. *maroka*) was allowed any hay day in the area.

This area apart from being a very fertile arable land had rich fadama land. Even though there is no any river or stream in the area, the people of this area produce fadama products like sugarcane, vegetables and many others, especially during the dry season.

There are many hills around Gazara which are made up of laterite materials (*marmara*). There is a point called *Gaba;* it is a ditch popularly

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[68] In an interview with Sarkin Gazara and Aminu Umaru this view was confirmed by the District Head of Gazara.
[69] Ibid Sarkin Gazara and Aminu Umaru

known as *Rijiyar Amina (Amina well),* is situated in between two hills called *Ganuwar Amina (Amina wall).*[70] This point is highly historical.

Gazara is believed to be the cradle of Makarfi as the founder of Makarfi was said to have been from Gazara. It relates with other settlements in many ways such as the wars, inter-marriages, trade, among others. The farmers of Gazara are known for producing crops like Guinea corn, millet, sugarcane, etc. These they consume and sell to other areas far and near such as Zazzau and Kano.

2. Giwaye

Giwaye is located about seven kilometres to the extreme east of Makarfi town. The people of Giwaye are said to be scholars who migrated from Auchanawa in present Ikara Local Government of Kaduna State about two hundred years ago.[71] Among the early migrants who founded the area are Mallam Isuhu and Mallam Sunusi, both of whom were Fulani and Muslims.[72] The people of Giwaye are said to be farmers who had left their original home in search of good arable land.

The name Giwaye was derived from the nature to which the new settlement developed instantly as compared to elephant in the mist of

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[70] Ibid, Sarkin Gazara

[71] Alhaji Danyaro Suleiman Sarkin Giwaye
[72] Ibid

wild animals like the people of the area. That is why it is called 'Giwa' or 'Giwaye' -'the elephants'.[73]

This area has a stream called 'Karara' which the people of the area use for dry season farming. There is also a big hill in the area which they call 'Dodo' hill (Tsauni Dodo) which was due to the wild animals found on it at the time. It has no fortification walls a situation which denotes that these people migrated into the area less than two hundred years ago.[74]

3. Anguwan Madaki/ Sabon Garin Gazara

Sabon Garin Gazara or Anguwan Madaki was founded by Madaki Shu'aibu Garba and Hussaini[75] who have originated from Gazara. This emanated from the need to expand the horizon of Gazara because of the increase in population in the area. The name Sabon Garin Gazara meant 'New Gazara town.' It is situated about one and a half kilometre East of Gazara. These migrants were Fulani and Kanuri both of whom were Muslims and scholars. They were equally farmers and people of other occupations, like trading.

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[73] Ibid

[74] According to Mallam Hamza Godai interview with, the whole of Makarfi area seizes to engage in war after the jihad of 1806, which made the people of the area not to build fortification wall any longer. By this we could conclude that *Giwaye* was founded less than two hundred years ago as testified Sarkin Giwaye Alhaji Danyaro Suleiman.

[75] Madaki Shu'aibu Garba was said to be the son or brother of Abubakar the ruler of Gazara and, Hussaini was added by Sarkin Sabon Gari Mallam Musa Salihu

It was a community without a fortification walls being that, it was established long after the jihad.[76] Later some of these migrants left the place and resided at a place a kilometre east which they named Jama'an Maida.[77] Maida was the name of the first person who opens up the place among the migrants.

Sabon Gari Gazara is blessed with some streams among which are Karara stream which they utilised for agricultural purposes. It was also blessed with hills like the Gazara hill, Mahangi hill and the Dodo hill that stretched into the area. There is also Karara forest which was also significant to the life of the people of the area in the conservation of the wild life.

The cultures and traditions of the people of the area are similar to that of Gazara people since they are of the same origin.

4. Godai

Although the origin of the early settlers of Godai has not been ascertained, available information shows that they share the same origin with Sabon Garin Gazara whose occupants left Gazara about the same time.[78]

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[76] Interview with Sarkin Sabon Garin Gazara Alhaji Sa'idu Ibrahim
[77] Mallam Musa Salihu.
[78] Op cit, Mallam Hamza Godai

Godai got its name from the words *'godewa Allah'*, meaning 'thanks be to God' was said to have come up as result of frustration undergone by the founders of the area, before they founded the place. Coming to this new place, they had to thank God.[79]

The people of Godai at that time were Hausa and Fulani with Islam as the sole religion of the area.[80] They were scholars and farmers' right from the beginning, with other occupations like blacksmithing, trading, etc on practiced at minimal level.

Godai is about three kilometres East of Makarfi town. Being a late settlement, Godai was not walled and fortified like other long established towns in the area. It has fadama fringes especially on the Randa stream where the settlers produce crops of different varieties such as sugarcane and vegetable. The notable hill in the area is Fako hill which is situated at the outskirt of the town. The culture of the people of this area could be said to be similar to that of other towns and villages around Gazara, since they are of the same origin.

5. Gimi

The slogan attached to the area *'Gimi da boza'* came up around 1909 when the British reached the area while constructing the rail line

[79] Salaha Garba
[80] Interview with Sarkin Godai Alhaji Abubakar Adamu

from Zaria to Kano. This was when a Briton called the head of the labourers '*Musa dan Da bosa*' as '*Musa dan Da boza*'. Since then the station is referred to as '*Gimi of Da boza*'.[81]

The early settlers of Gimi were the Hausa people; *Hausawa Muslims* and non-Muslims they were later followed by the Fulani. There is very much uncertainty on the origin of the early settlers of this area, but the tradition of the area relates them very closely to the Durum people, from where many people migrated to all parts of this area in the 17th century.[82] The tradition further states that, the ruling house of Gimi is related to that of Durum, that is the house of Inusa, a one time ruler of Durum in the 18th century had his mother from Gimi. There was also a tradition that slaves tend to be brought from Durum as gifts or for sale. This indicated that the relationship was long.[83] The *Hausawa* non-Muslims of Gimi happened to be traditional religious followers initially, but eventually, with the advent of Islam into the area through the Fulani mainly after the jihad, most of the *Hausawa* converted to Islam.

The name 'Gimi' was derived from a thorny tree (*kaya*) called 'Gimi', which was the dominant plant that was cleared by the early settlers of the area. This area has a fortified wall said to have been built

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[81] Sarkin Gubuci Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isah II and Alhaji Mu'azum Sarkin Durum.
[82] Sarkin Gimi Tasha.
[83] Ibid.

in the 19th century. It was about ten feet in height and eight feet in width.[84]

Up to the time of jihad in the area and even beyond, apart from Durum, Gimi remained the most powerful town in the Makarfi area.[85] It was subdued and brought under Zazzau forcefully by the *Fulani* Jihadists in 1806. Since then, Gimi has related with Zazzau as vassal state by providing the latter with soldiers in during of war. Some of the warriors who fought war for Zazzau were Sarkin Baka Ibrahim and Idrisu where. Ibrahim died at the war of Suleja for Zazzau.[86] Gimi also provides workers in terms of *Gandu* labour to Zaria city.[87]

Gimi's chief occupation was farming (*Noma*). Being a independent and later semi-independent (vassal) state, this made it possible for other occupations to flourish such as blacksmithing (*kira*), dyeing (*rini*), trading (*kasuwanci*), hunting (*farauta*), weaving (*saka*) etc, and are still flourishing up till now. There existed some caravan traders (*fatake*) in the area and the availability of trading commodities which was as a result of the passing by of the Bornu caravans through the area, being on a Kano to Zazzau trade route (*hanyar fatake*), to the states of the south and the forest. For over two centuries of its existence, some

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[84] Ibid
[85] Op cit, Sarkin Gubuci Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isah II and Alhaji Mu'azu Sarkin Durum
[86] Ibid
[87] Ibid

houses are still being called with their traditional occupation names such as the house of smith (*Gidan Makera*) or the house of chief of smith (*gidan Sarkin Makera*) which was established by Angulu makeri. Others are the house of dyers (*gidan Marina*), the house of farmers (*gidan Sarkin Noma*), and the house of weavers (*gidan Masaka*) and so on.

This area is made up of some highlands like the Durum hill (*Tsaunin Durum -Tsaunin tsohuwar Durum*) and Gazara hill (*Tsaunin Gazara*). There are also some streams in the area such as Zaria stream (*Rafin Zaria*) and the Gazara stream (*Rafin Gazara*).

6. Gubuci

Gubuci was one of the quarters of Kusallo, an old settlement, in the present Ikara Local Government Area of Kaduna State. It was called **Gubuci ward** (*Anguwan* Gubuci). During Sarkin Zazzau Yero (1888-1897), Ubangida, one of the elders of Kusallo, due to his problem with Sani mai Jangali, who was the chief tax collector of Sarkin Zazzau in the area, sought for an area to establish his town. He was granted by the Sarkin Zazzau, the neighbouring towns and villages were asked to assist him in the building. Among the early settlers with Ubangida at the new site were Mallam Isah, Mallam Hashimu and Turaki Danbaba. The early settlers are the *Hausawa* both *Muslims and non-Muslims*, all of

whom practiced their religious belief cordially.[88] With this, we can say that Gubuci settlement was established within the period 1888 to 1897.[89] A fortification wall was built for the area during the reign of the Emir of Zazzau Lawal Kwasau (1897-1902).[90] By this, Gubuci became the last town in this are to have a fortification wall (*Ganuwa*).

Gubuci was first sited as the District headquarters overseeing the whole Makarfi area. The first District Head was Galadima Sambo. He had both his resident and office at Gubuci. He was to be transferred to Makarfi on the instance of the growing market there.[91]

The major occupations oaf the early settlers of this area were farming (*Noma*) and keeping of domestic animals (*kiwo*).They also practised other occupations at both individual and community levels.

Gubuci settlement relates with virtually all the towns and villages around it. This was mainly on trade of agricultural products like sugarcane and vegetable. This area has many rivers and streams which they use for fishing and irrigation. Among the stream are Galma,

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[88] Ibid, Sarkin Gubuci Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isah II.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Gubuci settlement can be said to have been established some time between 1888-1897, this was because it was built at the time of Sarkin Zazzau Usmanu Yero who ruled within that period according to Sarkin Gubuci.
[91] Said by Sarkin Gimi Tasha, According to same tradition, the history of Durum was traced as far back as Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) that is talking about 1400 years ago. This could not be testified until the settlement is excavated by archaeologists, being that there are a lot of archaeological site and artifacts to be explore and assessed.

Sansanya, Waga and Malami. There is also Dantamage hill at the outskirts of the town.

7. Durum

The history of Old Durum is said to have dated back as far as a millennium or even a little more than that.[92] It is agreed to be the oldest settlement in and around the area. This was due to lots of archaeological sites and antiquities discovered in the area; particularly, the fortification wall of the town which is different to even those found in the ancient Hausa states. Particularly that the fortification wall of the town which was made up of *marmara* instead of usual mud found in all towns even at the ancient states of Hausa.

The settlement of new Durum (*Sabuwar Durum/Sabon garin Durum*) has traced its history to old Durum (*Tsohuwar Durum*). The original settlers of (*Sabuwar Durum*) were *Maguzawa* from the old Durum. Thereafter, the Fulani arrived in the area mainly from the Sokoto jihad of 1804.[93] Another evidence to attest to the long standing history of the settlement is the *Garun Amina*, a fortification believed to have been built by the famous Queen of Zazzau Amina herself (1509 to 1536)[94]

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[92] Op cit, Sarkin Durum Alhaji Mu'azu.
[93] According to the tradition of Queen Amina, when ever she defeats a settlement in a battle, she build a fortification wall (Ganuwa) round the area.
[94] In an interview with Ibrahim Galadima.

after she had conquered the community.[95] The culture of the people of the area is traceable back to that of the *Tsohuwar Durum*. Although a precise date could not be fixed for the establishment of *Sabon garin Durum* yet, since, *Anguwan Makau*, another settlement beside *Sabon garin Durum* was believed to have been established by Sarkin Zazzau Makau who ruled between 1806 to 1808, when *Sabuwar Durum* was in existence for almost a century, it can be said with considerable certainty that *Sabuwar Durum* was in existence for over three centuries.

The early settlers were known for agriculture as that was their chief occupation. Besides, farming (*Noma*), there was hunting (*farauta*), which was another occupation which the people of the area were renowned for. They went far and near to hunt in especially the places where the establishment of Kudan town was connected to *Sabon garin Durum* hunters more than two centuries ago.[96]

It was said that Kubanni river of Zaria got its name from a one time king of Durum who was on a journey. The ruler was said to have gone to Zaria to visit the then king. On reaching the river, he remembered that he had forgotten his pipe *lofe* at home. Since he had a very large group of people which extended from Durum to Zaria, he

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[95] Sarkin Durum Alhaji Mu'azu and Ibrahim Galadima, This could sound like a folktale but it is a tradition believed to be true in Durum.
[96] Ibid, Sarkin Durum Mu'azu

asked his people *ku bani* meaning to 'give it to me'. That was how the (*lofe*) was picked and handed to him in Zaria.[97] From then the river began to be called *Bani River* (*kogin Kubanni*).[98]

There are rivers and streams in the area which the people used for various purposes like irrigation and fishing. Among the rivers are the Kusfa River, Kararar Kusfa River and the Daniniya River. Besides the rivers, this area is equally blessed with hills, notable among which is the Tsauni hill, about which it was said that whoever step on, will forget his way back home due to the ancestral charm (*kafi*) stored on the hill.

8. Meyere

Meyere is one of the settlements which were established by the Fulani only. These Fulani originated from different places and all converged in the area in different times after the Sokoto jihad of 1804.[99] This conglomeration of Fulani stocks were *Sullubawa* from Sakkwato, *Fulani* from Ruwan dorawa in Katsina and others from Kano who came through Makarfi. Although Meyere was established after the jihad, it has a fortification wall, which was said to have been built immediately the settlement was established. The wall was built mainly not for the

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[97] Kubanni is one of the Famous Rivers in Zaria.
[98] In an interview with Sarkin Meyere Alhaji Jafaru Abubakar and Alhaji Sani Abubakar Sarkin Sabon Garin Meyere, Meyere was caved out from Kunkumi in Ikara.
[99] Ibid, Alhaji Sani Abubakar Sarkin Sabon Garin Meyere

protection from the *Fulani* jihad, but for the other powerful neighbouring communities like Gimi, Durum and others around it. Besides this unwholesome war relationship, this settlement relate with the others in cultures, economy and even politics especially as the ruling house of Meyere was related to the rulers of Makarfi. There was also blood relationship with some of these settlements because almost all of them contained *Fulani* stocks.[100] It was confirmed that the people of this area were suppliers of food crops to Zaria city.[101]

The traditional religion was the religion of the people of the area before the consolidation of Islam. This was with element of Islamic religion. Later all the people embraced Islam.[102]

The people of Meyere have a lot of occupations as the means of their livelihood, among these occupations were dying *(Rini)*, tanning (*Jima*), farming (*Noma*), smithing (*Kira*), weaving (*Saka*) among many others. They have equally rare livestock around the area.

Meyere area was blessed with many rivers and streams which include the Gulbi stream (*Rafin Gulbi*) and the Kwakwa pond (*Tafkin Kwakwa*). There are also many hills like Kusfan Mallam Nayaya hill (*Tsaunin kusfan Mallam Nayaya*).

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[100] Ibid
[101] Ibid, Sarkin Meyere Alhaji Jafaru Abubakar and Sarkin Sabon Garin Meyere Alhaji Sani Abubakar
[102] Sarkin Gangara, Alhaji Abubakar Muhammadu Zaidu,

9. Gangara

Gangara was a settlement established by the Fulani group who were believed to have migrated into the area from Katsina, Gombe and Zaria about three hundred years ago.[103] The original settlers to the area were said to be scholars, nomads and farmers who have practised no religion but Islam, since their arrival into the area.[104] The place has a fortification wall built by the early settlers of the area. After sometime, some traditional religious adherents, the *Non-Muslim Hausa,* joined the Fulani in the area. The *Non-Muslim Hausa* had established their own quarters or wards at the outskirts of the already established settlement of Gangara.[105]

The nature of the terrain was the reason why these Fulani nomads from various areas converged into the area, and the *Hausawa* agriculturists join them eventually. The relationship of this place with other places around was cordial in all ramifications in spite of all the differences among them. This area related cordially with the Zazzau Emirate. The people of this area participated in the force labour (*Gandu*) at Zaria,[106] during the time of Sarkin Zazzau Lawal Kwasau and Sarki Alu Dan Sidi.

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[103] Ibid
[104] Ibid
[105] Op cit, Mallam Musa Dan guzuri
[106] Ibid

This place was blessed with two major streams: the Karara and the 'Yar Zara streams, both of which benefited the dwellers of the area immensely. There is a hill called Daudau at the southern part of the area. It was a hill which if anybody stepped on he will be in a state of confusion (*Makuwa*).[107] Gangara had some wards under its tutelage by 1902 some of them are Mahangi, Gana, Kadabo, Makaurata, Dadin Kowa and Kusuntawa.

10. Dan Guzuri

This settlement was established about two hundred years ago by a trader of *Kanuri* origin called Guzuri who was from Borno. Islam was the only religion at the settlement. Dan Guzuri mosque was the only mosque around, and it was attended by the villagers around. The Fulani later settled in the area with their cattle. Dan Guzuri settlement happened to become a kind of resting point (*Zango*) for the caravans from Borno. It was also said to have had fortification walls immediately it was established.[108]

The settlement produced a lot of warriors who contributed immensely to the protection of the area and even beyond. Some of them were Barwa Dan Ali who was said to have been the greatest warrior

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[107] Ibid
[108] Ibid

east of Zazzau.[109] This settlement was said to have four silk cotton trees (*rimaye*), one at each corner of the settlement where spirits (*iskoki*) were believed to live protecting the settlement from their enemy.[110] These spirits were also said to have had a cordial relation with the people.

This place has no hill, forest or stream, but it has fadama which was marshy and was rich black soil, good for the production of sugarcane and vegetables. The people of Dan Guzuri are great farmers who produce groundnuts, cotton, millet, sweet potatoes, cassava and jute, among others. Under Dan Guzuri settlement, there are other hamlets which include; Sabon Gari, Anguwan Makera and Dan Bakwa which later rose to the status of villages.[111]

11. Soko

Soko was founded by Isuhu (Yusuf) who, was popularly known as 'Soko'. He was a caravan falke who came from Kofa in Kano and was of Fulani origin. After he settled in the area, Soko brought his relatives among who are his brothers Garba, Abdulwahab and Idi Gaga, and his son Korau. There were also Mallam Inuwa and Mallam Madi Lawal who

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[109] Ibid
[110] Sarkin Soko, Alhajj Ayuba Adamu
[111] Ibid.

were his cousins.[112] All these occurred about one hundred and twenty years ago.[113] Islam is one and only religion in the area.[114]

Soko had never had any fortification wall, but when ever there was any trouble they ran to Gimi for refuge.[115] Soko settlement was under Gimi where it served as a village under Sarkin Gimi right from its inception.

The people of this area were traders, farmers, weavers and dyers among other occupations. They took their products to Fulatan market later to Makarfi market.[116] Soko has no river, stream or forest. But it has hills, some of which are the Soko hill, Munkaila hill and Katukawa hill.

12. Rahaman Wali

This settlement is a conglomeration of *Fulani* people from different areas like Kano, Zaria, Katsina and Bauchi, all of whom were there as pastoralists. There were also *Kanuri* from Borno (*Kambari*) area and *Hausawa, Agalawa, Tokarawa* from Kano the last two being there as a result of trade.

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[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid, Sarkin Rahaman Wali Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu
[116] Ibid

Rahaman Wali was established about two hundred and fifty years ago by Wali who was an aristocrat from Zazzau. He was said to have settled at Kauran Wali but later fled to the area due to the prostration he had suffered in the hands of the *Habe* (*Hausawa*) he met there. When he reached Rahaman Wali, he also met the Fulani who accepted him. There he was reported to have said "*ga rahamata*!" meaning "This is my heaven!" The place before his arrival was called '*Dajin Dan Gambo*'. It was named after a hunter Dan Gambo who was the first person to settle in the area.

From the time Wali went into Dajin Dan Gambo with his people the name of the area was changed to Rahaman Wali.[117] Dikko Dan Mallam Buhari, another Fulani from Katsina, heads another group of Fulani, and was the person who was said to have build walls round the area about one hundred and fifty years ago. He happened to be the first ruler of the area. He ruled during the time of Galadima Tukur of Zazzau, the first district Head of Makarfi. Before Dikko, some people had overseen the affairs of the settlement as the head of Fulani (*Sarkin Fulani*); some of these people were Sarkin Fulani Tukur and Sarkin

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[117] Interview with Sani Goma Sarkin Fada Rahaman Wali

Fulani Bula.[118] From the time of the reign of Dikko, the title of the rulers changed to *'Rahama'* from *'Sarkin Fulani'*.

There are two ruling houses in the area which are the *Fulani* and *Barebari* Houses. The chronology of rulers of this town is as follows:

First ruler- Sarkin Fulani Tukur

Second ruler - Sarkin Fulani Bula

Third ruler - Rahama Dikko Dan Mallam Buhari (who died 107 years ago)

Fourth ruler - Rahama Lawal (ruled for 25 years on throne)

Fifth ruler - Rahama Sambo (ruled for 4 years on throne)

Sixth ruler - Rahama Fate (ruled for 25 years on throne)

Seventh ruler - Rahama Attahiru (ruled for 15 years on throne)

Eighth ruler - Rahama Aliyu Dikko (ruled for 34 years on throne)

Ninth ruler - Rahama Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu (ruled for 3 years on throne)

The people of Rahaman Wali have took grain (*Hatsi*), forked end wood (*gwafa*) and large rectangular mat used for fencing and roofing (*zana*) to Zaria city most especially, during the time of Sarki Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau and Sarki Alu Dan Sidi of Zaria.[119] They also participated in the clearing of bush (*saran sotal*) to fight against

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[118] Interview with Sarkin Rahaman Wali Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu, Abdullahi Aliyu Sakatare and Sarkin Fada Goma
[119] Ibid

mosquitoes[120] during the early arrival of the British. The people of the area are *Fulani, Hausa* and *Non-Muslim Hausa* who practise both the Islamic religion and traditional religion that came late into the area. All of them had inter-related cordially with one another in trade, inter-marriages, labour and traditions.

The chief occupations of the people of this area were farming, trade and domestic animals keeping. They produced crops like guinea corn, millet, sugarcane which they used in making brown sugar (*mazarkwaila*). This was in addition to keeping domestic animals like cattle, goats and chickens.

There are hills like *Tsaunin mai kwabo, Tsaunin hayin Madaki, and Tsaunin fashi* and *Tsaunin ala* in this area. There are also streams like the *Rafin kade, Rafin Malmo, Rafin dan kudumi, Rafin kwatafa, Rafin lambuna, Rafin Alu, Rafin Sa'idu, Rafin baturiya, Rafin baki* and *Rafin mai gurguwa*. There is only a forest in this area which is *Dajin Durum*.

Among the ceremonies celebrated at Rahaman Wali are both the Islamic religious and the traditional being an area with all religious and traditional followers. They also celebrate annual youth cultural

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[120] Interview with Sarkin Ruma Alhaji Aliyu Shafi'u and Alhaji Aminu

celebration (*Kalankuwa*) where they spent three to seven days on celebration annually.

13. Ruma

Ruma people are said to have come from the Ruma area of Katsina emirate more than four centuries ago. They are Fulani people who were the first people to arrive into this area. Later, *Non-Muslim Hausa* came to the area.[121] The Fulani are cattle rearers while the *Non-Muslim Hausa* are farmers and both the Fulani and *Non-Muslim Hausa* practise trade and related with one another peacefully.

Ruma was fortified with a wall which was said to have been constructed almost a century before the coming of Clapperton to the area in 1824.[122] Ruma people were said to have suffered a lot of raids from the hands of Fulani of Kano, Zazzau and Katsina. They however related with their neighbours within Makarfi area in many ways which includes inter-marriages, trade, commerce and wars.

The administration of this area is achieved by selection and there are two renowned ruling houses in Ruma; these are the house of

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[121] See Clapperton, Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa: Birth of Benin to Soccato, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, London, 1966, p. 45
[122] Interview with Alhaji Adamu Aliyu

Kodago and the house of Umaru both of whom have produced many rulers.

The chief occupations of the area are farming (*Noma*), cattle rearing (*kiwo*), trade and commerce (*ciniki* da *kasuwanci*). The people of Ruma are also practice some minor occupations like blacksmithing (*kira*), building (*gini*), among others.

There is no forest in this area neither is there any hill. However, Ruma is blessed with enormous number of streams which include Sakatubala stream, Babban Ruwa stream and Kale stream.

14. Kwatakware

The people who open up the Kwatakware area over three hundred years ago were *Barebari* who were later joined by *Mallawa,* who have came from Kwarbai in Zaria city. Baba *mai kwana da garma* and Zubairu are all Barebari are among the initial people to settle in this area. Later *Mallawa* brought their slaves to farm under Muhammadu baran gata. The slaves brought to the area must always be one hundred in number and any short of that must be replaced from Zaria city.[123] Muhammadu baran-gata was also a hunter who hunted in all the forest around and beyond. When slaves were freed eventually, a substantial

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[123] Ibid

number of them were accepted by the community; they settled in the community while the rest who were able to trace their original societies returned to their people.

The fortification wall of Kwatakware was built over two hundred years ago. It has also become a trade centre for the people of Richifa and Gubuci and even those traders from Zaria city. From the time of Sarki Alu Dan Sidi of Zazzau, Madaki Sa'idu use to come and visit the area from Magajiya in Zaria city every year. He always stayed at the house of Waziri Uni for some days before going back to Zaria.[124]

The administration of this area is by selection where the following rulers were recorded:

Muhammadu – first ruler

Ibrahim – second ruler

Muhammadu – third ruler

Adamu Ibrahim – fourth ruler

Jafaru Adamu – fifth ruler

The chief occupation of Kwatakware people are farming, trading and pastoralism. The farm produce of this area are guinea corn, millet and sugarcane. The area has a renowned drummer, Najale jikan Lemu. He is a great ritualist that is well known for his drumming in as far as

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[124] Op cit, Alhaji Musa Goma

Richifa, Gubuci and Likoro. The people of the area used to go as far as Magada and Kubuwa and also Ramin Kira forest for hunting (*farauta*). There is only one hill called the hill of Mama in the area. While the available streams in this area are Rafin Goma and Rafin Aga. The religions practised in this settlement are Islam and *Maguzanci* which is the traditional religion.

15. Dan Damisa

The original name for this place is Yalwa; this is due to the abundance of resources in the area (*yalwan abubuwa*). It was later renamed Dan Damisa which is due to a Tiger (*Damisa*) that camped beside the only pond that is near a rock (*falalen dutse*); the people of the area used to fetch their water for domestic uses. There are many snakes at the pond which are always put in big earthenware basin (*Kwatarniyoyi* pl. *Kwatarniya*) when ever the people are going to clear the pond.[125]

The initial settlers of to area were Fulani who came into it about three hundred and fifty years ago; among the first settlers were Jalo. Mallam Kako, a brother to Sarkin Yaki the ruler of Taban Sani, came to Yalwa Kako, who also came to Yalwa (later Dan Damisa) from Taban

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[125] Ibid.

Sani when Sarkin Yaki was ruling Taban Sani at the time of Sarkin Zazzau Muhammadu Sani. Sarkin Yaki praised Dan Damisa as Dan '*Damisa garin Mai Kako*!' being that when ever he asked for Mai Kako his brother, he used to be told that he went to Dan Damisa.[126] Some slaves who were freed were settled in the area and some of them returned to their people. Among the freed slaves that settled was a renowned one called Cushen wake.[127]

The fortification wall (*ganuwa*) of this area was built before the administration of Sarkin Zazzau Muhammadu Sani. One teenage girl (*budurwa*) died on the day the construction began and there was a superstition in the area that the rulers of the area gave her for the building to stand.[128] The religion of the people of this settlement is Islam. And there are many Islamic scholars in the area who contributed immensely to the development of this community.

Administration in this area was initially by selection where the rulers were selected to rule; later, it became by inheritance.[129] Dan Damisa had eight rulers and the ninth is the one on the throne. The title of the ruler of Dan Damisa is 'Magaji'. The rulers are:

Magaji Haruna – First ruler

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[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid

Magaji Gambo – Second ruler

Magaji Karmatsi – Third ruler

Magaji Damina – Fourth ruler

Magaji Bakin Turmi – Fifth ruler

Magaji Falalu – Sixth ruler (48 years on the throne)

Magaji Audu - seventh ruler (9 years on the throne)

Magaji Sama'ila - Eighth ruler (46 years on the throne)

Magaji Hudu - Ninth ruler (17 years on the throne)

This area had a direct relationship with Zaria city and related positively with all the neighbouring settlements like Kwatakware, Likoro and others. The people of the area have participated in force labour (*Gandu*) where they carried grain (*Hatsi*), forked end wood (*gwafa*) and large rectangular mats used for fencing and roofing (*zana*) to Zaria city from Dan Damisa.[130]

The economic base of Dan Damisa are farming and trading. They also keep domestic animals like goats, sheep, cattle and chickens. This area has only one hill which is *Tsaunin mai Gaga*, and the only forest in the area is *Dajin mai Bado*. Among the streams of this area are *mai dutse, kudumi, mai bado, mai gimi, and mai albashi* and *mai farau-farau*.

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[130] Ibid

16. Nasarawan Doya

The original people of Nasarawan Doya descended from the Fulani who held from Getso in the western part of Kano emirate. They left Getso about two hundred years ago and passed through Kurami in southern part of Katsina emirate into the area under the leadership of Sulaiman.[131] He was the father of Muhammadu the grand father of the present Sarki of the community. At present, the rulers of Nasarawan Doya relate closely with the rulers of Kurami that both of them held from the same origin.

The original people are said to be nomads who practised farming in addition to their pastoralism. They produced crops like sugarcane, guinea corn and millet. They also participated in some trade around Yoruba land (*Kurmi*).[132] This is in addition to Islamic scholarship.

There is praise-epithet *kirari* known to this area as '*Nasarawan Doya ta ari mai rimaye!*' which means 'Nasarawan Doya garden of silk cotton!'.[133] Ari the person that was related to this area was one of the renowned persons among the founders of the settlement. The place was well known of silk cotton trees.

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[131] Sarkin Nasarawan Doya Alhaji Isah Sulaiman.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.

There was a fortification wall (*ganuwa*) which was said to have been built about two hundred years ago.[134] There are streams like *Galma, Baki, Kudumi* and *Rafin auduga* as well as hills like *Dutsen Kura* which was so named because of the hyenas (*kuraye)* living on it. *Dajin Oda* was the only forest in the area.

Islam was the only religion practised in this area, although there were some *Non-Muslim Hausa* at the outskirts of the settlement. Both the two groups lived peacefully with one another and related mainly in trade.

Initially, the name of the settlement was *'Nasarawa'* but due to the amount of Yam *Doya* they produced as from the beginning of the 20th century, 'Doya' is added to 'Nasarawa' to become 'Nasarawan Doya.' The people of Nasarawan Doya chose their rulers through selection by the council. There was only one recorded incident of contest when Muhammadu Bello Kilishi, the fifth ruler, was elected.[135] The title they used for their rulers is '*Sarkin Fulani'*. This community had seven rulers so far which are;

Sulaiman – First Ruler

Muhammadu – Second Ruler

Sulaiman – Third Ruler

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[134] Sarkin Nasarawan Doya, Alhaji Isah Sulaiman.

[135] Ibid.

Sulaiman Muhammad – Fourth Ruler

Muhammadu Bello Kilishi – Fifth Ruler

Dalhatu Kadade Sulaiman – Sixth Ruler.

Isah Sulaiman – Seventh Ruler.

At a certain time Nasarawan Doya ruled over Kwatakware and Dan Damisa, while the latter has never been ruled by any people,[136] but the Zazzau emirate directly. The people of Nasarawan Doya participated in the *Gandu* work where they took grain (*Hatsi*), forked end wood (*gwafa*) and large rectangular mat used for fencing and roofing (*zana*) to Zaria [137] at a certain time before the coming of the Europeans.

17. Makarfi town

It was on record that the present Makarfi was carved out of three old major settlements in the area, namely Gazara, Ruma and Dan Guzuri.[138] They were established it and continuously protected it by most especially by Gazara, this was because the early dwellers of the area came from the three tows.[139] It is clear that lots of references on some of these old major settlements were made in the accounts of

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[136] Ibid.
[137] Op cit, Hakimin Gazara and Sarkin Giwaye Alhaji Sunusi Danyaro Sulaiman
[138] *Ibid.*
[139] Ibid.

travellers[140] and studies[141] in their early years, but Makarfi was not precisely mentioned. One significant issue to note is the fact that, the ruling house of Makarfi was from Meyere and the house of Imam (*Liman*) of Makarfi was from Gazara. This signifies that the alien effect is still felt in the community.

The tradition further states that the people of these three areas Gazara, Ruma and Dan Guzuri have been established in the area which later became Makarfi, as they turned the area into a place of joint ownership which they referred to as *'Makarfafa,'* meaning 'strengthening point' for their commercial and cultural activities.[142] The area was situated on the trade route of Kano to Zazzau. This place has also served as a resting place (*Zango*) where the caravans stayed to rest, buy, sell and fetch water for their onward journey.

Makarho plant was said to have been cleared in the area to site this settlement.[143] This was said to have been done by the people of these three old major settlements, Gazara, Ruma and Dan Guzuri. Some people from these areas settled first in the area and were later be joined by some settlers among whom are the caravans and travellers

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[140] Op cit,Clapperton, H., pp.161-163.
[141] Op cit Smith, M. G
[142] Op cit, Hakimin Gazara et-al, as confirmed by Sarkin Makarfi Kabiru Abdullahi
[143] Op cit, District Head of Gazara and Salaha Garba

from Sokoto and Kano[144] as well as some from other settlements around the area. They were all attracted by the commercial potentials, the soil and fadama nature of the area, and the availability of water. The fortification wall was built by the people of these three old major towns.[145]

It was probably the early dwellers of this area that were met by Sarkin Zazzau Mallam Abdulkarim (1834 to 1846) who, after being impressed by the developments in the area, uttered, *'Ku tashi da karfin Allah'* meaning 'May you rise with God's power'.[146]

The name *'Makarfi'* given to this area is either centred around these three issues, found from the *Makarho* plant[147] said to have been cleared in the area, or the name was derived from the *Makarfafa* word which was by the people of the three Old major settlements. It is also possible that the name was derived from the saying of Sarkin Zazzau Mallam Abdulkarim which was `*ku tashi da karfin Allah*`.

From the forgoing, either the first version or the second is likely to be the reason for the name of this area 'Makarfi'. The third version only complements the former, as Sarkin Zazzau Mallam Abdulkarim ruled

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[144] Sarkin Giwaye Alhaji Sunusi Danyaro Suleiman.
[145] Clapperton, Op cit p. 163
[146] Op cit, Hakimin Gazara
[147] Makarho plant was mentioned among the plants found in the northern part of Zaria as documented in the British collections in NAK/ZAPFROP/*1522*.

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from 1834 to 1846, and visited the place after the settlement had been fully established.[148]

From the time when Makarfi settlement became a district under the Zazzau Emirate, District Heads were sent to the area from the Emirate council in Zaria. These included:

First- Galadiman Zazzau

Second- Sarkin Ruwan Zazzau

Third- Dan Madami Zazzau

Fourth- Sarkin Fadan Zazzau

Fifth- Walin Zazzau

Sixth- Madakin Zazzau

Seventh- Fagacin Zazzau

Eighth- Wan 'yan Zazzau Adamu

Ninth- Wan 'yan Zazzau Abdulkadir

Tenth- Sarkin Yakin Zazzau Yahaya Fate

Eleventh- Sarkin Yakin Zazzau Balarabe Yahaya Fate

Twelfth - Dan Madamin Zazzau Sulaiman Abdulkadir[149]

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[148] The version of Sarkin Zazzau Mallam Abdulkarim's visitation to the area can not necessary be true as, there was no any evident or piece of information to complement that. He rule from about 1834 to 1846, while the settlement was believed to have came to existence in the second half of the 19th century.

[149] Sarkin Dawa Jatau as confirmed by the Secretary to the District Head of Makarfi Sulaiman Badamasi

Considering that this place has been a trading centre situated along the trade route, available information states that, the three have benefitted immensely from the trade in the area upon its establishment. There was also some kind of relationship and cooperation among the three settlements, a situation that made them to unite and established the Makarfi settlement. Makarfi assumed the leadership of the area possibly because of the commercial activities that flourished in the area which made it to become the economic nerve centre by about 1860. That was the beginning of the famous Makarfi market in the area.

Gradually, socio-cultural activities picked up in the area which has in addition attracted more people into the place. Some of these people included the traders, nomads, scholars, among others. By about 1888, Sarkin Zazzau Usman Yero (1888-1897) transferred the District Head from Gubuci to Makarfi because of the need to protect the Makarfi market from crimes perpetuated by the aliens since the place was a border commercial settlement.[150] All these further attest to how significant Makarfi was economically to the Emirate of Zazzau, especially in the second half of the 19th century.

Worthy of note here is that most if not all, of these established towns in the area have long history of establishment. They were mostly

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[150] *Ibid Sarkin Gubuci Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isah II*

fortified with walls.[151] They were said to be independent up to late second quarter of the 19th century. Some of them like Gimi and Ruma became vassals under Zazzau Emirate after the jihad and Smith, M. G. added with Durum.[152] Clapperton testifies to the standing of the walls in some towns around 1824, when he says:

> *Saturday 15th July (1824), At 4.30 P. M, Arrived and halted at atown called Roma (Ruma)....whose walls are extensive ...*[153]

Walls apart from portraying the history of the settlement it also signifies the strengths and might of that settlement. The people of that settlement were in addition having all their economic, social and political activities within the span of that wall. It equally served as security to the settlement.

2.3 FACTORS THAT ATTRACTED PEOPLE INTO THE AREA

It was made known earlier in this chapter that, the people of this area were migrants who came into the place from various places within the Hausa land. Their movements into the area were motivated by then,

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[151] These fortification walls can still be seen in most of these towns. It should be noted that, most of these walls are more than two hundred years old according to Sarkin Gazara Alhaji Muhammadu Mutawakkilu Hassan.

[152] According to Oyedele, E., *'Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960'*, PhD Thesis ABU, Zaria, 1987, P.85 as confirmed by Smith, M. G., in *'Government in Zazzau,'* Oxford University Press, London, 1960.

[153] Op cit, Clapperton, H., p.162

in search for what were lacking in their former places of residence. Between the times when the people began to dwell in the area to around 1792, many people trooped into the area. They were attracted by factors like the climatic condition of the area, the environmental condition, the culture, religion as well as the trade and commerce in the area. Each an every one of these factors, have contributed immensely to the convergence of people in this area.

For many centuries, Makarfi, like all other areas, attracted people into it from the Hausa states particularly Zazzau, Katsina and Kano for residence. This intrusion took many centuries and was orchestrated by several factors, among which is the shortage of agricultural land that forced people to look for it elsewhere.[154] It was increase in population which could have accounted for why the shortage of both farming and pastoralist activities were on the increase. Another factor was the relative socio-political peace enjoyed in the area in comparison to some other areas. This made people to leave where they were and moved to the area. The climatic condition of the area is another factor being that the climatic condition was moderate compared to how they were in other

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[154] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

areas as such, many people left where they were in search of all these. They all found Makarfi area to be the best for human dwelling.[155]

The climatic condition of this area is the type that was very friendly to human habitat. The rainfall, the temperature, the wind and the sunshine[156] have contributed positively to the lives of this in-coming people. It has been supportive of the principal occupation of the *Hausa* people farming; with virtually all the crops found at the tropical climate world been produced in the area.[157] Not only human enjoyed this type of climatic condition, animals also did, and this was one of the reasons why both domestic animals and various wild animals were found in abundance in Makarfi area.[158]

Environmental factors played a vital role in attracting people into the area. Although about sixty percent of the area is laterite soil (*jar kasa*), the soil of Makarfi is rich in nutrient and this is why it was highly productive[159] particularly for the early settlers as, one of whose frontline motive of settling there was food production.[160] This productive soil served as catalyst in drawing people into the area, especially in the light of the fact that, the first among human needs is food.[161]

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[155] Refer to Chapter one for the vivid explanation on the Climatic condition of Makarfi area.
[156] Lovejoy, P. *The Caravan of Kola,* Op cit also Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci.
[157] Sarkin Baka Talle.
[158] An explanation on the soil of Makarfi area was clearly been given in Chapter one
[159] Op cit Sarkin Gazara Alhaji Muhammadu Mutawakkilu Hassan
[160] Op cit Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[161] Ibid.

Other environmental factors are the vegetation, availability of rivers and stream. They also played a significant role in attracting people into Makarfi. The rest of the factors which assisted in attracting people into this area include the flora and fauna of the area. It was the flora that generated the fauna of the area.

As already stated in chapter one, the flora of Makarfi area is typical savannah vegetation which is the type obtainable in the Northern part of this Country.[162] It is characterised by scattered trees of moderate sizes and heights, short grass and shrubs and, generally seasonal plants that only grow in the rainy season and dried up in the dry season.[163] The fauna is equally the savannah type, with both the wild and domestic animals[164] of different types obtainable in the area.

In this area, culture and religion are generally practice together because one cannot separate the cultures and religions of the *Hausa Muslims* and the *Fulani* groups. As we shall see in the next Chapter, the two cultures and religion were practised by the people of this area hand-in-hand.

Culture and religion, especially as regards the *Non-Muslim Hausa,* played a significant role in attracting people from other parts of Hausa land. They came for the worship (*bauta)* and other cultural activities.

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[162] Ilcoje, I., '*New Geography of Nigeria*', Longman, Lagos, 1980 p. 10
[163] Details of the flora could be found in Chapter One.
[164] See Fauna sub-section in Chapter One.

They either come monthly or once in six months, or even once in every year.[165] Many of these worshippers (*Masu bauta* sing. *mai bauta*) and non-Muslims (*Masu raya al'ada sing. mai raya al'ada*) eventually settled in the area, thereby increasing the number of people there. The *Fulani* cultures have immensely contributed in drawing their kinsmen from far and near into the areas to settle.

Even though by 1792 the trading activities (*kasuwanci*) were only taking place at the local level (thereby not being effective in this area), the area was known for being the trade route of caravans from the Northern and Eastern parts of Northern Nigeria, who were passing through Zazzau kingdom. Apart from the old towns markets of which, some of the caravans visited for buying and selling in the course of their journey, there was also market formed at the Makarfi site. This site was later to be developed to a settlement as a result of the trading activities which were taking place there. This development was courtesy of Gazara, Ruma and Dan Guzuri people.[166] This initiative resulted in laying the basis for the formation of the famous Makarfi market (*Kasuwar Makarfi*), that was to served as the catalyst for the settlement of large sum of people who were traders (*Fatake* sing. *falke*) from all

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[165] Op cit, Hakimin Gazara and Sarkin Giwaye, Salaha Garba and Mallam Magaji Makarfi

[166] Some of which are walled town that denotes their long time existence and coherence administratively, socially and economically.

over the Hausa land and even beyond especially, the Nupe, Kanuri and Tauregs people.

These factors have attracted the people and continued to facilitate the in-coming of people into the area. The area had most if not all of what they were looking for. The influx of people from all over the Hausa land only to settle initially, but later continued to develop the area after 1792.

With all the span of time, the *Hausawa* took this area and the similarity in cultures and traditions irrespective of where ever they cone from, they still maintain their identity of *Kanawa* for those who came from Kano, *Katsinawa* for those from Katsina and, that of *Zage*-zagi for those from Zazzau. Even the *Hausawa* from Durum have their different identity that potrayed where they came from.

2.4 OTHER NEIGHBOURING SETTLEMENTS

Makarfi area was a neighbourhood to many settlements surrounding it. They were established either before or after the establishment of the settlements within Makarfi area. Some of these settlements were later brought under the tutelage of old settlements in Makarfi area, while the rest of them remained autonomous. These neihgbouing settlements related well with the settlements in Makarfi

area. They were made up of *Hausawa* and *Fulani* groups who equally migrated into their areas at different times.

From the evolution of settlements in this area to the period 1792, the fewer settlements only known to have been in existence in the area as Makarfi settlements were Gazara, Gimi, Ruma and Durum. These early settlements had other settlements like Kusallo, Hunkuyi, Sakadadi, Shika, Likoro, Fulatan, Auchan, Paki, Basawa, Dan Bami, Taban Sani and some others surrounding them. They were neighbours who were autonomous. All of them were walled town which shows that their existence at that period was independent of some old major towns in Makarfi area.

Lots of traditions have confirmed the relationship that existed between them and the Makarfi area for many centuries. This relationship is political, economical and cultural. Some of these independent towns were eventually brought into Makarfi area with the coming of the British.

By 1916, British confirmed that some of these towns and villages were still under the then Makarfi District, which was to be with the advent of Colonization.. These towns and villages are: Basawa, Dan Bami, Dan Dako, Hunkuyi, Sakadadi and Taban Sani.[167] This development was based on the historical ties that existed in the area

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[167] *NAK\ZAPROF\378* - 'List of villages under Makarfi District 1916-1931'. See map 2.

The political relation was such that some of these towns and villages neighbouring Makarfi old towns became their vassals some for more than a century before colonization. They had their administrative activities running from Makarfi towns particularly Durum, Gimi, Gazara and Ruma. Some towns have even their rulers installed or deposed from the master towns. And some were subjected to the annual payments of tribute to their Masters in Makarfi area.[168] The tradition states the town of Taban Sani to have been under Ruma, though not for a long period.[169]

Beside this, there was blood relationship sometimes, between the rulers of the Master towns from Makarfi area and those of the neighbouring towns. Some members from the towns either broke out peacefully or due to royal conflicts from the Master towns, to establish new ruling houses in the neighbouring towns.

Trade relation was paramount in the economic ties between Makarfi towns and their neighbours. This was because there were exchanges of goods and services between them where they attended the markets of each other for buying and selling and provision of services. The people of the two areas sometimes formed trading groups

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[168] Op cit, Mallam Hamza Godai as was confirmed by Ardo Balele.
[169] Ibid.

to attend other markets outside their areas (*fatauci*).[170] In all the two areas, farming (*Noma*) was the chief occupation, followed by animal husbandry (*kiwo*), trade (*kasuwanci*) and crafting (*sana'an hannu*). There were conflicts between the towns and villages of Makarfi area and their neighbours from time to time. These conflicts were triggered mostly by the quest for economic viability, which were on trade, farmlands or grazing pastures, among others.[171]

Socio-cultural relationships were also established between them, these were in the light of the fact that the two were of the same stock of *Hausawa* or the *Fulani*. For the *Hausawa* Muslim and non-Muslims, in their languages, cultures, norms and values were very significant to their coexistence. They related to each other in religion where the pattern, places and periods of worship became similar. In fact:

> *virtually, all the Maguzawa people In and around this area performed the same mode of worship which was at generally the same place (at home, hills, forests or near the rivers)and worship the same thing. That is our system of life.*[172]

The same thing is applicable to the Fulani stock where ever they reside, whether at Makarfi area or in the neighbouring towns and villages. They relates to their kinsmen socio-culturally.

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[170] For details on the economy of Makarfi and neighboring settlements, see interviews with Mallam - in transcription of Lovejoy Tapes.
[171] Op cit, Lovejoy, P., p. 153.
[172] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

The languages spoken were *Hausa* and *Fulani (Fulfulde) were*, they were used in both the two areas. This similarity continued to tie up the existing relationship between them. It was in line with what was the case with the ancient Hausa states where language and culture became one of the knots that tied up the communities in all their stages of development.[173]

From the above, we got to know that the towns of Makarfi area and their neighbouring towns and villages have the ties in social, political and economic aspects which made them to continue to live from their inception to 1792, and even beyond.

2.5 CONCLUSION

One great thing which occurred to this area was the migration of the same stock of people, the *Hausawa,* from Durum and all over the ancient Hausa states into the Makarfi area although at different phases. The migrants were the people who constituted the same cultures and tradition, and who transferred these norms into their new place of settlement. These sets of people opened up the area and played host (as we shall see in the next chapter) to other sets of people who are the *Fulani* stock and others who eventually joined them in the area.

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[173] Crowder, M., *Nigeria in History*, Longman, Ibadan, 1968, pp 115-120.

While acknowledging the part played by other factors in settling the early settlers in the area, we however emphasised the role played by migration which was to our finding, the sole factor for the evolution settlements as well as the subsequent development of the area. And the factors that motivated the migrations of people into this area were political, social, economic and environmental as well as, the relationship among the migrants have been examined in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN MAKARFI AREA BEFORE THE SOKOTO JIHAD

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Makarfi area was independent for a along time before the 19th century. This was with propounding socio-political and socio-economic lifestyle which was built upon the cultures and traditions of the people of the area. It was made up of two main groups, the *Hausawa* and *Fulani* stocks. It was believed that the area was first occupied by the *Hausawa* group, and then subsequently followed by the *Fulani* group.

The *Hausawa* of this area founded their political kingdoms, one of which was to exist for several centuries. These kingdoms include the old Durum, the oldest settlement in Makarfi area of which, little is known about so far. The early movements of the stock of *Hausawa* from Durum is said to have initiated in form of migration early in the 16th century, before the other batches from the ancient Hausa states followed. This led to the formation of old towns around the area.

As we have said earlier, many of these old towns who have initially migrated into the area were believed to have been established between 1500 to about 1805. These towns include Durum, Gimi, Gazara

and Ruma,[1] which are believed to have originated from the ancient settlement of Old Durum, as well as Zazzau, Katsina and Kano.

Old Durum is the settlement that is said to have stood for more than a millennium.[2] Other towns were belonged to the middle migration settlers and settlements were those towns and villages established from about 1806 to 1860. Some of them include Gangara[3], Makarfi town itself, Meyere, Dan Guzuri, as well as many others which were originated from the Hausa ancient states of Zazzau, Kano and Katsina. Their inhabitants were the people who constituted the *Hausawa Muslims* and the *Non-Muslim Hausa*. They were the people M.G. Smith described them as the few *Non-Muslim Hausa*` settlements of non-Islamic Hausa as `*Maguzawa*` in Northern Zaria.[4] They were during the pre-colonial era been paying tax (*jizya)* to the *Fulani* rulers which are taxes of not being Muslims but living in the Muslim dominated areas.[5]

Before the first quarter of the 19th century, the Fulani did not have any fully established settlement under their control in the area. This was because they were not many, and were scattered within the area by

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[1] See Chapter two for details and map 1 for the nature of the area.
[2] More research on this is still on course by the archaeologists
[3] According to Usman, Y. B., and, Goungara (Gangara) settlement was made mention of by Urvoy in *Histoire de L'Empire du Bornou,*, 1949, p. 55. Where he says, it was situated between Kano, Katsina and Zazzau in the fifteen century. This is according to Usman, Y. B., and Alkali, Nur (Eds), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, 1983, p.179. With this, we could be right to say that Gangara settlement is found to be next to Durum, being that, it seems to be founded before the fifteen century.
[4] Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960, p. 2
[5] Krusuis, P., `*Die Maguzawa*,` In Archiv Fur Anthropologie, NF, Vol. xiv, 1915, p 21

living only where their livestock could get food and water. In other words, they lived a life of animal husbandry, thereby remained pastoralists. Hence, many of them accepted their hosts, the *Habe*, who lived within their settlements, and inter-married with them. They also practised paganism and other customs, such as non-circumcision and most of them gets drunk.[6] In spite of these, they were firm in handling their cattle, and some few Islamic scholars could be found among them. There were those who stocked to their 'social code' of morality (*kawaici*) which they referred to as *fulaku* in their *Fulani* dialect.

By this time, life in Makarfi area was generally based on the cultures and traditions which were guided by the cultural norms and values. The area had, if any, only little contact with the outside world. This was because even the few *Fulani* who were scattered in the area were assimilated by *Hausa* traditions. As such, the level of development in the area was purely local. The only thing they can boost to have had was what they learnt from their ancestors who might have come from either Durum or any of the ancient Hausa states. Generally, therefore, the socio-political and economic life of this area remains traditional till the coming of the Jihadists in the first quarter of the 19th century.

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[6] Abubakar, S., *The Lamibe of Fombina* A.B.U Press, Zaria, 1977, p. 40

3.1 THE POLITICAL SET UP

'Politics' is defined by Angelo S. Rappoport, et al (Eds), as the organization of the people, and the art of influencing public opinion with the view of serving or controlling the state.[7] On the same vein, W. Senteza Kasubi, et al says that, politics is the art of government[8] that is, the different ways in which a government gets its power and authority and the way in which decisions are taken in government are all parts of politics while, the word political is any thing that concerns politics. And, on the same direction, organization is defined as the art of putting some thing into a definite shape.[9]

Following the above explanations by the scholars, we got to realise that political organization is the way of shaping or that shaped the politics of the society which is in accordance with the cultures and traditions of the people of the area.

The political system of *Hausawa* of this area was not different to the tradition that was obtainable in the Pre-Jihad ancient Hausa land.[10] This could be seen in the light of the fact that these towns originated through the people's migration from old Durum and Hausa states with

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[7] Angelo S. Rappoport, et al (Eds), The new Gresham Encyclopedia vol. ix, Gresham publishing company limited, London, 1923, p 104.
[8] W. Senteza Kasubi, et al (Eds), *Oxford African Encyclopedia*, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974 P 405
[9] Ibid, pp 458-459
[10] Op cit, Smith, M. G. *Government in Zazzau*, 1960, Op cit p.97

their ancient political hierarchy. It saw the overall Ruler as *Sarki*, the Prime Minister (*Waziri*), other Ministers (*Masu Sarauta* sing. *Mai Sarauta*), district heads (*Hakimai* sing. *Hakimi*), village heads (*Masu unguwa* sing. *Mai unguwa*), and occupational heads (*Sarakunan Sana'a* sing *Sarkin Sana'a*), all of whom were found in the pre-colonial Hausa land. This was the case with the Old towns in Makarfi area although, it was at the lower level where, only the *Sarki*, the Ministers like the *Ciroma, Madaki, Wali* among others were found. Others were the occupational heads and the Village heads. The organizational structures as well as the duties of these office holders were generally the same with those of the ancient Hausa states.

From around 1779 to about 1806, the old towns of Gimi, Gazara, Ruma and Durum were independent of any external administration. They have their independent political arrangement based on which were a replica of the old Durum[11] and the system of Hausa states. Most of these non-Muslims were living in the scattered compounds they were not found living in one place.

In all these towns, the (*Sarki* pl. *Sarakuna*) was the paramount ruler. He was *Sarkin Arna* and was the spiritual leader of the area who presided over the administrative and religious affairs of his domain.

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[11] According to many traditional rulers in the area

There was no clear distinction between administration and religion, according to the *Hausawa* tradition[12] before the consolidation of Islam.

The traditional rulers, particularly the *Sarki,* were feared, and highly respected in the belief that his (*Sarki*) enthronement was divine since, it was bestowed on him by the *Iskoki.* As such, he exercises his administration unchallenged whether it was dictatorial or not.

Before the consolidation of Islamic religion in the area, and even after then, the *Sarakuna* of *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Makarfi area assumed the leadership position in various ways among which were by selection by a group of spiritual elders of the town, a group of traditional and religious elders of a town under the religious head (*Jagaba*).[13] These elders make the selection in consultation with their gods or goddesses (*abin bauta*), who were the spirits (*iskoki*). It normally took three days after the consultation before they would come up with the name of the person approved by the *iskoki.*

The elders spent these three days at the shrine or any other place of their worship outside the town making the consultation. While making the consultation, the elders give some sacrifices to the *iskoki* when when making supplication to the spirits.

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[12] Last, D. M., Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma) and its successor States, found in Usman, Y. B., et al (Eds), *Facts and Values and Nigerian Historiography: Essays in honour of Professor Abdullahi Smith*, Department of History ABU, Zaria, 1980, p 167.
[13] Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi,

Once the *Iskoki* pronounce the name, the elders tend to return to the town and disclose the name to the people. From then, the celebration takes place in earnest the town: drumming, singing and dancing takes place for the next three days. After the celebration, thanks giving sacrifices are made for the *iskoki* at the shrine with *Jagaba* presiding.

In a socio-cultural and economic setting such as this, the environmental factors like the ones obtainable in Makarfi area from the origin of human settlements there complements the political system already on the ground, this was inherited from their Hausa states of origin. And this paved way for the evolution of a formidable political system and structure.

There were occupational heads who presided over the affairs of the members of various occupations at the individual early towns of Gimi, Ruma, Gazara or Durum. They were chosen based on their professionalism on the individual occupations, or the long history of inheritance, this means they came from that house known of particular occupation, and were chosen if they have any outstanding impressive qualities on that particular occupation.[14] Beside these, other people with superficial supremacy, that is magical ability or might equally utilised it to

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[14] Sarkin Baka Talle

acquire the leadership of both administrative and occupational posts in this area.[15] It has become clear in this area that:

> *religion and occupation, was a condition favouring the growth of a political authority.*[16]

Some of the occupational heads under the *Hausawa* setting of this area were the Chief farmer (*Sarkin Noma*), Head butcher (*Sarkin Fawa*), Chief of water (*Sarkin Ruwa*), Chief hunter (*Sarkin Baka*), Head smith (*Sarkin Makera*), Chief drummer (*Sarkin Makada*), Head of builders (*Sarkin Magina*), Head tanner (*Sarkin Majema*), Chief Dyer (*Sarkin Marina*), Head trader (*Sarkin Kasuwa*), Chief wrestler (*Sarkin Dambe*), among others.[17] All of them were directly under the *Sarki* and have exercises their authority over their occupational members.

In the communities where there were pre-dominantly the *Non-Muslim Hausa* particularly after the jihad 1806, there were three patrilineal cultural leaders. The *Sarkin Noma*, who was the head of farming, the *Sarkin Arna*, known as the head of `*pagans*` and the *Sarkin dawa*, the headman of bush.[18] All these were playing a significant in the

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[15] Op cit, Ango Shimmi
[16] Clerk, S. B., Man and Woman in Christ: An examination of role of men and women in the light of scripture and the social sciences, an extraction from Alahira, H., *The Roles of Women in the Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: A case study of the Berom of the Jos plateau, 1900-1960*' PhD Thesis (History), ABU, Zaria, 2001, p. 49.
[17] Sarkin Gimi Tasha
[18] Greenberg, J., the influence of Islam on a Sudanese religion extracted from *Wikipedia*, p. 2

political, socio-cultural and economic life of the people of the communities of Makarfi area after the jihad.

Being smaller in sizes, the older towns of Makarfi had only Village Heads, instead of District Heads, as was obtainable in the ancient Hausa states of Zazzau, Katsina or Kano. Gimi, Ruma, Gazara or Durum had villages and village heads who acted as overseers to the *Sarki*. They represented the symbol of authority at their quarters (*anguwanni*).[19] They were the spiritual heads of the villages. They settled disputes amongst people of the areas, collected taxes and tributes for the chief before the arrival of the messenger (*Jakada*) who takes it to *Sarki*. The *masu unguwa* were also served as the custodians of the culture of their people in their various villages.[20]

The enthronement of *masu unguwa* in the pre-jihad setting was by nomination of which, only *Sarki* has the authority (*iko*) to nominate. This nomination was done based on the nominee's allegiance to traditions and the traditional religion since, the village heads presided over the religious affairs of their respective villages.[21] Some people also resorted to the super-natural being in order to acquire the *village headship* within the area.

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[19] Interview with Sarkin Ruma Alhaji Aliyu Shafi'u
[20] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[21] Ibid

According to the tradition, the political leadership in the family or village levels, apart from the religious and cultural inclination, age and gender, played a prominent role. This is a proof that age and gender were respected within the *Hausawa* community, prior to 1806. Adults were considered first for the political posts, and all post were restricted for males.

The *Hausawa* communities of these areas were known to have fought some wars before the jihad. The wars fought were both the offensive and defensive ones, although records are not available to this effect.[22] What is however indisputable, was the ability of these communities to stand out of the 17th and the 18th centuries, despite the raids from particularly the state of Kano and possibly Borno.[23] These wars (*Yaki* pl. *yake-yake*) were in form of real war or raid (*hari* pl. *hare-hare*) and surprise attacks (*samame*) especially for the acquisition of slaves (*bayi* sing *bawa/baiwa*). The wars were fought by soldiers (*dakaru*) who were well known in the area. *Dakaru* from Gimi were said

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[22] Although there are no available records of wars fought by the towns and villages of the area apart from the mere speculations like that of the possibility of Queen Amina's fighting with Durum around the first quarter of the 16th century

[23] According to Urvoy in *Histoire de L'Empire du Bornou*, 1949, p. 55 where he says, Kanem Borno have raid a kingdom known as Goungara (Gangara) in the fifteenth century. It is situated about six miles east of Makarfi town. Usman, Y. B., and Alkali, Nur, (Eds), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, Op cit, p.179

to have been given out as assistance to Zazzau even beyond the 18th century.[24]

Politically, Makarfi area can be said to be one of the few small areas which inherited and sustained the Hausa states structures of administration, even after the arrival of the British. The political system of the area is more or less a prototype of that of the Hausa states.

3.2 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Christiana Ruse, et al, saw 'social' as some thing that concerns society[25] and they defined 'organization' as the art of putting some thing into a definite shape.[26] Thus, the 'social organization' should be seen as the way of shaping or that shaped the society, which have to do with the cultures and traditions of the people of that particular society.

Social organization is therefore, taking about the organization of the social institutions and the social stratifications that exists in a given society. It involves the issues of social classes, cultural norms and values, social roles and status, and the institutions, all according to the cultures and traditions of a society.

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[24] Op cit, Sarkin Gimi Tasha
[25] Christiana Ruse, et al, '*Heinemann, International Students' Dictionary*', Heinemann, Ibadan, 1991, p 626
[26] Ibid, pp 458-459.

Social institutions are formed for special purpose; they include the family, religious group, tribal groups, etc, to control the relationship among the members of that society. They are always responsible for the training in the behaviour of their members.[27] The social roles and status on its part is taking about the role and position of every member of an institution within the society.[28] The social class denotes the class's stratification of given society where people of similar status are grouped.[29]

The cultural norms and values of the people is equally been spelt out by the social institution. This is promoted by the members of the society by observing the traditions they inherited thereby, ensuring the chain of continuity of the traditions. This has to do with the shelter, cloths, food, ceremony, names, occupations, etc.

The pre-jihad socio-cultural life in Makarfi area was purely a traditional one, characterised by a strict observance of the norms and values of the *Hausawa* traditions. Socio-cultural life with traditions of these communities comprises things like marriage, naming ceremony, festival, food, cloths, and shelter, among others. It should be noted however that, Islam had made no headway among the non-Hausa

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[27] W. Senteza Kasubi, et al, (Eds), `*Oxford African Encyclopedia*`, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974, p 465
[28] Ibid, p 466
[29] Ibid.

dependent people.[30] The traditions were highly and absolutely respected by all members of the communities in the area.

The early dwellers of Makarfi area were called *Hausawa*. They were core non-Muslims in its totality. The tradition portrayed their mode of life. It was in addition to the mode of religion practised by them.

The *Hausa Muslims* together with *Non-Muslim Hausa* have constituted the overwhelming majority of the total population in this area. They played hosts to the *Fulani* who were to come to and joined them in the area for many centuries.

In this community, the central social organism was the family and *Maigida* was the head and his position was by no means autocratic as, he consults other brothers of his should any matter arises. At the same time, he was the chief priest of the family even though women may sacrifice individually. When ever *Maigida* dies, his next elder brother takes over. Should the last brother dies then, it turn to the eldest son of the elder deceased. [31]

Within that traditional community, younger people owe respect and obedience to their elder. Whoever disobeys and has a quick tempered father was not only scolded, but some times are cursed like:

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[30] Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, *Foundation of Fulani Rule in Zaria*, B. A. Project (History), ABU, Zaria, 1972, p 1

[31] Op cit, Krusuis, pp 21-22

Kure, ka bishi ka lalata shi,
Gajimare, ka bishi ka lalata shi,
Aradu ka kashe shi

Kure, follow him and ruin him,
Gajimare, follow him and ruin him,
Thunder wedge kill him.[32]

Curse was a serious matter among the members of the society; it was part of the tradition and, works like magic with the help of the *Iskoki*. Parents equally seek for clemency from the *Iskoki* if the offended child resolves to change as:

Kure ka sau shi,
Gajimare ka sau shi,
Aradu kada ka kashe shi

Kure let go of him,
Gajimare let go of him,
Thunder wedge do not kill him.[33]

Apart from the *Non-Muslim Hausa* in the area, there were the Fulani who were in the area though, very few in numbers as compared to the *Hausa Muslims* and *Non-Muslim Hausa*. They were found scattered about within this area, engaging in various pursuits, prominent of which was keeping livestock. There were also few Islamic scholars, preachers and farmers among them.

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[32] Ibid, p 22
[33] Ibid, p 23

The *Fulani* came to this area mainly from Katsina, Kano and Sokoto was before even the 18th century. Initially, they were cattle rearers from different states in the Hausa land. These groups of *Fulani* who were believed to have been scattered in Zazzau Emirate of which, Makarfi area is inclusive (for not less than two centuries before the 19th century). The group was explained by Smith as follows:

> *....there were a number of other Aristocratic Fulani partri-lineages, such as the Katsinawa 'Yan Doto,the 'Yan doto of Gusau, the Fulanin Wunti, Fulanin Yasqua, Fulanin Joli, Fulanin Gadidi, and the Fulani of Dan Durori; certain other patri-lineages such as the Fulanin Bebeji, or the Fulanin Shanono were of Kano origin, the Toronkawa Fulani were descended from Waziri Gidado of Sokoto by the daughter of Mallam Musa, the baMalle conqueror; and there were also Fulani from various parts of Katsina such as Damfa, the Dokaje and other.* [34]

Most of these sections of *Fulani* stock were attracted by the environmental factors of the area. This had to do with the vastness of the area and its green pastures. It was blessed with abundant varieties of weeds for their livestock, considering that some of them practised little farming. There was also the availability of drinking water for the livestock through the rivers and streams found everywhere within the area.

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[34] Op cit, Smith, M. G

The *Dangawa* (Fulani from Katsina) were said to have been attracted by the extensive area of grazing land in the 'depopulated' region. Their trans-human trekking took them into the kingdom of Zazzau.[35] Amongst the first *Fulani* places of settlement before proceeding to Makarfi area were Kusallo and Richifa which have remained prominent Fulani settlements.[36]

Even though that there were many different *Fulani* lineages scattered in this area, they were really unable to form a very formidable social order to reckon with, like that of their hosts. While some of these groups of *Fulani* continued to be nomadic herdsmen, others became sedentary and lived in towns and villages; they all lived peacefully with the hosts, and there is evidence of diffusion between the *Hausa* and *Fulani* ethnic groups within the area.[37] There was high inter-dependence between the two communities. We must admit that there were lots of non-Muslim *Fulani* and the Muslim ones among those who besieged the area.

Since they were not many and even with their relationship with the *Hausawa*, majority of them refused to open up their hand of fellowship to the hosts culturally, as such the *Fulani* socio-political lifestyle remained hidden thereby, allowing the cultures of *Hausawa* to flourish alone

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[35] Op cit, Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, p. 16
[36] Ibid, Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, p. 14
[37] Op cit, Abubakar, Sa'ad., p. 42

throughout the period prior to first quarter of the 19th century. They maintain their *Fulani* cultures and traditions as their exclusive identity. But, it is also believed that some groups (of *Fulani*) maintained friendly relationship with the local political elite and subjects; they even inter-married to obtain better condition for themselves and their cattle.[38]

On the other hand, the settled *Fulani* (*Fulanin gida*) were becoming more and more socially and politically integrated with their *Hausa* counterparts. Thus, the general picture was that of peaceful coexistence punctuated only with occasional quarrels, which were often settled amicably.[39] The nomadic Fulani were made to pay cattle tax (*Jangali*) and the sedentary ones paid the land dues (*kurdin kasa*)[40] for the farmland they use.

The rights to use land for grazing, farming and settlement were acquired in sectors for tribute and grazing dues. They also paid to the rulers or owners of the lands. If they did not pay the grazing dues (*kurdin kiwo*), it was the custom to give all dead cattle to the people on whose land they lived with their herd instead.[41]

It was in the area of economy that their (the *Fulani*) impact was felt. Their herds provided a continuous source of meat (*Nama*) and milk

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[38] Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, Op cit p. 19
[39] Ibid, p. 19
[40] Abubakar, Sa'ad, Op cit, p. 39
[41] Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, Op cit, pp. 18-19

(*madara*). The dung (*turoso*) of their cattle provided the Hausa farmers with very rich manure (*taki*) for their crops. On the other hand, the majority of the *Fulani* being herdsmen and nomads relied on the Hausa farmers for food stuff and other ingredients.[42]

The society of Makarfi area, particularly before the coming of the Jihadists in the 19th century, was highly stratified. This was made up of the nobility and wealthy on one hand and the commoners and slaves on the other, as a result of a long period of development.[43] Imam Imoru holds a similar view about the set up of the society by the 19th century:

> *The Masu Sarauta (officials) the mallams, and the wealthy merchants (were) at the top, and the butchers, mat weavers, drummers, praise-singers, and buglers were at the bottom*[44]

The *Non-Muslim Hausa* displayed long-standing socio-cultural traditions particularly in marriage. Marriage (*aure* pl. *aure-aure*) was a renowned aspect of their culture. They looked at marriage as one of the ways of promoting their closeness in relationship as well as multiplying their number, thereby enhancing their *Non-Islamic* traditions. Hence

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[42] Ferguson, Douglas Edwin, *Nineteenth century Hausa land: Being description by Imam Imoru of his land, economy and society of his people*, PhD Thesis, University of Califonia, Los Angeles, 1973, p. 199

[43] Ibid, p. 248

[44] Ibid.

Marriage is way of uniting a man and a woman as husband (*miji*) and wife (*mata*) which is done through solemnization (*daura aure*).[45]

Within the *Hausawa* of Makarfi communities, marriage (*aure*) was contracted when a boy (*saurayi*) saw a girl (*budurwa*) both of marital age. For the *Non-Muslim Hausa*, the first thing they did was the consultation with the Gods and Goddesses (*iskoki*) to seek for their acceptance.[46] If the acceptance was granted, the marriage could be contracted. It began with the boy parent's indicating their son's willingness to marry a daughter from the said family by seeking permission from the intended bride's parents. It was referred to as *rokon arziki*. If this is granted, the boy was then allowed to talk to the girl for her acceptance.

According to both the *Hausa Muslims* and *Non-Muslim Hausa'* tradition, any boy seeking to marry any girl, must work on the farm of her father for not less than two years. This was to indicate his ability to feed her, should eventually the girl become his wife. It was called the *Kwazo* work. The *Kwazo* work was mandatory for each and every male youth in the pre-jihad *Hausawa* community of Makarfi area.

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[45] Op cit, Ferguson, p. 249

[46] Marriages among this group are contracted first upon the agreement between the boy and the girl, their parents and the spirits of Kure and Dan Galadima who are offered some of their sacrificial animals. Some families require some additional presents of which the marriage concluded upon the acceptance of the gifts. With this certain formal words are connected (Op cit, Krusuis, p 42). Also see Krusuis, p 46 for the dowry and the sacrifice and also the marriage celebrations with other activities that follows after the ceremony.

On the expiration of the *Kwazo* period, his parents will be asked to come for the arrangement for the marriage. When the two parents discusses, the boy's parents will be asked to bring some items like one billy goat (*Bunsuru*), one ram (*rago*), two chickens (*Kaji biyu*), and four or five large gourds of wine (*giya gora hudu ko biyar*). Later, they bring some cola nuts (*goro*) and some pieces of *saki* wrappers to the girl's parent.

On the conclusion of the arrangement, a day for the marriage contract will then be fixed (*sa-rana*). This should normally be during the harvest period when their agricultural products would have been harvested; that was the dry season (*Kaka*).

The marriage contract took place at the homes of the parents of the girl usually in the afternoon when every body might have returned from the farm. The marriage was usually contracted by the traditional priests of the area.

Brides (*amare* sing. *amarya*) in Makarfi area were usually taken to the grooms' (*anguna* sing. *ango*) houses and it was usually at nights and the members of the train usually trekked. Amongst the items given by the parents to their daughter were cooking utensils (*kayan girki*) like the cooking pot (*tukunya* pl. *tukwane*), wooden bowl (*akushi* pl. *akusa*), grinding stone (*Dutsen nika*), mortar and pestle (*turmi da tabarya*), etc. There were also some farm implements (*kayan aikin gona*) like the hoe

(*fartanya*), machete (*adda*), knife (*wuka*), axe (*gatari*), etc, which she uses for both her house chores and farm work in her marriage life.

The ceremony usually took two or more days, which depended on the financial strength of the families. There were lots of drumming, dancing as well as the eating and drinking of particularly the local wine (*giya*). Parents gives lots of other gifts to the couple (*ango da amarya*) such as grains (*hatsi*), farm implements (*kayan aikin gona*) and domestic animals (*dabbobin gida*) like goats (*awaki*), sheep (*tumaki*), ducks (*agwagi*), chicken (*kaji*), dogs (*karnuka*) and donkeys (*jakuna*), and other items. Relatives (*'yan uwa*) and well-wishers (*abokan arziki*) gives lot of gifts too on the occasion.

A week after the ceremony, the groom in company of his friends goes to greet the in-laws (the parents and relatives of the bride) (*gaisuwan surukai*). This was after the visit of appreciation (*godiya*) earlier paid by his parents to the brides' parents who normally came two days after the ceremony.

Male youths (*samari*) among the *Hausawa* in Makarfi area marry at about seventeen years of age while the female (*'yan mata*) marry at about fifteen years of age. Marriage was compulsory for all *the* boys and the girls in the community. Members of *Non-Muslim Hausa* group do not inter-marry with another group and, equally don't marry from their immediate relatives (*auren zumunci*).

A widow or widower may remarry after five months of the death of their partners, which was upon fulfilling some certain traditional requirements like the sacrifice to be offered.[47] These sacrifices were to be offered to the spirit worshipped by the family of the intended. Animals like chicken and goat of certain attributes were among the things offered which include black, white, mixed black and white etc.

Divorce was legal and simple upon meeting the requirements laid down by the tradition.[48] Only that, it was so rare within this society to hear of a lady being divorced. It equally affects the integrity of both the two families.

When girls become pregnant, they were allowed to give birth in the husband's houses. This was applicable even to the first delivery (*haihuwar fari*). They were not taken to their parents' houses for delivery (*haihuwa*) or traditional bathing (*wankan jego*). Whenever a wife was delivered of a child, a woman crier (*Magudiya*) was summoned to announce the birth of the child by shrilling (*guda*). She shrills three times if it was a baby boy, and four times if was a baby girl.[49]

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[47] Op cit, Krusuis, pp 52-53
[48] Ibid, p 53
[49] Op cit, Ango Shimmi

After the delivery of the child, there was stipulated traditional bath (*wankan jego*). This birth takes not less than forty days from the day of the delivery. It was done two times a day, morning and afternoon.[50]

Once the wives conceived, the husbands gathered firewood (*itacen wanka*) which the wife uses for the boiling of water for the period of (*wankan jego*). There was traditional gruel (*Kunun jego*) or (*kunun kanwa*), a drink made for the delivering woman (*mai haihuwa*), which is made out of millet (*gero*), natron/potash (*kanwa*), spices (*kayan kanshi*) which included pepper (*barkono*), ginger (*citta*), black pepper and other spices (*masoro, kulla, kimba*) among others.[51] There was also (*kauri*) cooking of cow skin, cow head and cow feet (*ganda*), usually done on the fifth day. This was shared among the relatives and neighbours. It was referred to as *Shan kauri* [52]

The non-Muslims Hausa does *biki* (the delivering bath), like the Muslim. They bath two times a day, morning and evening. It was the bath that each an every woman who delivered has to carry out for forty days to one hundred and fifty days or even more according to tradition. During this period all her meals were spiced heavily (*yaji*). The heat and hotness was maintained always during the time. After the forty days of regular bath, only the morning bath continues for a period of time

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Op cit, Ferguson, p. 251
[52] Ibid p. 251

between three to seven months.[53] This was no different to what was obtainable among the rest of the *Hausawa* of the area.

After the fortieth day, tribal marks is tattooed onto the child's cheeks.[54] The types of marks are the *bille, lemon `Maguzawa`, kayan kifi, diyar kirji*, and *jarfa*. All are found in the tradition of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* and even some *Hausa Muslims* as, most of these marks continued after the consolidation Islamic religion in the area.

The children, according to this tradition, are named (*sa-suna*) immediately after the delivery. The children are named according to the tradition and circumstances surrounding their birth such as climatic condition, the weather of the day, time of the year or the economic condition of the family.[55] This was because the *Non-Muslim Hausa* did not have any book or tradition to find their names from, as the case of the Muslims and others. Some of these non-Muslims` names included the male names like: Kaura, Bawa, Mati, Kosau, Kartau, Jatau, Ciwake, Cidawa, Dan Tarana, Makau, Ranau, Damina, Nomau, Citumu, Hazo, Gero, Maidawa, Maiwasa, Mai aradu, Baushe, Bauna, Zagi, Nagona, Gindi, Tukuri, Baka, Doka, Tanko, Tankari, Dutse, and Hanau. And the

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[53] Ibid
[54] Ibid, p 39
[55] Op cit, Krusuis, pp36-38

female names were Kumbula, Karta, Maigiya, Jurma, Naito, Ladiya, Taroro, Kimba, Modi, Taruwa, Goruba, etc.[56]

The children were also according to the tradition, breastfed *shayarwa*) by their mothers and this took two years before they were weaned the breast milk (*yaye*). By then, the children would have been walking (*tafiya*) and would also have developed sufficient teeth to eat by themselves. For the weaning (*yaye*), children were taken to their grandparents (*kakanni*), that is, their mothers' parents (especially for the first child) and subsequently, allowed to be weaned by their parents without being taken. There, the children spent days, ranging from seven days to one month, for them to forget about the breast milk.

Boys were circumcised (*kaciya*) at the age of seven or more.[57] According to the tradition, they were circumcised with their age grades (*sa'o'i*) in the village that is, hardly was a boy was circumcised alone. It was always a number of boys at once.

There was the keeping of *Zanko*. It was the hair kept across the head as a symbol of adolescent to a male immediately after circumcision that was kept until marriage.[58] This hair (*zanko*) only tends to be cleared during the marriage celebration of the male youth.

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[56] Interview with Salaha Garba Makarfi and Yusufu Rabe Katsina
[57] Op cit, Krusuis, p 40
[58] Ibid, Krusuis, p 43

Festivals and ceremonies before the advent of Islam in any of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* communities in Makarfi area were equally carried out according to the cultures, traditions and religion. The festivals and ceremonies they observed were annual and bi-annual, and the thanks giving congregations and festival takes place at all levels of the community. There were some ceremonies like marriage, naming and burials. The festivals and ceremonies were characterised by drumming, dancing, singing, eating and drinking.[59]

Festivals in this community mostly take place towards the dry season. Fridays and Saturdays were avoided.[60] Dry season was the time to travel. Not only festivities, but also friendship and business call outs were usually in the dry season. It was also time for hunting.[61]

At all festivals, there used to have *Maroki (*praise-singer*)* and *Zabiya* (woman singer)[62] to add colour to it according to the tradition. They assisted the drummer and the singers in the performance.

After the death, all the members of the house were use to be buried behind their individual huts at the house except the *Maigida* who was buried at the centre of the compound close to the *Dashi*, which was

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[59] Op cit, Clerk, S. B., Man and Woman in Christ: An examination of role of men and women in the light of scripture and the social sciences, in Alahira, H.,*The Roles of Women in the Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: A case study of the Berom of the Jos plateau, 1900-1960,*' PhD Thesis (History), ABU, Zaria, 2001, p 49.
[60] Op cit, Krusuis, p 34
[61] Ibid, Krusuis, p 35
[62] Ibid, p 42

the central tree where all sacrifices of family are made. When the copse was however laid into the grave, some citations have to be made in respect to the demised. As per *Maigida* for example, this have to be said:

> Gashi ka mutu,
> Ka tafi lafiya
> Ka bar baya lafiya
>
> Look, you have died,
> Go in peace,
> And leave what you left in peace.[63]

Some sacrifices are offered to the spirits, those include the slaughtering of animals, pouring of beer, etc, at the graveside and some words are said. The same are done on the 40th day and another one be repeated at the first anniversary of the death. On the 40th day, family and relatives gather from far and near for the feast and dances.[64] They eat, drink and dance in remembrance of the departed.

In the area of clothing, majority of *Hausawa* people used animal skin (*Fatalbuzu*). It was used by both men and women alike. The men used leather loincloth (*walki*) and the women the pure skin (*fata)* as cloth. They gradually began to come in contact with cloths less than a century before the jihad in the area.

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[63] Ibid, p 55
[64] Ibid, p 56

It was as a result of the trade and commerce which developed with other cloths that materials were introduced by the Fulani, Nupe, Kanuri and Tauregs. They equally introduced the art of spinning (*kadi*) and weaving (*saka*) skills into Makarfi area, particularly before the jihad of 1806.[65] With this, they developed the use of local weaved material (*saki*) as their cloth.

Transition from the use of leather materials to that of *saki* materials was very slow, taking many decades for the majority of the people of the area to imbibe the use of new cloth.

Culture played a role in the slow pace with which they changed from using their traditional leather cloth to the newly introduced materials as especially, that they were already acculturated to animal skin. Consequently, they did not quickly and willingly accept the introduced cloths.[66] Another thing which could not be unconnected with the nature with which the materials newly introduced was the high cost of the materials which on introduction, was not immediately accepted by many people because they could not afford the materials on the onset; only the buoyant ones in the communities could.[67] There was also the fact that, majority of the *Hausawa* were generally 'men of work' and 'men at work'; they spent most of their time on the farm or in the bush. To

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[65] Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi as confirmed by Alhaji Adamu Aliyu Kwatakware
[66] Ibid, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[67] [42d] Op cit, Alhaji Adamu Aliyu Kwatakware

most of them, the newly introduced cloths were just for those who lived at home, so they felt no need for the cloths at all, and therefore refused buying them.[68]

It should be noted that, prior to 1806; the people of this area have started to see the *saki* materials from the few *Fulani* cattle rearers found in the area. But the fact here is that before the first quarter of the 19th century, majority of the *Hausawa* of the Makarfi area clothed themselves with the *buzu* and *walki.*[69]

The introduction of spinning (*kadi),* weaving skills (*saka) and the saki* materials into the area by the Fulani by 1806 meant a lot to the area, this was because before, the materials were meant to cover the private parts (*tsiraici*) only, but the development eventually gave them some variety of cloths which were lacked before, which could be as a result of their level of creativity.[70]

The food crops consumed by the *Hausawa* of Makarfi area were the crops found and culturally produced in the area by then. The crops were cooked, roasted or even eaten or drunk raw. This shows that these people had lots of varieties of food even before the arrival of any other people into the area.

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[68] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

The consumable food crops in Makarfi, which could be said to be the staple food crops of this area before 1806, were the grains. These included the guinea corn, millet and others. They also used the tuber crops like the cocoyam (*gwaza*), sweet potatoes (*dankali*), *rizga*, yam (*doya*) etc. There was equally the use of sorghums like the beans, among others. Different types of food were made out of these crops, notable among which were *tuwo, kunu, giya* and many others.

Another food to reckon with within the *Non-Muslim Hausa* in Makarfi is the local wine (*giya*) which was made out of guinea corn (*dawa.*) *Giya* was synonymous with their tradition as it's the consumption was a normal social activity commencing from childhood. It has become fully incorporated into their culture to the extent that it's easily seen at any religious, ceremonial and traditional festivities and gatherings. Any of the listed events could be seen as incomplete or even could not hold without the *giya.*

This local wine was made when guinea corn was soaking (*jika*) in the water for three to four days which makes it to germinate. After this, it is grounded (*nika*), filtered (*tace*) and boiled (*dafa*) for a day. While being boiled, some other local ingredients like *mijin giya* are then be added into it. *Mijin giya* is added as a substance while boiling. The sudd was considered as the sweetest and nutritious is taken off the liquid. It is only to be consumed only by the household (*maigida*) according to the

tradition. It was difficult to find a family of traditional family of *Hausawa (*before the advent of Islam in Makarfi), without *giya* for a day.

The compounds of *Non-Muslim Hausa* were scattered over the country side and were appropriate for real farmers amidst the farmland. This people have, at the beginning, lived in huts (*bukkoki* sing. *bukka*) as their shelter. These huts were of different sizes which depended on the occupant's interest. The types of walls were such fences made of cornstalks. The compound is separated into two parts by a fence walk away leading to the centre or even further in. One part belongs to the owner and his immediate family and the other part was destined for other relatives like younger brothers. The entrance was either found west or south according to tradition but never north or east. The rooms were round huts made of cornstalk and thatch roofs.[71]

The non-Muslims' family were usually large. An average family has about twenty members but can reach up to forty, fifty, and sixty even to hundred people. Apart from their immediate family that is, younger brothers and their families are included as well as families and children of older, deceased brothers.[72]

Later, prior to 1806, most of the huts lived in by the *Hausawa* of this area were change to the mud (*laka*) houses of either square,

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[71] Op cit, Krusuis, pp 19-20
[72] Ibid, Krusuis, p 20

rectangular or rounds (*shayi*), which were mainly smaller in sizes less than ten feet and six to seven feet of length (*tsawo*) and breath (*fadi*) respectively. The roof of these houses were thatch (*jinka*) made out of straws fasten in layers. This had to do according to the sizes of the rooms. They lived together as a family with all the members of the family living in a compound; that is, in an extended family. One thing with the people of this area was the fact that, all their houses did not have entrance (*zaure*), but only round wall (*katanga*) of short height built round the compounds.

Before the coming of Islam into the area around 1806, with the extension of the jihad, the *Non-Muslim Hausa* were well known for the traditional ritualistic activities (*tsafi*). The tradition of which majority of them continued even after with the consolidation of Islam in the area. This they did for the political, economic and social purposes and it remained a part of their culture. It was difficult to find any family without a ritualist (*matsafi*), or did not indulge in rituals. They individually and collectively specialised in various aspects of it. Some specialised in rituals for political activities, some for economic activities, and some still for socio-cultural activities, while others for a combination of all these activities.

In the compound, the places for the sacrifice were the centre of the compound or behind the hut. Trees are planted at the centre of the

house, these trees are called *Dashi*. The following trees serve the purpose of *Dashi, Durumi, Chediya, Kadanya, Hararrabi, Bazana*, among others. The sacrifices are conducted under these trees at all times. While on the farms or in the bush, sacrifices are done under the sacrificial trees called *Jigo* or *Jigu* (post).[73] In performing the sacrifice, animals are slaughtered, for the blood to drain; beer is brewed for the acceptance of the spirits.[74]

Socio-culturally, non-Muslims performs the *tsafi* activities during ceremonies and celebrations, during contests in marriages, or when they wanted to excel or achieve something, or even to take a lead in any socio-cultural activity as part of religion or culture. Here, they weakens their supposed rival's ability or professionalism (*sa wani ya kasa yin wani abu*), or cause sickness (*sa-cuta*), ,or killing him (*kisa*), or any other as the case may be. Another activity known to have existed among the *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Makarfi before the arrival of Islam was *Yaune* practice. This was an act of taking away some one's belonging or property through the use of magic (*tsafi*). It was done in many ways like calling (*kira*), beckoning (*yafuce*) and even looking (*kallo*) at the particular item. Once the magical devices were put in place, any of the

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[73] Krusuis, Op cit, p 25
[74] Ibid, p 26

above listed ways could be used to take away any item needed to be taken without being touched or picked by hand.

One major socio-cultural group among the *Hausawa* were the women. Although they were considered next to men within the communities (possibly, due to the gender differences between males and females), women played a significant role in both the socio-cultural and socio-economic life of the area before the first quarter of the 19th century. Clerk maintains that:

> *The genesis .....emanates from the natural and biological distinction between male and female gender. The fact is that there are different roles of men and women in different societies as much as, there are universal*[75]

Beside the gender disparity in the general African setting, other factor responsible for the societal diversity is the cultural patterns for the roles of men and women. Another factor to reckon with is, looking at the diversity of geographic, social, economic, politico-religious and ideological forces operating in the society.[76] Particularly due to the gender differences, the division of labour emanates where both men and women have their specific roles to play principally within the family. Some of the responsibilities accorded women were because of their

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[75] Op cit, Clerk, S. B, Men and Woman in Christ in Alahira, H., 2001, p. 49
[76] Hauwa Mahdi, *The Position of Women in Metropolitan Borno 1050-1893*, M.A. Thesis (History), ABU, 1987, p.27

disability being women, which makes them dependants on men. This notion was debunked as Hauwa Mahdi examined:

> *Indeed, it is common knowledge of historical fact that women were subordinate to men not because of an absolute physical weakness, but as a reflection of the division of labour.*[77]

In Makarfi area among the *Hausawa*, women cannot be taken as subordinate in view of the prominent role they plays in the socio-cultural and socio-economic aspects. Women here, work hand-in-hand with their men counterparts in both the cultural and economic activities.

Farming was number one economic activity in the area. It receives the contribution of women greatly. This is because of the belief that generally in Sub-Saharan Africa, women are the primary source of labour on the farm.[78]

Gender wise, the position of *Non-Muslim Hausa* woman was relatively contrary to that of her Muslim woman's status. As the Muslim woman was not allowed to go to farm, *Non-Muslim Hausa* woman has to work on the farm. According to tradition, women are `assistants in work` and `assistants in hardship`.[79]

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[77] Allahiru H. Op cit p.41.
[78] Ngur, N, `*Women and Work in Informal Sector of Nigerian Economy: A Review of Existing Definition of Methods of Documentation*,` National Association of University Women (NAUW) Biennial Conference, ABU Zaria, 10TH-12TH March 1988, in Alahira, H., PhD Thesis, 2001, p. 41.
[79] Op cit, Krusuis, p 23

Indeed, for the *Non-Muslim Hausa*, the crucial point is polygamy, the more the wives the better. Some men have to do with only one wife; mostly however, they had two, three, and rarely up to twenty.[80] It was contrary to the reason behind the two, three or four wives taking by the *Hausa Muslim's* which was based on the religious ground.

Among the *Non-Muslim Hausa*, women produced almost all food needs of the entire households.[81] It is good to note that, men among the *Non-Muslim Hausa* were not idle; they were full time farm workers with their personal farms away from those of their wives.

The farm produce of men was used only when that of wife (*gayauna*) had been exhausted. It was also used for other needs of the family apart from consumption, like the payment of taxes buying of farm implements and meeting such social obligations as marriages[82], and even the settlement of debts owed by the family. This is different from what is obtainable among the Berom people who where:

> *.....even the compound or backyard farms which were kept by women (on which early crops were grown) were managed as part of the general household farm. The social organization of labour among the Berom revolves around the family farm in which the work of all other members of the Households were seen to be complementary.*[83]

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[80] Ibid, p 23
[81] Op cit, Ngur N, in Alahira, H., PhD Thesis, 2001, pp 43-44 also, stated Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci .
[82] Op cit, Alahira, H., p. 44
[83] Ibid

Women among the *Non-Muslim Hausa* were the custodians of cultures, particularly at the family level. They also played a significant role in most of the traditions attached to the family's social and economic life. They takes care of all rituals (*tsafi*) related to agriculture that is, before planting (*kafin shuka*) up to the harvest.[84] This ensures good harvests by the family and protection of the crops from enemies, diseases and pests.

After the harvest spirits are remembered. Some sacrifices are offered to show appreciation to them. Here are the offering words:

> Kure, ga kayanka,
> Dawa ta yi albarka
> Mu ci ta lafiya
> Gida yayi kyau,
> A samu aure
> Iyali su zauna lafiya
>
> Kure (spirit), here is your share,
> The grain is blessed,
> Let us eat it in well-being,
> Let the house be well,
> May there be opportunity to marry,
> May the members of the house live in peace[85]

Women produce food and other basic needs of the family and ensure that all the cultures and traditions were observed and strictly adhered to by all the members of the family. A woman organizes the labour, the ceremonies, and looked after the children, the old and the

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[84] Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi, Op cit, .
[85] Krusuis, Op cit, pp 32-33

sick ones and also, performs all rituals associated with protection and developments of the family. Women were in addition, keeping domestic livestock (like goats, sheep, and chickens) which are used for food, ceremonies and rituals. They also looked after the general belongings owned by their husbands. Taking care of farm implements and other occupational tools and house utensils are absolutely the responsibility of women. They equally participated in other occupations such as, petty trading within the area. Furthermore, they were mostly the healers of the sick.

In fact, the contribution of women to the social and economic set up of the non-Muslims' communities before the advent of Islam into the area cannot be over emphasised. They remained relevant to the life of the people Makarfi area, even after the 1806.

Beside the women, other important members of the society are the slaves. Slaves are kept. Despite the fact that the *Non-Muslim Hausa* did not participate in the slave hunts, slaves were bought to work on the farm during the period under study.[86]

It should be noted however, that socio-cultural activities within the *Non-Muslim Hausa* was not only a unifying force, but also served as the strongest factor which distinguished the group from another, and made

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[86] Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi, Op cit.

them to withstands the Islamic and *Fulani* traditions with all their force and influence at the time of the jihad.

3.3 THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF

Religion is a very strong and highly sensitive aspect in the human life. This is because it virtually controls the human movement of all ramifications. Religion has indeed played a significant role in the socio-cultural, socio-political and the economic lives of the people of Makarfi area as, McCall maintained that:

> *religion tend to be conservative and symbols, rituals ideological elements are often and even usually maintained over long period of time and perhaps longer than other types of cultural traits.*[87]

In Makarfi area or elsewhere in the world, religion remained very relevant to the human life as it controls all aspects of his life. Traditional community of Makarfi provided a typical ground where religion was an utmost significance to the communal life of the people.

The term 'religion' remained obscured to the extent that, people defined it based on the dimension they understand it. Scholars had tried to define or explain it in different ways. Scheleirmacker defined religion

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[87] Daniel F. McCall, *Africa in Time Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1969, p 76

as the consciousness of contact between the soul and the universe.[88] Another person, Max Muller also defined it that, religion consists in the perception of the definite under such manifestation are able to influence the moral character of man.[89] Sir J. G. Frazer did not relent in forwarding his definition to religion. According to him, it is a propitiation or conciliation of power superior to man, which is believed to direct and control the units into one single course of nature and of man.[90]

Dr Allan Manzies argues that the religion is the worship of higher powers from the sense of need.[91] Durkheim suggests that a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things that is to single moral community.[92] Jean Peville in his attempt to clarify the term sees religion as, `essentially a principle of life, the feeling of a living relation between human individual and the powers or power of which universe is the manifestation`.[93]

On the term 'religion' Dr Martineau has this to say, that it is, belief in an everlasting God, that is, a divine mind and will ruling the universe and holding moral relations with mankind.[94]

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[88] Angelo S. Rappoport, et al, (Eds), `*The New Gresham Encyclopedia*`, vol. ix, 1923, p 365
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid
[91] Ibid, p 366
[92] Ibid
[93] Ibid
[94] Ibid

What is basic in all the above stated definitions forwarded by the scholars as their perspectives to religion is the fact that, issues like belief, worship, super natural being (God or Goddess), obligations, sacrifice, relationship, and others are all liable to religion. By this we got to realise that religion is an integral part of human life and it really meant a lot to man.

In fact, religion embraces three main ideas of the soul, the world and the deity.[95] In view of this, Dr Martineau's definition seem to be more appropriate to what is meant by religion. We should however note that, towards any dimension one look at it one finds that, religion is belief in God or Gods as a creator of the life on earth.

The etymology of the term religion in Makarfi area and the world in general, remains obscure. It is only related to the early civilization of man as; it is difficult to find some one who can tell when man begins to practice religion. Infact, we cannot be mistaken to say that religion began since the beginning of the settlement of man, that is; when man initiated what is called human settlement.

Religion includes beliefs from all parts of the world about God which is the human trust and confidence in a particular religion as true

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[95] Ibid, p 366

religion.[96] This belief differs as individuals, groups and communities are found to believe different God or Gods. They either belong to Islam, Christianity or traditional religions among others according to their understanding of the Supreme Being whichever it is.

In African context, there are many traditional religions which existed in the continent before the Islam and Christianity were introduced.[97] It was before Europeans understands anything about traditional African religions; they often called them `*fetishism*` as the case was with *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Makarfi area.[98]

> Religion means a lot to man and his world and the eternity after death. It makes it clear to man that:*the power of God over man to control things like good weather, right harvest,success in war, success in hunting,and health and happiness of people. The rituals may be held on regular Occasion to make sacrifice to the Gods, in order to keep their good will and favour also, in times of danger, and difficulty or to thank God(s) for what they have done. It also gives to answers to many of the questions that men ask themselves such who created the world, why was it made? What is the purpose of man's life,and what is his place in relation to other men created things. On the same vein, religion also provides rules and guidance which control people behaviour. Lastly, it is the duty of Gods to take the forms of prayers and worship of offering sacrifices, and observing prohibitions.* [99]

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[96] W. Senteza Kasubi, et al (Eds), '*Oxford African Encyclopedia*', Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974, p 52
[97] Ibid, p 424
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

Before the jihad of 1806 in Makarfi area, their traditional religion became a very strong unifying force among the *Hausawa* in this area. It is widely believed that, in a typical *Hausa* traditional society like Makarfi, it was the traditional religion of that controlled the general aspects of life of both the individual and the societal levels. This is so in the light of the fact that, religion in the African experience has always helped to so bind people together (such as under a hierarchy of specialised bureaucracy of *traditional* priests as a class with a powerful influence in the state system) that its importance cannot be undermined.[100]

The traditional in a typical *Hausawa* community religion revolves around an infinite number of spirits or *jinn (Iskoki)* in Hausa. There are about 3,000 spirits in the religion.[101] These are significant in one way or the other to the faithful. And the number of spirits adhered to varied from family to family, community to community and even from individual to individual.

Sa`ad Abubakar acknowledged the fact that, for the areas not yet Islamized there was only one religion-and there could and should be only one-the indigenous religion (traditional), which they found

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[100] Kani, A. M., 'The political and social basis of the Sokoto jihad', in Usman Y.B., et al (Eds), *'Facts and Values : Essays in honour of Abdullahi Smith'*, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1980, p. 295.
[101] Op cit, Greenberg, J., *The influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion* extract from Wikipedia, p 2

absolutely satisfactory, which would not like denounced.[102] One of such area was that of *Hausawa* like Makarfi area before the advent of Islam.

It was later after the coming of Islam that the religion was referred to as traditional religion (*addinin gargajiya*).The *addinin gargajiya* was based on the worship of spirits (*iskoki*). They were believed by the *Non-Muslim Hausa* to be every where and are capable of solving human problems. It should be noted that the most dominant belief in Hausa land (*Kasar Hausa*) was the belief in *iskoki*; which was said to have greatly influenced the social and political activity in *kasar Hausa* before the jihad.[103]

In Hausa land the *iskoki* were also, believed to be the givers and the takers, and were responsible for the human destiny. In the words of Ferguson:

> *The iskoki are found.....in the sky, the forest, the hills, in the bodies of water and in the cities of men. Those whose names are known, and who have a definite cult, generally have a favourite kind of tree or some other specific locale where they like to stay.*[104]

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[102] Annual report, Northern Nigeria, 1902, p 25, extracted from Sa'ad Abubakar, The Northern Nigeria under colonial rule. 1900-1959, in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History,* Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 1980, p 379

[103] Gella, Y. T. The emergence and development in central Sudan, c. 1591-1804, some conceptual and Methodological considerations, P. 9, *HRAABU* Vol., IV 1979/1980

[104] Op cit, Ferguson

Some examples of the *iskoki* and the places they stayed in the Hausa land are given by Usman Y. B. which shares resemblance with the model of Makarfi area:

> *Around which the other spirits of natural phenomenon like Duwatsu (thunder), gajere (forest), Sarkin rafi (rivers) occupied the places in the iskoki cosmology.*[105]

He further listed some of their attributes as mother (*innaluwa*), rivers (*Sarkin rafi*), forests (*gajere*), and thunder (*gajimare*), among others. Once they are mentioned, these attributes will come to one's mind.

Sarki that is the *Sarkin Arna* was the general overseer and the custodian of the traditional religion, which was based on the worship of spirits (*iskoki*), generally practised within the *Non-Muslim Hausa* in Makarfi area. During the pre-colonial era, all the *Sarakunan Arna* was under a superior *Sarkin* who tended to oversee their affairs.[106] He was always assisted by a group of priests appointed by him on merit that is, for their devotion and commitment to religion and tradition. This group of priests were under the leadership of religious guide (*Jagaba*)[107] or the *Jagaba bauta* 'the guide to worship'. Both the *Jagaba* and the other priests were highly respected in the society to the extent that they did

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[105] Op cit Usman, Y. B
[106] Op cit, Krusuis, p 21
[107] The title 'Jagaba' was also been used by a 'caravan guide' who tends to be appointed by the caravan leader 'Madugu' in the 19th century to show the way.

nothing to earn a living as they were provided for with all their needs, by the members of the society.

The mode of worship in traditional religion in the traditional society of Makarfi area was annual and a bi-annual and there were usually thanks giving and consultations of which were all congregational. They are characterised by celebrations of drumming, singing, dancing, and the sacrificing of various types of items like foodstuffs (*kayan abinci*), livestock (*dabbobi*) and local wine (*giya*). Food crops are kept; livestock are killed and the blood shaded while, the beer is poured onto the front of the shrine (*wurin bauta*) for the Gods and Goddesses (*abin bauta* pl. *abubuwan bauta*);

> *.....sacrifices consisting of sheep, goats, or fowls are offered to them, each spirit having its appropriate animal .....It is not the object itself, however, as the naive observer might conclude, which is receiving the sacrifice, but the spirit associated with it* [108].

Krusuis states that the animals of sacrifice depends on the spirits ranging from the black chicken, black he-goat (billy), spotted ram spotted he-goat, reddish-brown goat, ram with black-ring eye, reddish-brown rooster etc.[109]

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[108] Op cit, Ango Shimmi
[109] Op cit, Krusuis, pp 13-17

The sacrifice dependes on the people's need or appreciation, or the demand they put across to the *iskoki*. They got clarification on what to provide the *Iskoki* through the pre-worship consultation made by the priests where, the types and quantities of items to be brought will be stated by the *Iskoki*.[110] This was an offer for the acceptance of supplications.

The religious organization in Makarfi area moved down from the Town level where the (*Sarki* pl. *Sarakuna*) lived to the village (*kauye*) and family (*iyali*) levels. These were with village heads (*masu unguwa* sing. *mai Unguwa*) and households (masu *gida* sing. *mai gida*) as overseers respectively[111]

Normally, at the town level the religious activity takes three days when people comes from every part of the towns and villages under a particular *Sarki* attended. The worship takes place at the highlands,[112] forests or river banks and any other place where shrines are situated; this differs from one town to the other.

The needs are stated at the time of the worship used to be political, economic and social. The people stayed for the answers which are given by the Gods and Goddesses within three days of consultation through the priests under the General Overseer *Jagaba*. Sometimes, all

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[110] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[111] Interview with Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci
[112] Ibid

or some of their requests are accepted, while other times all their requests were rejected.

Sacrifices of animals' blood (*jinin dabbobi*), grains (*hatsi*), wine (*giya*) and other items are made, while tendering the requests before the gods. This depended on the propensity of the needs.[113] Appreciations are also made in the same vein with the requests. It was done in form of thanks giving for any gesture done to them such as good harvest, success in war, settlement of internal disputes or dependence from any mishap within the society. Sacrifices are made to that effect, in appreciation. Here, the quantities given were also dependent on the propensity of the gesture.

Beside the upper level, there was the lower level of worship which was the village level. This was also headed by the village head. He was assisted by the village priests. It takes place immediately the villagers returned from the worship, at the town level. The same activities like those of the upper level are also practised, only that the items of sacrifice were normally not more than goats, which were used as against cattle used at the town level.

The events took three days also, and equally took place at the hills (*tsaunuka* sing. *tsauni*), banks of rivers and streams (*bakin kogi or*

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[113] Interview with Sarkin Makarfi Alhaji Kabiru Abdullahi

rafi), forests (*dazuzzuka* sing. *daji*) or just at the outskirt of the village (*bayan kauye/gari*),[114] this depends on the location of the shrines.

At the lowest level, every household has its own mode of worship or even Gods and Goddesses of worship. This depends on the belief of a particular family. Some had daily worship, some weekly, some monthly and so on, and sacrifices are made ranging from the blood of animals to the chickens, goats, or grains, among other items. Here, requests and appreciations are also been forwarded with all members of the family in attendance. There was also ancestral remembrance at the family level, where households or members of the family made sacrifices in remembrance of their ancestors.

> *In many of its physical features this settlement Kuyanbana (of ancient Katsina) bears a striking resemblance to those of the ancient settlements of the plains of Zazzau.*[116]

Usman, Y.B., states that a similar tradition like that of *Durbi-ta-kusheyi* in the ancient city of Katsina occurs for Zazzau.[115] He went further to explain:

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[114] Op cit, Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci
[116] Ibid
[115] See Kirk-Greene, *Sudanese Memoirs* Vol. iii, p. 97. Barbushe and Tsumburbura worshiped in Kano were confirmed by Gella, Y. T., the emergence and development in Central Sudan c. 1591-1804: some conceptual and methodological considerations, *HRAABU* Vol. IV, 1979/1980, while, the Durbi-ta-Kusheyi Worship was testified by Usman, Y. B., *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1981.

Among the ancient settlements in the plains of Zazzau were those found in Makarfi area, notably, Gimi, Durum and Ruma. In the same vein, it resembled the *Tsumburbura* worship under Barbushe and the *Abagayawa* worship both from Kano Dala and Gaya hills respectively.[117]

One of the common things in worship to both levels was the local wine (*ruwan giya*) which uses to be supplied in large quantity for drinking or pouring for the consumption of the Gods and Goddesses at the time of the sacrifice. Another thing was the bowing (*durkusa*) or lying flat on the ground (*kwanciya*) in front of the shrine at the time of the worship by the rulers, priests and all the followers. All these were a sign of respect and total submission to god or goddesses (the *iskoki*). The words said at the time of worship were virtually the same at all levels where, in the case of requests, they says:

Mai girma, muna roko,
ka/ki bamu ruwa,
ka/ki bamu sauki,
ka/ki bamu abinci,
ka/ki bamu nasara.

Oh Lord, we ask you to
give us rain,
give us health,
give us food,
make us victorious.[118]

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[117] Ibid
[118] They were general words for thanks giving. Ibid, Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci

Mun gode,
Da ka/kika bamu sauki
Da ka/kika bamu abinci,
Da ka/kika bamu ruwa,
Da ka/kika bamu nasara

Lord thank you,
for making us healthy,
for giving us food,
for giving us water,
for making us victorious.[119]

This thanksgiving is done immediately success was recorded on the request made earlier together with the sacrifice of any item or items done to *iskoki* as stipulated.

In all aspects of the towns, villages and families and even personal, Gods and Goddesses that is *Iskoki* are consulted. That is, before marriage contracts, planting at the beginning of the raining season, trade and business activities, naming of new born children, among others. And the answers given to them by the *iskoki* after the consultation would be the final verdict to the people.

Traditional religion was no doubt the strongest mainstay of the *Non-Muslim Hausa'* society before the consolidation of Islamic religion into the area by 1806. This was because, there is nothing done in the area without consultation with the gods. The people of the area adhered

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[119] Ibid.

strictly to all the verdicts and injunctions stipulated by the Gods and Goddesses.

Although there were some *Fulani* stocks residing in the area, they were too few to have made any impact to the religious belief and practices of the people. They were rather either assimilated by the traditional religion or became passive to the religious activities of the area before 1806, especially since they were Muslims. The point being made here is that, there is evidence that, throughout the pre-jihad Hausa land, non-Islamic rituals featured prominently in state organization and ceremonies[120] and in the general activities of the Hausawa area.

3.4 THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The economy of Makarfi area was equally central to its development. This was because it provided the area with a solid foundation for the political and social development as no meaningful thing could be achieved in the absence of strong economic base.

Senteza Kasubi, et al, (Eds), made it clear that, the economic development means an increase in the quality and quantity in the goods and services produced by a country. This depends on an appropriate

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[120] Op cit, Ferguson, p. 369

utilization of the factors of production. Economic development to any given area is therefore, a product of the role played by the four factors of production, the land, the labour, the capital and the entrepreneurship.

Economy in an area like this or any other else can be seen as the organization and management of finance; industry and trade[121] while the development on the same vein is the process of something growing[122] that is the economy.

By this, one may look at the economic development as a growth in the organization and management of finance, industry and trade. It also has to be with all the occupations practice by the people for the promotion of the economy. In the light of this, we can simply say that, the economic development involves the growth in all the aspects of the economy.

Economy always acts as the machinery for the development and sustenance of any society. Makarfi area is one of such areas where economy formed the bases for the development. This is in relation to other factors like culture, religion, and politics among others that formed a background for a sound and prospective economy in the area.

The pre-jihad Makarfi had a formidable economic base which promoted development of individuals, families, villages and the towns.

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[121] Ibid, p. 204
[122] Ibid, p. 177

The economic activities in Makarfi area prior to 1806 was fully tied to the socio-cultural and political life of the people, it was equally, attached to the culture of *Hausa traditionalism* practised by the people of the area.

It was the rural economy which Imam Imoru described as one of agriculture, animal husbandry, hunting and fishing, which were the day-to-day activities of the Hausa peasant-farmers, herdsmen, and fishermen-who were the majority of the population.[123]

A highly organized economy it was in the area, being inherent in the cultures of the ancient Hausa, whose economy was described at the time by Smith as follows:

> *The Hausa manipulated a comparatively high and varied technology a well developed economy which although pre- capitalistic, is particularly interesting for its range of crafts, institutionalised markets, cowries and other currencies.*[124]

This economy was a stable rural one, which supported the producers. In other parts of the states, it made to support the non-producer-rulers, as well as the bureaucrats, priests, traders and craftsmen in the rural area.[125]

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[123] Op cit, Smith, M. G., p. 4
[124] Op cit, Ferguson
[125] Smith, M. G.' The Hausa system of social status', *Africa*, xxix, 3, 1959 p.248, extracted from Ferguson, p. 132

The *Hausawa* of Makarfi area have lots of occupations which they inherited from their ancestors at old Durum and the other ancient Hausa state of Zazzau, Kano and Katsina where they came from. These occupations, they continued with, even after 1806, as part of their culture. These occupations complement each other to form a sound economic base in the area.

Out of all the occupations, farming was the leading occupation of *Hausawa*, while cattle herding was left to *Fulani*[126] of which they continued to practise even after 1902.

According to Imam Imoru, some of these occupations that flourished in the Hausaland and indeed Makarfi area were: the farming (*Noma*), butchery (*Fawa*), hunting (*farauta*), pottery (*ginin tukwane*), building (*gini*), calabash making (*fafar kore*), calabash mending (*gyartai*), mats making (*sakar tabarma*), wood carving (*sassaka*), spinning (*kadi*), weaving (*saka*), leather work (*dukanci*), sewing (*dinki*), trapping (*tarko*), smithing (*kira*), drumming and singing (*kida da waka*), barbing (*aski*), tanning (*jima*), Dying (*rini*), trading (*Kasuwanci*), wrestling (*Dambe*) and fishing (*su*), among others.[127]

Some occupations practices in this area were hereditary and the others were open to any prospective artisan. The hereditary ones were

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[126] Greenberg, J., The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion, Extracted from *Wikipedia*
[127] Op cit, Ferguson, p. 51

more prestigious[128] as only few people could afford to practise them thereby became monopolized

It was stated earlier that occupations were headed by heads (*Sarakunan sana'a*) that were chosen by the *Sarki.* This was based on their professionalism on the occupation or the long history of inheritance for those who came from that particular occupational house. Someone could also be chosen the person had some outstanding impressive qualities on that particular occupation. The appointments of *Sarakunan Sana'a* were under the advice of *Masu Sarauta* and *Masu unguwa*.

Many of these occupations were engaged in at the specific centres like *Makera* for Smithing, *Karofi* for dying *and Mahauta* for butching and *Majema* for tanning. There was *Kasuwa* for trading, which gave opportunities for other occupations, and the display of both stocks and talents. The towns of Ruma, Durum and Gimi had most of these occupational centres where the occupations were practised for many centuries.

By 1806 when the Jihadists subdued the area, all these occupations were on full scale practise and; the people of this area have been utilizing them as part of their economic lives. They were traded and practised locally and outside the area.

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[128] Ibid, Ferguson, pp. 59-60.

These economic activities became part of the *Hausa* culture to the extent that mentioning some of them amount to mentioning the tradition of people. Among these activities are farming, keeping of domestic animals, hunting, blacksmithing, etc. Notable among them are farming and the keeping of animals; which were directly seen as synonymous to the *Non-Muslim Hausa* that there was a saying as; "*Noma babu hutu kamar Bamaguje*", (meaning: 'farming restlessly like one from *Non-Muslim Hausa*'). This was popular any the Hausa Muslims.

(a) Agriculture

(i) Land tenure

In Makarfi area before the Jihad, land utilization and ownership was guided and controlled by the state which was represented by fief holders, the *Sarakunan garuruwa* and *dagatai*.[129] The system of the fief ownership was maintained only that, it was the chiefs of the towns and villages that owned the lands. But with the jihad of 1806, the ownership of land in the area shifted to the Emirate of Zazzau. The system of fief ownership was maintained only that, it was reorganised. The ownership and the subsequent utilization of the lands to these fief holders and

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[129] Adamu, Abdulkadir, *British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C.1902-1945: A case study of Soba District*, M. A. Thesis, P. 38.

traditional rulers (towns and villages chiefs) were in turn, handed them over to individuals.

The tenure arrangement determined the ability of individuals to gain access to productive opportunities in land.[130] This was all the more so since more than seventy percent of the people of Makarfi area relied heavily on agriculture for survival. In the light of this, lands were restricted to the ruling class and, special levies were paid on the use of the land by the *talakawa* as the land tithe. In fact, none of the masses could get access to land without paying the land tithe *Ushira* or *kurdin kasa*. However, these rights to use land were transferred to others through inheritance, gifts, pledge, loan, sales or motgage.[131]

It was the land tenure system that gave room for the emergence of farms owned by the state or chief (*gonakin Gandu)* of which subjects or slaves were taken to work. This is what was obtainable at Kwatakware and Dan Damisa villages of which large farms were established by the emirate of Zazzau where slaves and *Talakawa* are taken to work for the state.

There were also the *gonakin Gandu* that were owned by the rich where the owners were referred to as the *Ubangida* or *Maigida*. These farms were worked on by the servants (*barori)* or the slaves (*bayi)*.

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[130] Ibid, P. 38
[131] Ibid, P 39

Some individual households owned farms which they referred them as *Gandu*. These are the family or household farms. In these family farms (*gandu*), all the members of the family worked the farm *gonan Gandu*. Krusuis referred to *Gandu* as the large family owned farmland whose caretaker is the head of the family.[132] Individuals, especially youths and wives, under the family *Gandu* system, owned their smaller portions of farms which were called *gayauna*.[133] The worked their farms at the free time and owns all the produce independent of the household (*mai gida*).

In the tradition of the people of Makarfi area, *Gandu* and *Gayauna* were two places where youths learn to work diligently that will enable them to feed their family and face the food challenges in life.

In this area however, some people worked on the farms of other people to be paid; this was referred to as *kodago*.[134] Such workers would either be from the towns and villages within the area, or from other places. They were called *'yan kodago*.

Beside the *Gandu* and *Gayauna* farms, there were also the light forest and fallow lands (*saura)* and marshy areas (*fadama)* for produce. In almost all the towns and villages in Makarfi area, *saura* and *fadama* were found; especially *fadama* was found every where for the availability

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[132] Krusuis, Op cit, p 28
[133] Ibid, Pp. 46-48.
[134] Ibid.

of streams and rivers in the area. These were used to produce cash crops or minor crops like vegetables and the general garden products.

The head farmer *Sarkin Noma* played a significant role in matters relating to agriculture in every town and village. This included co-ordination of the state's agricultural activities, ensuring the existence of a proper land tenure system in the area, and assisting the farmers in the production and marketing of produce, and complementing the general supply of crops in the areas.[135]

(ii) Farming

Farming was number one occupation to every *Hausa* community in Makarfi area, and virtually everybody in the area was a farmer. This was because agriculture was the main stay of their economy. They practised mainly rainy season farming (*damina)* in the area. Beside the people of this area equally did some garden agriculture during the dry season, that is, irrigation with use of streams available in the area.

Food production was one of the reasons for farming within the *Hausawa* of the area. Beside it, the non-Muslims among them also farmed for the production of the agricultural crops as items for their religious sacrifices. They used the agricultural crops like guinea corn

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[135] Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci, Op cit.

(*dawa*) for the brewing of their local wine (*giya*), which they used for domestic consumption, for sale and for ceremony. They also used it for sacrifice which was part of their culture. There was the cultivation of wider variety of crops which are grouped into the categories of cereals, root crops, legumes, fruits, fibres, vegetables, among others.[136]

Hausawa have been great farmers. Every household engages in farming throughout the raining season. Each an every family concentrates on their farmland during this period. The dry season was always the period of taking manure to the farmland (*kai taki gona*), by the farmer and his family members. And the rainy season was the time for work.

The concentration of *Hausawa* of Makarfi on their farm throughout the year was to enable them to take proper care of their crops through the clearing of land (*sharan gona*), ridging (*jan kunya*), planting (*shuka*), manuring (*sa-taki*), weeding (*noma*), harvesting (*girbi*) and evacuating the crops (*kwashe amfanin gona*). These are all done by the farmer and his family, Ferguson explained this as follows:

> *For the rural farmers, if they want to make farm (gona) they go to an uncultivated land (jeji) to clear it which was referred to as (kama jeji or kama gona) 'seize of a land' or 'seize of an uncultivated land'. He then goes with*

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[136] Ibid, pp. 59-65. This was further been testified by Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci

> *his family iyali with axe (gatari) to clear the land which was called saran jeji or (saran gona) 'chopping of uncultivated land' or 'chopping of farm'. Later he burn the cleared bush (kunan jeji) and then provide fertilizer (kai taki). When it is hot season (bazara), he then goes with (masassabi) a particular hoe to clear the grass (sassabe) And when the rain set in he go for sowing (shuka) which he does with (sungumi) another type of hoe and sow the seeds (iri)*[137]

Working on the farm was always sequential in nature, that is, one activity follow by another as logical as possible to achieve success. Imam Imoru further explained the stages in a typical Hausa rural setting, like that of Makarfi as follows:

> *the farmer weeds up the crops as firs weeding (noman fari). Then the application of (manure taki) which was found from goats, sheep, donkeys and horses after which, he does the second weeding (maimayi). From then, he uses (garma) another type of hoe for the final weeding. If the crops are ripe, they reaps, collects in bundles (dammai sing. dami) and takes the produce home for storing in the bins (rumbuna sing. rumbu) This was usually done by the women and children.*[138]

Farming in the *Hausawa tradition* was highly professionalized in that, all the farmers were concerned to the scientific aspects of soils, weeds, crops and climate the knowledge and experience acquainted by the farmers' overtime. This boosted their agriculture and also made it the prime occupation of the area. Ferguson says:

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[137] Ferguson, Op cit p. 51
[138] Ibid.

> *the strength of the Hausa economy was centred in the practice of scientific agriculture which the Hausa peasants had developed through the ages.*[139]

It could be the reason why, among the *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Makarfi, there were practises of some rituals (*tsafi*) in their farming activities in the area, before the 1806. These are done through what was known as the tying of land (*daurin gona*), where they did some traditions to reduce the size of their farms during working or even throughout the season after which, they releases the tie (*kwance dauri*) to return the land to its original size. This tradition helped them to farm large portions of farmland (*gandu*) which in turn, enabled them to produce large quantity of agricultural crops. Another thing was the transfers of another person's farm produce to either their farmlands or to their storage bin (*rumbu*); this they referred to as (*yaune*). They also washed their seeds with ritualised medicine, which makes their crops to multiply on production or after being brought home for storage.

Beside all these, the *Non-Muslim Hausa* did some rituals (*tsafi)* to make themselves work tirelessly on the farm from morning till evening, or throughout the season without any fatigue. This was mainly with the use of ritual soak (*jiko*) meant for that purpose. *Jiko*, acts as stimulant or tonic which take at the beginning of the rainy season.

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[139] Ibid.

All the male members of the *Non-Muslim Hausa'* communities must be able to produce food to feed their families, to that respect; they must be diligent and hard working on the farm to meet the food requirements of their families. If they are lazy (*rago*), they could not get wife, this is, because they proves incapable of feeding their wives or maintaining their family.[140]

Keeping of domestic livestock (*dabbobin gida*) like goats, sheep and chickens was another economic activity in the area before 1806. Even though that this was participated by women and children, which was because of the significance of livestock's' particularly to the religious and culture of the people. The livestock were also used for sacrifices during religious festivities, and as gifts on ceremonies. They were used as domestic food. A lot of rituals were also done, to make the livestock multiply and to have them to appear in particular colours, like pure black or pure white, as required by the sacrifice.

There was the keeping of livestock (*dabbobi)*, by some farmers. These livestock included the cattle, sheep, goats, poultry, etc. These livestock gets their food as cornstalk (*kara)* and (*harawa)* from the farms. This was complementary to some of the manure (*takin dabbobi)* used to fertilised the soil that was gotten from the livestock.

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[140] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

(iii) Pastoralism

Pastoralism is the keeping or rearing of animals by the Fulani who often moves from one place to another. They are called the 'wandering Fulani'(*Fulanin daji).* They uses to follow the cattle track (*burtali)* whenever they move especially during the raining season. Among the livestock they keep are the cattle, sheep, goats, etc.[141] The *Fulanin daji* stays with their livestock for sometime of the year at a place called *Mashekari,* which are mostly farmland. This was where they make manure (*takin shanu*) for the farmers.

Pastoralism provides people of Makarfi area with the milk, meat, butter for food, hides and skin for the making of domestic products and manure[142] to their farms.

(b) Hunting

Another notable traditional economic activity in this area before the jihad was hunting (*farauta*). It was a purely dry season activity carried out when there was no farming. It was done to serve a lot of purposes which included the killing of wild animals for food, and the acquisition of their parts for the making of traditional medicines and charms as well as their skin (*fata*) for cloths. Beside this, the *Hausawa*

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[141] Ibid
[142] Ibid

were renowned traditional hunters, they uses all the hunting activities to ascertain the strength and valour among their youths (*gwada jarumtar matasa*).

Before 1806, there were forests in various parts of Makarfi area which the *Hausawa* used for their hunting activity. They went to various places far and near for hunting. They even got to reside in many places permanently and establish new settlements. This was the case with a group of hunters from Durum who went to extreme north of the area and established the Kudan settlement over two hundred and fifty years ago.[143] Apart from the forests, they also hunted on the hills as Makarfi area was known to have been blessed with several hills of different sizes and height around them.

Hunting was a very strong traditional activity among the *Non-Muslim Hausa* before Islam; so strong was it, that male youth could be denied a wife if he refused to go and hunt to prove his brave. Thus, it was mandatory and unavoidable for all the male youths of that society to participate in because it has become an integral part of their culture.

While going for the hunting, the hunters carried along different types of weapons like knives (*wukake* sing. *wuka*), machetes (*adduna*

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[143] Sarkin Durum Alhaji Mu'azu

sing. *adda*), bows and arrows (*kwari da baka*), sticks (*sanduna* sing. *sanda*), etc which they used for the activity. These were in addition to the dogs and charms they carried along. Youths spent weeks at the hunting displaying their ability, bravery and talent.

It was also part of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* culture before 1806 that, when ever the youths are going for hunting or when they are at the hunting, a lot of charms (*shiri*) are carried along for success or to subdue others. Sometimes, there are fighting between groups of hunters which resulted in the sustenance of injuries, or even the loss of lives. Anything that happens during the hunting expedition, the families of the affected persons leaves it to destiny. Parents always assists their children with any form of ritual from home or while they are away. This protects and encourages them while in the forest for hunting.

(c) Craft and Industry

Crafts and industry have flourished in Makarfi area before 1806 where, many industries were formed particularly, in the major towns in the area. Among these industries were blacksmithing (*kira)*, dying (*rini)*, pottery *(ginin tukwane)*, sugar industry (*mazarkwaila)*, and wood carving (*sassaka)*. Others were leather work (*dukanci)*, weaving (*saka),* and many others. It should be noted that, all these industries were run traditionally with local ideas, notable one among these industries was

blacksmithing. This industry supported the agricultural activities for the economic development of Makarfi area directly. This has in turn making the socio-political activities of the area stable.

(i) Blacksmithing

Blacksmithing (*kira*) is another activity which has been in practise for a long time in the area. Blacksmithing was engaged in to support both farming and hunting.

In Makarfi area, blacksmithing provided tools (*kayan aiki*) for farming and weapons (*makamai* sing. *makami*) for hunting and warfare. They also provided the dwellers of this area with utensils (*kayan aikin gida*) for their domestic chores. This industry equally provided the people with the items for trade within the area.

Farm implements like hoes (*fartanyu* sing. *fartaya*), sickles (*laujuna* sing. *lauje*), machetes (*adduna* sing. *adda*) etc, were all produced by the blacksmiths of the area at their smithing shops (*makera*). The utensils were in addition produced, these included knives (*wukake* sing. *wuka*), cutleries, and combs (*matsefi*) etc, for domestic use. Various types of weaponry were also in production by the blacksmiths which included the knives (*wukake* sing. *wuka*), machetes (*adduna* sing. *adda*), bows and arrows (*kwari da baka*), spears and lances (*mashi*), iron shields (*garkuwa*), etc.

The main source of the iron in this area was Old Durum. There was an evidence of smelting of iron in one of the hills around the area. This was said to have continued even after their departure to the New Durum (*Sabuwar Durum).*[144] There was no any stress of bringing iron into this area from any place. As such, we conclude that the iron used in production in Makarfi area was sourced locally.

Even though that the blacksmiths in the area were not many at the time, their impact was very much felt by the society since the major economic activities in the area could not be effective without them. Blacksmiths at that moment could only be found in the old major towns like Gimi, Durum, Gazara and Ruma. The smithing occupation remained hereditary throughout the period.

(d) Trade

Trading activity was not much within this area at that time and, it remained local throughout. The trade was mainly on items like domestic animals, local wine, farm implements, weapons and utensils.

The *Hausawa* of this area were not known in trading activities like they were known in farming before the Jihad. They also concentrated on

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[144]Ibid

other occupations like farming, hunting, and keeping of domestic animals than in trade and commerse.

These communities have remained local for quite a long time because, they have no trade contact with other areas as a result of which they were not exposed to the other areas and items of trade. They held on to culture so firmly that their family needs were provided. However, the trade was carried out only locally. At that period, items were exchanged with items; which was called barter system. This system came as a result of the absence of money and the localization of the economy. Cowry (*wuri*), a form of money was eventually been introduced into the area as the medium of exchange.

Before the advent of Islamic religion and the *Fulani* leadership and traditions into this area, the economic activities were centred on cultures and traditions of *Hausawa*. It may possibly be the strongest reason why it remained local with farming, keeping of domestic animals, blacksmithing and hunting as the prime movers of it. It was however, not certain whether the caravan trade along the trade route began to enter into this area before the coming of Usman Dan Fodio (jihad of 1804), although people like Alhaji Garba, one of the caravans, was not sure

whether there was caravan trade in Makarfi area 1804 or not.[145] But the fact is that the area was in existence for over four centuries before Usman Dan Fodio.[146] Available evidence indicates that the area lies on the East to West trade route.[147]

Changes in the economy of Makarfi area was only to come after the jihad (in the area) in 1806; that was with the advent of the new rulers, scholars, traders and the Fulani that trooped into the area as cattle rearers. The opportunity accorded by the Jihadists' activities which have exposed the area to the outside world did in turn, connect the area in trade and commerce with the Zazzau and other Emirates in Hausa land and even beyond.

3.5 SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE ZAZZAU KINGDOM

Even before the vassalship relationship of Makarfi area with Zazzau by 1806, being very close to each other, we cannot dispute the element of contact between Makarfi area and Zazzau. This relation can simply be in any form as the case may be.

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[145] Alhaji Garba in Lovejoy tape no. 25, transcription, p.11. Being that Islam reached Zazzau through Kano possibly by the traders around at the time of Sarkin Zazzau Muhammadu Abu (Rabu) 1448. And some items of trade from Borno, Kano and Gonja are found in Zazzau which was possibly through trade. See J. F. Ade Ajayi, et al, (Eds), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Nelson/IUP, Ibadan, 1965, p. 96.

[146] *JHSN*, Vol. 3 No. 3, Dec. 1966, p. 465.

[147] Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi explained that it is in their tradition that the area is along the route for many centuries. Also being that Clapperton followed the route by 1824 has indicated the existence of it for several centuries before then.

The first aspect of the relationship between the two areas was that which have to do with origin. This can be seen in the fact that, some sections of the *Hausawa* of this area migrated from Zazzau kingdom many centuries ago. This was on the instance, for the administrative, economic and socio-cultural patterns of Zazzau to flourish in Makarfi area.

The political relationship between the Zazzau kingdom and the towns and villages of Makarfi area before 1806 was very minimal; the available evidence dated it back to 16th century.[148] According to traditions and some archaeological evidence available in this area, Queen Amina of Zazzau (c.1509-1536), the twenty-third *Habe* ruler of Zazzau paid an expedition to the area.[149] It was possible that she was on her way on expedition in Kano and Bauchi, as indicated by Ade Ajayi.[150] This temporarily put Old Durum under the tutelage of Zazzau kingdom. This suzerainty of Zazzau over Durum was claimed to have ended just after the demise of Queen Amina in 1536.[151]

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[148] As indicated many evidences available in the area particularly at Durum and Gazara.

[149] Still *'Ganuwar Amina'* a wall built by the Queen at the time of the expedition at Durum, which she normally did to any place, she stays. There is also the *'Rijiyar Amina'* or *'Gaba'* a well or ditch believed to have constructed by her at Gazara at the time of that expedition. But can still see in the area. All these are certification of her presence in the area as confirmed by the people of the area. This is possibly on her way to Kano and Bauchi in the second quarter of the 16th century. J. F. Ade Ajayi, in *A Thousand Years of West African History*, IUP\NELSON, Ibadan, 1965, p. 103 and Smith M. G. in *Government in Zazzau*, London, OUP, 1960, suggests that, a wall building on this scale implies mass use of corvee labour, substantial military force, intense tribute and technological development". It has also indicated that this area may likely be under the suzerainty of Zazzau since the time of Queen Amina.

[150] J. F. Ade Ajayi, *A Thousand Years of West African History*, 1965, p. 103

[151] Interview with Mallam Ibrahim Galadima

Beside this, there was a settlement called Anguwan Makau just beside Sabon Garin Durum. According to the rulers of Durum, the new settlement was named after Makau (1806-1808), the 60th and the last in the Zazzau kingdom *Habe* king list.[152] This was an indication of the cordial relationship between the two areas, but not the ruler and ruled relationship. It could possibly be in commemoration of either a visitation paid by Makau to Durum, due to the relationship, or any other political relation which might have existed between the kingdom and the old Durum in Makarfi area.

It is clear that all the administrative structures and super-structures of the old towns and villages in Makarfi area resembled that of the *Habe* kingdom of Zazzau,[153] this showed that there were some elements of political relationship between the area and Zazzau which encouraged the emulation and sustenance of its system by these towns and villages.

The greatest thing that occurred politically in the relationship between this area and Zazzau occurred in 1806, when the Jihadists advanced and successfully subdued the area through Zazzau.

This advancement made three of the old independent towns in Makarfi area to become vassals under the new Emirate of Zazzau.

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[152] Op cit Ade Ajayi.
[153] As Fulani used to call the non-Muslims

These major towns were Ruma, Gimi and Durum[154] and several other villages. This was to occur under Sarki Ishaku Jatau (c. 1783-1806) with the assistance of a Fulani scholar Mallam Musa bn Muhammad.[155]

Mallam Musa had his first encounter with the *Hausawa* of this area on his way to the headquarters of Zazzau kingdom under the Sarkin Zazzau Ishaku Jatau from Kano. Mallam Musa met resistance of the people of this area at Kudan, only for him to be assisted in crushing the resistance by the Muhammadan (Muslims) people of Zabi (*Zabin Kudan*).[156]

The consolidation of Islam in this area had been the greatest event. This was because it has resulted in the transformation of the system of administration in the area, particularly those three towns and other villages. The transformations were purely in the traditional system at the beginning. The traditional and Islamic religious systems were mixed. Mixed or syncretism practised by the then traditional rulers of the area before the jihad to hold their followers who were then divided into two. There were the non-Muslims who continued to practise their ancestral religion and cultural activities and, the Muslims who embraced

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[154] The three towns were made to become vassal of Zazzau in 1806

[155] Who was to become the Sarkin Zazzau two years after in 1808

[156] Op cit Smith M. G. p 31 Zazzau became an Emirate with the acceptance of call by the Jihadist from Sokoto in 1804 under the Sarkin Zazzau Ishaku Jatau. This influenced him to began campaign of spreading as well as consolidating Islam within his domain that took him to Makarfi area in 1806. This automatically made the major towns to become vassal of Zazzau. See Crowther M. et al., Nigeria – An Introduction to its History, Longman, Lagos, 1980, pp.95-196

the Islamic religion. But, after about two decades, Islamic religion gained control of many towns and villages by having the rulers and majority of the people embracing it. This changed the system from the hitherto the pure traditional or polytheism to the Islamic, while the rest *of Hausawa* of the area continued to practice their traditional religious and cultural life.

Economically, the relationship between Zazzau kingdom and the towns and villages in Makarfi area was equally minimal before the 1806. This was because the two areas were only connected by the caravans (*fatake* sing. *falke*) who were passers-by between Kano to Zazzau trade route, with Makarfi area as an entrepot, as well as a camping ground (*zango*).[157] And the buyers and sellers from all nooks and crannies of the area came there to transact with the caravans.[158] Among these traders were people of Zazzau who brought their items of trade to Makarfi area and bought the ones from the area to Zazzau metropolis as well. These items of trade included the grains, kola nuts, horses, natron, weaponry, animals, tools, utensils and many others.[159]

It should be noted that, the economic activities between the two areas before the jihad in this area in 1806, were not direct. The traders

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[157] Particularly where Makarfi town was situated according to Hakimin Gazara and the Sarkin Sabon Garin Gazara Alhaji Sa'idu Ibrahim
[158] Op cit, Sarkin Gubuci
[159] See the origin of Makarfi settlement in chapter two for details.

went to each other to transact, at a point in Makarfi area on Zazzau to Kano route for their transaction.[160] Some sections of the *Hausawa* are said to have been initiated from the ancient Hausa state of Zazzau, Kano and Katsina, which was due to the migration that took place from 1500 to 1805. As we have stated earlier, it is not surprising to say that the people of Makarfi area have a lot of socio-cultural features in common with the people of those Hausa states.

These socio-cultural features have to do with the food they produced and eat the cloths they wore, the names they bore, the shelters they lived in, and the ceremonies they organised. Others were the festivals they performed, the religious things and mode of worship such as singing, dancing and marriage which they practised. Being together, the people of the two areas shared these socio-cultural features in common.

For the centuries they spent there before the jihad, most if not all the *Fulani*, remained at the outskirts of the towns and villages with their cattle. This was in view of the fact that their lives were dependent on their livestock more than on any other thing. But they remained loyal to the leadership of the hosts up to the time of the jihad.

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[160] Alhaji Garba in Lovejoy tape no. 25, transcription, p.11.

Even though that the *Fulani* groups were in this area for quite a long time, and inter-married with their hosts and also mingled with them, they were only able to make little impact in the social life of the *Hausawa* of Makarfi area. Rather, many of them were assimilated into the host tradition.

In terms of the economy, the *Hausawa* and *Fulani* traditions became interwoven with each other. The *Hausawa* agricultural life of food production; needed the pastoralist life of the *Fulani* for livestock, manure, meat and other dairy products as the *Fulani* needs them too.

This area was not fully integrated with Zazzau before the jihad. It was not until 1806 that the two areas, Zazzau kingdom and Makarfi area, began to have direct and intimate relationship in all ramifications. And the major towns within the area came directly under the tutelage of the new Fulani Emirate of Zazzau.

3.5 CONCLUSION

From the forgoing, it is clear that, Makarfi area was generally characterised by traditional life in the period preceding the 19th century. This was with the element of little intervention that came through the influence of the few *Fulani* who have settled in the area initially as pastoralists.

The lives of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* of this area absolutely relied upon their tradition and religion. This was inherited from their original home, the Old Durum and the Hausa states, while the *Hausa Muslims* who came from all parts of the Hausa states practised Islamic cultures and religion.

The Nineteenth century marked a turning point to the socio-political and the socio-economic lives of the area. It was in the light of the changes generated within all the nooks and crannies of the Makarfi area which came with the intrusion of more *Fulani* into the area, with their cultures. All the development marked the official formalisation of Islamic religion over the tradition and religion of *Hausawa* in the area.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN MAKARFI AREA AFTER THE SOKOTO JIHAD

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Within the period 1779 to 1805, all the towns and villages in Makarfi area enjoyed absolute autonomy; they were independent devoid of external intervention. Not only internally, they were also free in relation to their internal affairs. This made them to use their freedom for development politically, economically, and socially as we have seen in the previous chapters.

The political structures and super-structures were highly organized. Economically, they developed their local agriculture, commerce and industry and socially, they became firm to their cultures and traditions. All these were tied to their traditional norms and values which acted as a driving force to all the sectors of life in the area.

4.1 JIHAD IN ZAZZAU

Zazzau Kingdom became fully an Emirate, which itself came under the suzerainty of the Sokoto Caliphate under the leadership of *Fulani* Jihadists Sheikh Usman bn Fodio in 1804.[1] This state has

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[1] Crowder, M., et al, *Nigeria - An Introduction to its History*, Longman, Lagos, 1980

peacefully become a part of the Caliphate, because there was a peaceful outcome in Zazzau when the Sarkin Zazzau Ishaku Jatau agreed to support the *Mujahidun*, and war was avoided.[2] Islamic injunctions and a legal frame work became things obtainable in Zazzau, which became an Emirate under the caliphate in 1804. All the rulers (*Sarakuna* pl. *Sarki*) of Makarfi area came under the administration of the Sarkin Zazzau Ishaku Jatau (1783-1806) in 1806.

By 1808, Zazzau have formally transited from her former status of an independent kingdom to that of an Emirate, subordinate to the Sokoto Caliphate. Before then, Zazzau kingdom was an independent sovereign entity with all *Sarki* as the overall ruler. He ruled according to the traditional *Habe* system, with all the structures and super-structures based on the Hausa traditional norms and values. This covered the political, economic and social set up, which was stretched to all parts subdued by the kingdom before the Sokoto jihad in 1804 and the subsequent taken over of the kingdom in 1808.

Second to the last ruler and the 59th in the *Habe* king list of Zazzau to rule was *Sarki* Ishaku Jatau. He accepted the call of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio in 1804.[3] He died and was succeeded by *Sarkin Zazzau* Makau as the 60th in November 1806. Sarki Makau was

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[2] Ibid
[3] *JHSN*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Dec.1966, p.465

deposed by Dan Fodio in 1808 on the ground of accepting the refuge of deposed Sarki Alwali of Kano.[4] After his deposition, Sarki Makau evacuated westward and Mallam Musa bn Muhammad (1808-1821) was enthroned as the first Fulani Emir of Zazzau[5] under the Caliphate.

The *Fulani* leadership of Jihadists who fought and eventually subdued the Makarfi area was Mallam Musa bn Muhammad (1808-1821) the first *Fulani* ruler of Zazzau. He held from Borno but came from Sokoto. He was to be assisted by another fellow Bornoan *Fulani* renowned Islamic scholar mallam Yamusa.[6] Both Mallam Musa Bin Muhammed and Mallam Yamusa were students of Usman Dan Fodio. Mallam Musa received flag from Sokoto after Kano have been subdued and marched for Zaria through Kano. He became the first *Fulani* ruler of Zazzau after the deposition of *Sarki* Makau (1806-1808) in 1808[7]. They were equally assisted by other *Fulani* who were cattle rearers and living in the area for several decades before the jihad.

The assistance rendered by this group of *Fulani* may not be unconnected with their socio-economic and political condition in the

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[4] Ibid
[5] Ibid, p. 467 also, NAK ZARPROF 35:2, 35:5, 35:6 and also, M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, London, OUP, 1960, p. 126
[6] D. M. Last, 'A solution to the problems of dynastic chronology in 19th century Zaria and Kano' in *JHSN*, Vol. 3 No. 3, December 1966, pp 461-471
[7] Ibid

midst of the *Non-Muslim Hausa*, particularly the *Habe* rulers. By the end of the 18th century, there was a heavy concentration of *Fulani* population in Zaria. These provided a ready manpower for the Shehu's (Dan Fodio) army when the jihad broke out in Sokoto and elsewhere from in 1804.[8]

Although, apart from an intermittent clashes between the *Fulani* rearers and their hosts the *Hausawa* farmers,[9] there was no any record of unwholesome treatment of the *Fulani* by the hosts. Even the ruling class treated them not as strangers. Only that, the rearing *Fulani* might have the zeal to assist their kinsmen on the ground that, having their fellow *Fulani* administering the towns will accord them more opportunities economically, politically or even socially, especially that, more freedom could be attained. Another group that assisted the Jihadists in the area was the *Hausawa*[10] who themselves were the masses in the towns and villages that might have one grievance or the other against the ruling class. Their assistance has in one way or the other contributed to the success of the Jihadists in the area.

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[8] Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, *Foundation of Fulani Rule in Zaria*, B.A. Project History Department A.B.U. Zaria 1972 p. 18
[9] Interview with Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[10] Interview with Mallam Musa Goma

4.2 EXTENSION OF JIHAD INTO MAKARFI AREA

We have seen an absolute traditional movement that have to do with entire *Hausawa* within the vicinity of Makarfi. However, some element of external encroachment began to infiltrate the area with the introduction of Islamic religion into the area more than a century before the jihad by traders. This was with the fact that, the area was on the caravan route from east to west.

The impact of this *Fulani* encroachment was not really felt, but in the 19th century, when the Jihadists directly invaded the area and finally took over the leadership of some prominent towns. This was because they saw this area as full of non-believers, especially with the consolidation of Islam:

> *....in Hausa land, those people who eat carrion mushe (death or unslaughtered animal), drink 'fermented grain' giya (local wine), do not perform the ritual prayers....are called Maguzawa*[11]

By this, the *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Makarfi area were taken as heathens (*arna*); this was because their *iskoki* worship made them to perform fetish rituals by serving such fetish items as, idols (*gunki*) stone (*dutse*), tree (*itace*), and some other things.[12]

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[11] Ferguson, Douglas Edwin, *Nineteenth Century Hausa land: Being Description by Imam Imoru of his Land, Economy and Society of his People,* PhD Thesis, University of Califonia, Los Angeles, 1973, p.186
[12] Ibid, p.86

Jihad in Makarfi area took place in 1806 when most of the old towns of the area like Durum, Gimi and Ruma[13] under the tutelage of Zazzau. It was the Jihadist from Zaria the Headquarters of Zazzau under Sarki Ishaku Jatau that invaded and subdued the area.

The Jihadists did not spend much time in dealing with the towns and villages of Makarfi. This was because none of the forces of any of the towns within Makarfi area was compatible with that of Zazzau, both in terms of the sizes of men, their forces, and professionalism in warfare, tactics and weaponry. This war was also sustained by a powerful economy of which Zazzau was superior, superior to each of the subdued towns or even all of them combined together. All the three towns earlier taken, Gimi, Ruma and Durum were brought under the tutelage of Zazzau in the same year, 1806.[14] And they automatically became vassal of the Emirate after the eventual subjugation of Zazzau by the caliphate in 1808

With the full incorporation of this area into the Zazzau Emirate, one of the great impacts was the influx of the *Fulani* into the area. This was in addition to those who have been in this area before. They trooped into the area due to a number of reasons. One of such reasons was handing over the leadership of the area to the hands of the *Fulani*

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[13] Oyedele, E. E., *Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960*, PhD Thesis (History), ABU, Zaria, 1987. And Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, London, OUP, 1960 Op cit
[14] Ibid

Jihadists by Zazzau after the jihad. The administration of the area was handed over to Fulani after the jihad because the *Fulani* were, apart from coming from the same stock, with the jihadist they were also of the same religion, Islam.

Another reason was the protection given to them by the religion (Islamic), since most of the towns have deviated to the Islamic legal system. It was because of this, the leadership of the towns began to protect the *Fulani* and their cattle from any form of molestation from the *Hausawa* they met in the area.

Environmental factors like the availability of grazing pastures (*makiyaya*), drinking water for their cattle (*mashaya*), vast light forest (*daji*) and the vast arable land where they obtained cornstalk (*kara*) and weeds (*ciyawa*) from the *Hausawa* farms after the harvest and some other factors have contributed immensely to the mass influx of the *Fulani* into Makarfi area from about 1806.[15]

Beside the above factors, the Jihadists were *Fulani* and among them there existed a large number of scholars who, according to tradition tended to troop in large number into any subdued area for preaching and mission of Islamic propagation. Makarfi area was not an exception as many of these scholars trooped into the area from many

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[15] Ibid, Ango and Ardo Balele

Hausa states like Zazzau, Kano, Sokoto and Katsina, among others, to settle permanently or temporarily.[16]

This development brought about transformations in the socio-cultural, political and economic activities of the area, which resulted in another impact. This was the formalizing of Islamic religion in the area as the 'state' religion by the Jihadists. This could be seen in the light of the fact that most, if not all the people who trooped into the area after the jihad were Muslims, which resulted in the changes noticed in virtually all ramifications of human life within the are. Ango Shimmi made it clear that:

> *The coming of Masallata (Muslims) into our area cause a lot of changes in our lives which was to make infacts in us immediately*[17]

A successful taking over of the general administration of these three major towns and many other villages in Makarfi area, had serious consequences in the political, economic and socio-cultural of life of the people. The changes generated could not be withstood by the *Non-Muslim Hausa* found in the area. This was beside the fact that most of these changes were intolerable to them. In most of the towns and

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[16] Interview with Salaha Garba
[17] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

villages, the *Fulani* dwelled with the original settlers peacefully with all the differences in cultures and religion.

Initially, the *Non-Muslim Hausa* found in the area were possibly allowed to continue to dwell there by the Fulani. This might be due to the fact that the *Fulani* realised that it was unwise to send them away because of their knowledge about the area. Beside that however, the non-Muslims also had a very strong economic mainstay at the time of the Jihadists' coming this was agriculture, which was needed by the *Fulani,* particularly for food. The *Fulani* might possibly do that in an attempt to proselytize the *Non-Muslim Hausa* to Islam. It is possible however, that for reasons like lack of an absolute freedom of religious and traditional practises by the non-Muslims within the towns and villages like before, the possibility of being cheated by the *Fulani* Muslim aristocracy, as well as selfishness and discrepancy shown to the non-Muslims among others, there were some problems between the members of the two groups. Although the *Fulani* have subdued the area, the non-Muslims were allowed to remain in their towns and villages.

In spite that the *non-Muslim Hausa* were allowed to stay and continue with their religion and traditions after the jihad only that, the they[1] were asked to carryout all their religious and cultural obligations

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either indoors or they go to the outskirts of the towns or villages (*bayan gari*) not within,[18] according to the demands of their faith. This shows that, even though the towns and villages were subdued, the Jihadists did not force the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Since the Holy Quran says that:

> *There is no compulsion on religion. Verily The right Path has become distinct from the wrong path. Whoever disbelieves in Taghut and believes in Allah, and then he has grasped the most trustworthy Landlord that will never break. And Allah is All-hearer, All-knower.* [2]

This could be the reason why the Jihadists did not force all the non-Muslims to convert. Becoming a Muslim was however optional. By this, while many discarded `paganism` (*kwance maguzanci*) and embraced Islam,[3] many other *Non-Muslim Hausa* refused to accept Islam, rather they resolved to migrate out to establish new settlements, and such was the case with Anguwan Bako in Ba'awa village in Gimi. Here, the *Non-Muslim Hausa* who hitherto lived in Ba'awa village in Gimi town broke away from it to establish a new settlement, but still remained in allegiance to Ba'awa and Gimi.[19] As a result of this allegiance, the *Sarkin Maguzawa* and *Sarkin Noman* Gimi being great farmers were

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[18] Ango Shimmi, Op cit.
[2] *Al-Quran*, Suratul Baqara, Chapter 2 verse 256
[3] Mallam Musa Goma, Op cit.
[19] Ibid, Ango Shimmi

always chosen from there.[20] This instance was the case with many settlements. Some of the middle migration settlements established between 1906 and 1860 within this period are Ghana, Anguwan Kwalo and many other settlements formed the typical example. Omolewa confirms that:

> *Many (*non-Muslims*) who were not convinced that they should change their form of worship and religion also fled.*[21]

The jihad has also brought about changes in population distribution. As a result of the wars, there were population movements and migrations. Many people left their places of abode and fled for safety were these many settlements were formed.[22] It is another factor that aided the evolution and growth of many towns and villages within the area after the jihad.

By the same period, some settlements were also founded by the *Fulani* who, in spite of the recent jihad development in the area, remained isolated by refusing to fully join the Jihadists even with their victory. This could be as a result of their long time relationship with the hosts.

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Omolewa, Michael, *A Certificate History of Nigeria*, Longman, Lagos, 1986, p. 121
[22] Ibid

Another factor was that some of these *Fulani* cattle rearers were not Muslims nor did them practise any religion at all. Their interest was in their livestock, such that they showed no interest in any religious development in the area. Some of these *Fulani* were Muslims or scholars long before 1806 and saw the movement as purely political; therefore they resented it. They considered their nomadic culture more significant than becoming administrators or courtiers. The level of development in such newly established settlements still remained hamlets by 1902.

There were also the sedentary *Fulani* (*Fulanin gida*) who were the leaders of the Jihadists. This group, by inter-breeding with the *Habe* (*Hausawa*), formed a group quite distinct from the pastoral nomadic *Fulani*. This new group formed have no share in the government of the conquered town.

There were indications that the *Fulani* Jihadists became extra-cautious not to out rightly temper with the traditional activities of the people they met in this area. On their part, the *Non-Muslim Hausa* were also able to restrain the *Fulani* dominance and lordship in the area. Since the jihad in 1806, the distinction between the Muslims and non-

Muslims had been far deeper than that between the *Habe* and the *Fulani* only known prior to the jihad[23]

Even the *Fulani* themselves knew that there were some people among them who did not welcome the jihad development in the area, partly because, they were either not Muslims and not ready to embrace it and its cultures, or they were intimately related to the hosts for many decades thereby shy away from offending them through jihad confrontation.

The manner, in which Clapperton saw the town of Ruma around 1824,[24] was that one of the towns subdued by the Jihadists in 1806 and the area had suffered frequent severe raids even after been subdued. It might be possible that Zazzau Emirate have faced some rebellions in the area. This was with the fact that some of these towns might have continued to intensify efforts to dislodge the vassal ship that Zazzau Emirate subjected on them. These towns might equally have experienced some raids from the neighbouring Hausa ancient states of Katsina or Kano. This has explained the reason for the frequency of attacks on the area by the *Fulani* as explained by Clapperton when he visited Ruma, one of the major towns in Makarfi area:

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[23] Smith, M. G., *Government in Zazzau*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960.
[24] Clapperton, Hugh, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa: Birth of Benin to Soccato*, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, London, 1966. p 162

> *He (chief) conducted me to his house, which was large and spacious; but the courts were overgrown with weeds and grasses; The roofs of the huts falling in; the floors wet, damp, and dirty.....and I asked him the cause of the sad state in which the town was. He said, the Fellatas (Fulani), and held his peace.* [25]

The frequent attacks could be at the instance of Zazzau Emirate's effort at ensuring the total subordination of these towns, or the effort of other Hausa states[26] on their quest to take the towns off Zazzau Emirate.

And those raids, mostly by the *Fulani* Jihadists have affected the demography and development of the area. There were migrations in and out of the area. This made it possible for the establishment of some towns and villages as well as the crumbling of many others. This was testified by Clapperton during his visitation to one of the major towns in the area around 1824:

> *'.....from the number of shady trees within them (town walls of Ruma), (the town) most have once been populous and well inhabited.'*[27]

By the end of the first decade of the 19th century, Islamic culture have started to gain root and have a more and more stabilized in both

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[25] Ibid.
[26] These states although they are Hausawa dominant states; they were administered by the Fulani rulers under the Caliphate system. These states are Katsina, Kano, etc.
[27] Op cit, Clapperton, Hugh, p. 162

the administration and economy of the area expert for few political uprises here and there, mainly before the end of the first half of the century. Here, the existing economy of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* was, to an extent, incorporated into the Islamic system under the supervision of the ruling class. This development was due to the manner in which the *Fulani* aristocracy enforced politico-economic acts to ensure a quick establishment of the religion with the assistance of the Emirate of Zazzau. Socially, it took many decades for the *Fulani* socio-cultural lifestyle to be able to become effective within the area, which was in view of the long standing *Hausawa* cultures and its wider influence on the people before the advent of Islam into the area.

4.3 THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF MAKARFI AREA AFTER THE JIHAD

The period 1806 saw a dramatic modification in the political organization of the towns and villages in Makarfi area. This was because towns like Gimi, Durum and Ruma became vassals of Zazzau Emirate,[28] which was as a result of the extension of the jihad into the area, and perhaps the role played by the people of the area, particularly Durum town.

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[28] Op cit, Oyedele and Smith M. G

Durum was said to have given Mallam Musa (Jihadists from Zazzau) some military assistance when Kudan and Hunkuyi mounted an opposition to him and his seventy-four horsemen while on his way to Zaria. That was when he arrived with the flag of jihad he received from Sokoto in 1804.[29]

A vassal was a polity or a political unit which was highly discrete and internally autonomous, although also subordinate.[30] The idea about the vassal ship remained the same; it was a chieftaincy that ran its own internal affairs in its own way. But he has to accept dictation from the overlord send money and property (including slaves) to the overlord annually.[31]

That been the case, the focus of political activities was in policy decision, the subsequent implementation and execution of which formed the task of administration.[32] It became imperative for the Jihadists to make all their policies to be in line with their objectives be it political, social or economic.

The Jihadists have tried to see that the political activities in these vassals became in line with the objectives of conquering the area. This

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[29] Lovejoy, P., *The Caravan of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900,* ABU Press, Zaria, 1980, p 83
[30] Ibid, Smith, M.G., p. 9
[31] Adamu, Mahdi, 'the economy of the Hausa capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries,' in Usman Y.B., et al (Eds), *Facts and Values: Essays in honour of Abdullahi Smith,* Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1980.
[32] Op cit, Smith, M. G., p. 17

development in turn, transformed the mode of administration of these towns through the introduction of Islam into the general administration of the political set up of the area.[33] This political set up has directly affected the political offices and the office holders, as well as the legal frame work that existed in the area from the towns down to the villages.

From 1806, all appointments and depositions within Makarfi area were in consonant with the Islamic religious provisions. For the *Sarki*, he was turbaned from Zazzau, but for the other *masu sarauta*, they were turbaned there by the *Sarakuna*. The duties and responsibilities were based on the guidelines stipulated by Islam.

Makarfi area which was known to be independent of the traditional set up which was headed by the *Hausawa* traditional ruler known as the *Sarki*. The society had continued to be under the ruling of *Sarki* who was dependent on the hegemony from Zazzau.

The (*Sarakuna* pl. *Sarki*) of this area directly came under the Emirate of Zazzau then ruled by Sarkin Zazzau Ishaku Jatau (1783-1806) who presided over the towns as the vassal states of Zazzau.[34] All other offices that existed before the jihad continued to exist as was the case before the coming of the Jihadists. These offices included those of the Prime Minister (*Waziri*), other ministers (*Masu sarauta* sing. *Mai*

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[33] Ibid, p. 23
[34] Ibid, P. 6

sarauta), like the Turaki, wali, war commandant (*Sarkin yaki*), chief courtier (*Sarkin fada*), head of palace guards (Sarkin *dogarai*). Others were the district heads (*Hakimai* sing. *Hakimi*), village heads (*masu unguwa* sing. *mai unguwa*) and occupational heads (*Sarakunan sana'a* sing. *Sarkin sana'a*). M. G. Smith however made a socio-economic description of the title holders that they were:

> *characterised by such attributes as fiefs, clients barori, praise-songs take, allocated farmlands, compounds and other possessions, and area grouped differently in the various structures into order of ranks.*[35]

Most of their duties however remained as they were and it was from the ancient Hausa states, most if not all, of those office titles were originally copied. The offices still stand in the political system of the area even with their transformation into the Islamic states under the Caliphate. Some changes were initiated in the administration and economy of the towns to make them in line with the Islamic provisions and control under the new *Fulani* administration. The actual structure of government in Gimi, Ruma and Durum (in particular) was that of Hausa rulers built up over the centuries and with new development, the towns were ruled by *Fulani* aristocracy who have now, replaced the old Hausa

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[35]Smith, M. G. in Fage, J. D., *A History of Africa,* Hutchinson & co. (publishers) Ltd, London, 1978

aristocracy. This structure has to be reformed in the interest of Muslim law, fair taxation, and efficient and honest administration.[36]

To many of the dwellers of this area, this was really fairer compare to what was obtainable in the towns and villages prior to the coming of the *Fulani* Muslim aristocracy by 1806, while others saw it as a way of undermining their traditional way of life which they practised for many centuries. As such, the new system was welcome by a section of people of the area while the others were really not happy with it.

Some offices which did not exist before became incepted, which was to make the administration be within the confines of the Islamic state as the Hausa megapolitan states and headquarters of the Caliphate Sokoto. These new offices included those of Chief Judge (*Alkali*) and Imam (*Liman*). Beside these, some other smaller offices were also created. Examples of them were the *Ladan* who was attached to the Imam and the *Mufti* who was attached to the Judge. All these were assigned from Zazzau, and most of the people appointed came from Zazzau or from among the new settlers who came from other areas within Hausa lands such Kano, Katsina and Sokoto.[37] Majority of these appointments were given to the *Fulani.* This was either as a result of

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[36] That is what explains the presence of many settlers from Sokoto, Kano and Katsina in the area most of whom are Fulani up to now.

[37] Last, D. M., 'A solution to the problems of dynastic chronology in 19th century Zaria and Kano' in *JHSN*, Vol. 3 No. 3 December 1966, pp 461-471

their scholarship and devotion to religion, or the supportive role they played in subduing the area.

Even though, the Head of the jihad the Sarkin Zazzau Ishaku Jatau[38] was *Habe*, majority of the Jihadists were *Fulani* mostly from Kano under Mallam Musa bn Muhammad (1808-1821).[39] Sarkin Ishaku Jatau was to become the first Fulani ruler of Zazzau after the deposition of Sarki Makau (1806-1808) in 1808.

Zazzau Emirate did not administer Makarfi area as a whole entity which was because by the time it subdued the area, Zazzau did not make it a single entity, but as an area with different autonomous towns and villages. Under the *Fulani* rule of Zazzau, these towns and villages continued to be administered differently. They were assigned under the supervision of various *masu sarauta* from the Zazzau Emirate council in Zaria. Gangara, Ruma, Makarfi town, Gubuci and Meyere towns were directly under the watchful eyes of the *Sarkin Zazzau* himself. Sakadadi was supervised by the *Iya*. Other places like Durum and Dan Damisa were supervised by *Turaki Karami* and Basawa was in the hands of *Dan*

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[38] The last Habe ruler in Zazzau
[39] He is the first ruler to rule the Emirate after the Jihad of 1804.

Madami. That was how these towns and villages were shared among the *masu sarauta* of Zazzau.[40]

The *Fulani* aristocracy continued to administer the area under the watchful eyes of Zazzau up to the coming of the British in 1902. This was with only few positions given to the early settlers to partake in the administration. These positions include the offices of *Sarkin Noma* and *Sarkin Maguzawa* as the case of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* of Anguwan Bako in Ba'awa community of Gimi town.

4.4 THE SOCIAL RELATIONS

The social organization within this area from the inception of the *Fulani* Muslim administration has greatly rested on the religious and *fulbe* cultures. It was however supported by the political will of the administrators. It was to become a replacement of the *Hausawa* tradition which has been on practise in the area for many centuries.

Islamic religion spelt out the guiding principles of social interaction among the Muslims themselves, or between them and non-Muslims. Consequently, the *Fulani* Jihadists were mostly Muslims and *Fulani* who were fully acquainted with Islamic knowledge for social interaction. They

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[40] Smith, M. G., *The Economy of the Hausa Communities of Zaria: A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council*, HMSO, London, 1955, p. 72

also shared a lot of things in common. The *fulbe* code of morality (*fulaku*) became widespread in implementation within the towns and villages in Makarfi area.

From the on set, there was misunderstanding between the Muslim *Fulani* and the *Hausawa,* who saw the *Fulani* and Islamic cultures as a threat to their long standing tradition. The *Hausawa* particularly the non-Muslims were not willing to accept the new social developments. The *Fulani* Muslims, on their part, descended on the non-Muslims whenever they attempted any act of rebellion. This has generates misunderstanding from time to time. With time, the differences between them were buried for development.[41] They were able to understand themselves and lived together as partners in development.

Due to the fact that, the *Fulani* presence in Makarfi area have a long standing history, and the fact that they constituted the biggest social group after the *Hausawa*, it become imperative to look into their socio-political and socio-economic set ups in the 19th century. The relationship between the *Fulani* to their hosts was not only in Makarfi area, even when the *Habe* rulers of Zazzau moved from Turunku to the present site of Zaria city they found *Fulani* herding their cattle there.[42] This is a proof of the fact that the *Fulani* have been wanderers for many

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[41] Interview with Mallam Hamza Godai
[42] Sa'idu Alhaji Sani, Op cit, P. 34

centuries and in many places, and Makarfi area was not an exception.

The general nature of the *Fulani* socio-political setting before and even after the jihad was that the *Fulbe* (*Fulani*) society, which was an exclusive one. They retained this nature even when living among non-*Fulbe*. The authority was in the hands of *Ardo'en* that is, a group of chiefs. The major political unit among the *Fulbe* were the Family and the community group of elders (*Lenyol)*. In the former, its head (normally the Father) exercised full authority. The *Lenyol* on the other hand, was headed by a single leader when ever its members reside in the same place or by the various family heads when they are dispersed. Basically, *Ardo* was a kinship term in the sense that the incumbent head was either the father of his dependants or the most senior man of a closely related group. In the latter case, the *Ardo* have little influence; actual authority was exercised over families by their respective heads. However, the *Ardo'en* was the clan or group of unity (*foci),* when performed important functions in the group. They officiated at ceremonies such as the youth annual cultural festival (*sharo)*, naming, and marriages. In addition however, the *foci* have judicial and political functions. [43]

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[43] Ibid, p. 36

One thing with the *Fulani* of the area was the fact, that all of them acknowledged the authority of the local rulers.[44] This was considered necessary to enable them make their herds graze unmolested, and for the security of their cattle.

Since the *Fulani* are not united clans (that is living in one place). They could not make any effort to confront the political dictatorship and the economic exploitation of the non-*Fulbe* before the jihad. But their inability to rise against the non-*Fulani* overlordship should be seen in the light of morality or modesty (*fulaku*), which the *Fulani* are well known of. Another factor was the fact that, with the authority now under the control of their fellow *Fulani*, most if not all, of the problems faced by the *Fulani* in the area were drastically warded up.

The aspect of *fulaku* which was seen as the code of the *Fulani* was very significant to their social and political life because, it was important in dealing with relatives, friends, parents and even others. *Fulaku* regulated the lives of the *Fulani*; it had some key aspects like:

> *Shyness semtende, patience munyal,care and forethought hakkilo, obedience doutare, respects for elders mangingo, trust yerduye, courage chusu, and strict observance of religion ainol dina.*[45]

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[44] Ibid, p 36
[45] Abubakar, Sa'ad, *The Lamibe of Fombina : A political history of Adamawa 1809-1901'*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1977, p. 33

It was difficult to find conflict among the *Fulani* groups or individuals and even if there was any, the elders (*maube* pl. *maudo*) intervened and settled it amicably. They were highly united. They were united by a social force right from childhood. This was an age group association called *walderu*. It comprises males called *Ngorgi* and females called *Sappa*. They were age mates who played and grew up together. This group formed a better opportunity for pairing, particularly during the famous *sharo* festivals. That was how they grew to adulthood.

> *Walderu was of profound importance. Apart from generating love, brotherhood, and the sense of belonging in the youths, it fostered strong ties which were essential for the continued existence of Fulbe (Fulani) society in its original form.* [46]

In the event of conflict, between *Fulani* and non-*Fulani*, the *Ardo'en* usually resolved them by meeting their non-*Fulani* counterparts. Within the family, the household was always respected by the size of his herd. He was the leader so long as the cattle remained under his control. This was what was applicable even at the community levels. His (head of the family) sons would render their services in order to be rewarded with sufficient cattle by him to enable them begin their

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[46] Ibid, Abubakar, Sa'ad, p. 32

independent lives. Ownership of cattle began at birth, usually as gifts from relatives, emphasizing the importance of cattle in the society.[47]

Despite the fact that the *Fulani* in the area and elsewhere were the same, some socio-cultural differences emanated among them in this area. This resulted in the clear-cut distinction that was to continue even with the British intervention in the area by 1902. This distinction was between the 'Settled *Fulani*' or Town *Fulani*' (*Fulanin gida*) and the pastoral nomad *Fulani* (*Fulanin kiwo*). On the sedentary *Fulani* Smith explains:

> *Settled Fulani' or 'Town Fulani' are the terms used to distinguish this ruling aristocracy from the bush or nomad Fulani of the cattle camps.* [48]

By the 19th century, the economy of the *Fulani* stock of Makarfi area have inter-woven with that of the *Hausawa*, they relied upon each other. The *Fulani* were given grazing pastures and some portions of farmland. They have in turn, paid tributes to the rulers, sold bovine products to the urban inhabitants, and gave out their cattle drops (*takin Shanu*) to manures the farms of the peasants.[49]

It is significant to note that before the nineteenth century, the *Fulani* were entirely independent in their basic economic needs. To

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[47] Ibid, p. 36
[48] Ibid, p. 42
[49] Ibid, p. 36

avoid farming and to preserve the herds from dwindling, they looked to the non-*Fulbe* (*Fulani*) people for food stuff; either in the dry or the wet season. In this area long before the 19th century, there were farmers amongst the *Fulani* though, they were extremely few. Most of the *Fulani* were contended with and concentrated on their cattle alone.

After the jihad, a substantial number of the *Fulani* began to farm possibly, due to the availability of farmland, more freedom and increase in their food needs, hence the need to complement, and the need to reduce their heavy reliance on their hosts. There is evidence that many among the hitherto nomadic *Fulani* have settled in the towns and villages after the jihad. For those with few cattle, farm lands were obtained only after a strong relationship has been developed with the non-*Fulani*.[50]

It is strongly believed that the presence of other minor group of tribes in Makarfi area was due to the trading and commerce, the religious activities, and the possibility of having *Rumada* slave camps, which were all activities that existed in the area after the jihad of 1806. This further shows that they began to dwell in the area some time after the Jihad.

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[50] Op cit, Adamu, Mahdi, p 214

There were some few Nupe in this area whom were believed to have been there because of the fact that Makarfi area was sited along the trade route which from Kano, which was passing down to Bida and Kontagora, through Zaria. With this, it was possible that some Nupe among the traders could have settled. Beside this, some sections of Nupe land to the West were once under the Zazzau kingdom. It is likely that, Zazzau mobilised some Nupe people from Nupe land into the area; which could have been the same way some of them are found at *Anguwan Nufawa* in Zaria city. It is also believed that some of these *Nufawa* were among the slaves camped at the *Rumada,* established by Zazzau royal family. They were said to have been set free by the British proclamation of April 1901. However, it is the *Nufawa* group that have a substantial number of people in this area after the *Hausawa* and *Fulani*. *Nufawa* were mainly found at places like Tudun Wada and Bakin Kasuwa in Makarfi town.

One of the relations was the social relation which has to do with the religion and the religious education. Here, the scholars of Makarfi area and those of Zaria city were closely related to each other. There was a time when all the scholars of Zaria city went on exile to Durum on an instance of a misunderstanding between them and the then Emir.

Their leader was called the Limamin Durum, Mallam Abubakar.[51] This indicated the relationship between Zazzau and Durum at the close of the 19th century.

Some Tauregs (*Asbinawa*) are found at Dan guzuri and elsewhere as well as Kanuri (*Kambarin Barebari*) who were of Borno origin are also found residing in Makarfi area and other towns in the area. These groups were said to have come as a result of trade on Kolanut and natron among other things. They are refered to as *Agalawa* and *Tokarawa* and the *Kambarin Barebari*.

All the three groups came into the area from Kano, Sokoto, and Katsina and Borno areas after living the Sahara. They were said to have settled between 1850s and 1860s.[5251] This was because they are said to have completed their commercial infrastructure by the middle of the 19th century through the creation of communities in Zaria and a few places in northern Zaria.[52] Paul E. Lovejoy argues that:

> *Agalawa, Tokarawa and Kambarin Barebari were to establish marketing networks within the Hausa heartland of the Sokoto caliphate. From their original home in Katsina area, Agalawa and Tokarawa expanded through Kano Emirate and eventually established communities in all the maior Hausa*

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[51] It was not certain whether it was the time of Sarkin Zazzau Yero. And Mallam Abubakar who was a teacher to the next Sarkin Zazzau Aliyu Dan Sidi became scribe (magatakarda) under his student. The post he continued to hold even under the Sarkin Zazzau Lawal Kwasau after the demised of Aliyu Dan Sidi (See *Wakokin Aliyu Dan Sidi*, Sarkin Zazzau Zaria, NNPC, 1980, p 2).
[52] Op cit, Paul Lovejoy, p. 87

[52] Ibid, p. 8

centres of the caliphate, which the Kambari spread from their original home Gummi, to Jega, Sokoto, Kano, Katsina and Zaria.[53]

It should be noted that the *Agalawa*, *Tokarawa* and *Kambari* (of *Barebari*) groups were found at the commercial nerve centre of the area, Makarfi, which was to develop a famous market by the close of the 19th century; that is, by the third quarter of the century.[54] Although they themselves were assimilated by the overwhelming early social set up of the area, since they were few in number, amongst the *Hausawa* and *Fulani*. One finds the groups of *Agalawa*, *Tokarawa* and *Kambari* (of *Barebari*) etc, at Makarfi town, Dan Guzuri, Kwatakware, Rahaman Wali, etc. These groups still maintain their cultural identity despite the fact that they were not many as compared to the two major groups.

These immigrants have successfully protected their commercial interest, (even when they seem to have become *Hausa*) through the adaptation of the Hausa institutions of *asali* (origin).[55]

All the three groups were rapidly incorporated into Hausa society, and by the middle of the nineteenth century they dominated the kolanut importation[56] in addition to other trading activities. They also related their origins to the desert-side trade of the Tauregs and Borno economies,

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[53] Ibid, p. 92
[54] Interview with Sarkin Gubuci Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isah II
[55] Op cit, Lovejoy, p 53, the Asali connote to origin.
[56] Ibid, p 75

probably within a few early decades of 1800 A.D. The closely related *Agalawa* and *Tokarawa* were of *Bugaje* (Tauregs) origin that is the *asali* claimed a previous servile status in Taureg society. The *Kambarin Barebari* was a group of refugees from Borno, and they were part of a much larger emigration of Borno traders.[57] A lot of *Barebari* migrated to parts of Hausa land before the 19th century which was due to the trade, scholarship, politics and others. [58]

The *Agalawa* lived in sedentary, agricultural communities in Katsina and Kano Emirates, which were the by-product of Tauregs trade with Hausa economy, while the *Tokarawa* were descendants of low status nomads who abandoned livestock herding and cattle trading to settle permanently in the savannah on other trade. [59]

These three merchants descended from the immigrants to the Hausa country, most of whom survived by the early nineteenth century. They responded to the possibility of improving their economic and social position within their adopted society by deliberately fostering a sense of corporate identity based on origin and occupation.[60]

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[57] Ibid, p 77
[58] Ibid, p 77
[59] Yusuf Bala Usman, et al (Eds), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, NNPC, Zaria, 1983, pp 196-203
[60] Op cit, Lovejoy, p 75

Makarfi area was one of the areas in Hausa land where, these immigrants happened to migrate into and they stayed there for almost two centuries.

4.5 THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Islam has taken over the towns as the official religion, being the religion of the majority of the towns' official of the area. Majority of the population came to identify themselves as Muslims and with the dominant Islamic culture.[61] However, it was obvious that the people of the area have continued to maintain their cultures and traditions even with Islam. These cultures and traditions of the people were strongly adhered to in the rural areas than they were in the towns especially that rural areas are the custodians of culture. In some of the rural homesteads, especially among the specialised hunters (*mafarauta*), farmers (*manoma*), and pastoralists (*makiyaya*), belief in and the devotion to *Iskoki* was the norm. This was because according to their beliefs, it was so closely bound up with man's relationship with nature, which was the major pre-occupation of this section of rural population in Makarfi area.[62]

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[61] Usman, Y. B., Op cit P.70
[62] Ibid

There were some who agreed that the *iskoki* only performed their work with the permission of Allah, yet, they in their traffic with the super-natural being, considered it sufficient to deal with the *iskoki* and ignore Allah, considering him remote and uninterested in the affairs of man as compared to *Iskoki*. Devotees of this notion were called *dan/'yar* (pl: *'yan bori).*[63]

With the proclamation of Islamic religion in this area, the pre-Islamic religious practice has not remained unchanged in spite of its spread to Hausa land. Some activities of Islamic worship have been incorporated into the worship of *iskoki.* Hence, the belief that the success or otherwise of their occupation lies with the *Iskoki*.

The *iskoki* worship was partly abandoned by many *Non-Muslim Hausa* for acceptance of the 'new' religion, Islam. Those who abandoned the traditional *Iskoki* worship for Islam and became *Hausa Muslims* regarded them as the real *Hausawa* only not *Non-Muslim Hausa* any more. That is, they attributed themselves to the *Hausawa* who were there before and after the jihad, and ignored their past[64] while; the remaining *Non-Muslim Hausa* remained with their *iskoki* in the name of *Bori.*

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[63] King, A. V.,'A Boorii liturgy from Katsina', *African Language Studies*, vii, 1966, pp. 105-106 in Ferguson, Douglas Edwin, *Nineteenth Century Hausa land: Being a description by Imam Imoru of his land, economy and society of his people,* PhD Thesis, University of Califonia, Los Angeles, 1973, p. 165.
[64] Op cit, Ferguson

Bori is a name that referred to the possession of the worshipper by the spirits (*iskoki*)[65] even after embracing Islam. This was considered by the Muslims as syncretism since they synchronise Islam with their traditional religion. In fact, one of the common features of the social life in *kasar Hausa* was that majority of the people tended to mix rituals (*tsafi*) with Islam.[66]

The *'yan bori* performed all the Islamic religious obligations like prayer (*salla*), fasting (*azumi*), giving the tithe (*zakka*) and so on, like all the Muslims yet, they resolved that they were together with their *iskoki* and were assisted by them in one way or another.

> *Yet even after its (Jihadists) success pagan rites were openly practised, whilst today, after a more thorough Islamization, they are perpetuated in the bori, and many communities remained pagans.*[67]

However to the *Fulani* Jihadists, 'the real religion accepted by God is Islam';[68] and any thing contrary to it is regarded fetish. This could be the reason why Imam Imoru (in Ferguson) considered *bori* as being fetish worship, contrary to the people opinion.[69]

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[65] Ibid, p. 165
[66] Kani, A. M., 'The political and social basis of the Sokoto jihad', in '.Usman, Y. B , et al (Eds), *'Facts and Values : Essays in honour of Abdullahi Smith'*, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1980, p. 295
[67] Trinmingham, J. S., *Islam in West Africa*, OUP, 1959, p. 25
[68] Gumi, Al-Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud, Rabbil *Azhar ila ma'anal Qur'an*, Chapter 3, verse 19, p. 65.
[69] Op cit, Ferguson, P.66. As confirmed by Salaha Garba Makarfi.

It was further confirmed by Trinmingham, where he says that the communal worship of spirits was not abandoned, but became confined to a mediating group of initiates, *'yan bori.* This means a change in the whole conception of relationship with spirits.[70] This might be as a result of belief that the *iskoki* were divided into two groups, which are the good spirits (*fararen aljannu*) and the evil spirits (*bakaken aljannu*). *Fararen aljannu* or *iskoki* always assisted the humans in the curing of ailments and in protecting them from the evils of both human beings and spirits. While, the (*bakaken* aljannu) were believe to harm them directly, or assisted human being to harm his fellow human being.[71] That was why should any of them become sick spiritually, it was said 'he was touched or harmed by evil spirits', that is, (*'bakaken/bakin aljani* pl. *aljannu sun taba shi* or *sun shafe shi'*). If it was madness; it used to be called '*ciwon tabuwar hankali'* which meant, the person was touched by spirits.

In Makarfi area *Iskoki* were possessed by the people who wished to dwell in the *bori* activities or to become *'yan bori*, most of whom were women. They were initiated by the mother of *Bori* (*Uwar bori*). Men also practiced *bori*, but women were more common in it. A man who practised *bori* was called "*bori* son" (*dan bori*) while, the woman was "*bori* daughter" (*'yar bori* pl. *'yan bori*). The act of possession was linked

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[70] Op cit, Trinmingham, J. S., p. 38
[71] Op cit, Ferguson, p. 165 this was also confirmed by Salaha Garba Makarfi

to riding the *iska*, and was said to mount (*hau*) it's devoting the horse (*doki*).

> *.....possession is involved by trained devotees known as 'ya'yan bori....among whose number women often predominate.....The state of possession is induced with the aid of music which, depending on the circumstances, may vary from single rhythmic hand clap to the elaborate performance.....*[72]

According to tradition of the areas, people were initiated into *bori* through what was known as *girka* which was carried out by the *Uwar bori*. For the initiation, the following had to be provided: black Billy goat (*bunsuru*), big cooking pot (*tukunya*), *sterculiaceae americana (hankufa), convolvolaceae (dama rafi), sterculiacene setigera (kukuki)* and other roots. Others were strings of cowries (*wuri*), rosary (*tasbaha*), cloth white (*fari*) and *saki*, pipe (*lofe*.) etc.

All the spirits (*iskoki*) have different names depending on who was being initiated. There was *Mallam Alhaji, Dan Galadima, Inna, Makau, Gajimare, Arne, Gangau, Na Gozo, 'Yar Fulani, Nakada* etc. Every newly initiated person should have only one or two *iska*.[73] Later, with new developments in regards to *bori*, apart from being initiated, some

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[72] Ibid, Ferguson, p 189 Also see Greenberg, J., *Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religions*, J. J. Augustine Publishers, New York, 1946, pp 30-39.
[73] Salaha Garba Makarfi

people in the area even inherited the *iskoki* from their parents[74] thereby passing them down to their children and relatives.

Bori have developed into a very strong socio-cultural cult among *Hausawa* in the area after the jihad. They organized themselves in towns and villages to the extent they form a socio-political structure with *Sarkin bori* as the head, *Magajiyar bori* or *Sarauniyar bori* to oversee the women wing of the cult, *Galadiman bori,* among others.[75]

Even today after a century of *Fulani* rule, the *Bori* cult, which Greenberg has shown to be organized on a lineage basis among the `pagan` Hausa, flourished in the Islamic capitals.[76]

One attribute related to *bori* as to pre-jihad *iskoki* traditions is the assistance in solutions to human problems. The spirits were taken to be the providers of the medicine that served as the solutions. With *bori*, medicines were given through the *'yan bori*. Different types of medicine were provided to the people for ailments, victory or protection.

Another form of keeping *iskoki* in Makarfi area was that of keeping monster (*dodo*). The non-Muslims keep a pot (*tukunya*) in the room or behind it, in which the *dodo* is kept and supplied it with all its need such as blood, food crop, etc. The *dodo* will then reciprocate by giving the

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[74] Ibid
[75] Op cit, Smith, M. G., p. 5
[76] Op cit, Ferguson,

devotees any thing they needed like money, food, and other items and solution to their problems.

There was also another fetish practice among the *Non-Muslim Hausa* when they took honey (*zuma*), or fresh milk (*madara*) and poured it into the 'house' of black ants (*tururuwa*), and pleaded with it. Some traditionalist believed that evil spirits (*iskoki*) are living in black ants' quarters.[77] It was not only the honey and milk; lots of other items are kept at the *gidan tururuwa* or termites mound (*gidan tururuwa ko suri*). These included the roots and herbs (*saiwoyi da gayaye*), mainly after use to solicit for the spirits' acceptance of their need. They also keep money in form of cowries, different types of food crops, and various items for reasons ranging from either the curing of sickness, protection from sickness and harm or, the acquisition of victory over an enemy.

The basic *Hausa traditional* dogma was completely in a sharp contrast to that of the more recent dogma of Islam. The recognition and elevation of *Iskoki* which were called spirits[78] was in contrast with the recognition of Allah (SWA) by Muslims. In Islam, Allah (SWA) said; 'Indeed, associating (anything with Allah) is the greatest wrong'.[79]

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[77] Ibid, p 165
[78] Ibid, Ango Shimmi
[79] *The glorious Qurun,* Suratul Luqman, 31:13.

It is obvious that cultures and traditions of *Non-Muslim Hausa* were drastically reduced with some disappearing completely, due to Islamic religious activities[80] in Makarfi area as from the 19th century.

4.6 THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Makarfi area was frantically been situated on the trade East to West route. It was on the trade route between Kano and Zazzau kingdoms. This was the reason why the long distance caravans and the local traders who were mostly Muslims have had with the advancement of Islam, an opportunity to fully developed trade and commerce in the area by the 19th century. This development (trade) seems to have been part of the reasons for the economic expansion that took place in the major population centres of *kasar Hausa,*[81] Makarfi area inclusive.

From the beginning of the *Fulani* administration in the area, trade and commerce which were not flourishing there before have expanded, though it was still locally. Markets developed in the area which Imam Imoru classified into 'big' and 'small' markets, presumably on the criteria of the frequency of the markets days as well as the political importance of the city or town in which they were found and the volume of trade. There was also to some extent, the factor of antiquity in relation to

[80] Imam Imoru stated the same thing on the items of trade with what was obtainable before the 19th century in Ferguson, p. 375. Also see chapter three.
[81] Op cit, Usman, Y. B., p.16

market.[82] Even with this, it can be said that virtually all the markets in Makarfi area prior to and in the 19th century have expanded. This could be in the light of how the political set up of the towns and villages were developing. The economic activities were developing along side with politics.

The amount of trade in the markets was low especially in the patronage of commodities. Also worthy of note was the fact that, all the towns and villages have all had market days (*ranar kasuwa*). Imam Imoru (in Ferguson) explains this further:

> *Markets in the major cities of Hausa Land -Birnin Kano, Sokoto, Gandu(Gwandu), Jega, Zazzau, Katsina and Daura- are held daily within the city wall.....and, I believed that every market held outside the city wall has one or more days.....each week.*[83]

The 'small or local markets' like those of the three towns in Gimi, Ruma and Durum, held only on specific days of the week. The days were Saturdays, Fridays and Wednesdays. All the buyers and sellers converge at the market square for the transaction. The local markets within the Makarfi area were developed from the beginning of the 19th century, which was as a result of the local trading networks. The markets became linked together by the exchange of salt (*gishiri*), natron

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[82] Op cit, Smith, M. G, p. 369
[83] Op cit, Usman, Y. B., p. 16

(*kanwa*), kola nuts (*goro*), slaves (*bayi*), horses (*dawaki*) and other local items which have produced a system of markets.[84] This area was well known for lots of items of trade which were traded with the outside world. Ferguson says some thing on one of these commodities:

> *The merchandise of these small Traders consisted for the most part, of those vegetable cakes called Dodowa (daddawa).....which constituted an important item of trade, as the Dorawa.....from the fruit of which those cakes are make, thrives in great abundance in the province of Zekzek (Zazzau).* [85]

Gradually, trades began to develop to the extent that some towns like Gimi,[80] Dan Guzuri, Ruma and later Makarfi were made to become stop over *zango* for the caravans. Here traders from Borno, Kano, and Gonja passed to Zazzau,[81] to Zangon Katab, Nupe land, up to Yoruba land (*Kurmi*). Among the early traders into this area were the *Asbinawa* who are said to have made Dan Guzuri settlement their stop over (*zango)*, the *Agalawa* and the *Tokarawa*. Mallam Abdu Magaji (a nineteenth century trader) said he moved with four donkeys, five donkeys and so on as the case may be.[82] From Kano to Zaria by foot

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[84] Op cit, Ferguson
[85] Alhaji Garba in Lovejoy transcription, tape 25, p 8
[80] Imam Imoru states Zazzau among the areas of trade all the way from Gonja even prior to 19th century in Ferguson, p 377. The area Ferguson is referring to was at the Northern part of the Zaria metropolis precisely taking about the villages of Dogarawa and Zabi of which, the *Daddawa* they produces was taken as far as Isa in Gobir and all other Emirates in the Hausa land.
[81] Mallam Abdu Magaji in Lovejoy transcription, tape 25, p. 5
[82] Ibid, p 8

was a three days journey, though, some people undertakes the journey in a day. The journey begins from Kano to Madobi, to Bebeji, to Paki, to Auchan then to Gimi, to Likoro and then Zaria.[83] There was increase in the variety and quantity of commodities of trade,[84] because it involved traders from far and near, outside the towns and villages of the area.

Greater percentage of the economy of many states rested upon the tributes and taxes collected from the subjects, and the tolls from the traders who were mostly from other areas. Tributes (*gaisuwa*) and taxes (*haraji*) are collected by the *Fulani* aristocracy from the subjects of the towns and villages in Makarfi area. These collections were used to settle the administrative and security needs of the towns. They were also used for the payment of the vassalship annual tributes to Zazzau.

The taxes and tributes were collected through the messenger (*Jakada*), an intermediary between the villages and the rulers (*Sarakuna*) of the towns. The *Jakada* keeps some portion of the collections to himself which was called *Ushira*.

Among the forms of taxes levied in the area in the 19th century were the occupational taxes, the blacksmith tax, pit tax from the dyers, hoe tax from the farmers, etc. There were also the cattle tax (*Jangali*) land tax from the household (*kurdin sarauta*), market-sale slaves' tax

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[83] Ibid
[84] Op cit, Ferguson

and the toll levied from caravans. All these were in addition to grains (*hatsi*), cash (*kudi*) and domestic animals (*dabbobin gida*) collected as tithe called (the *Zakka)* which was religious. Ade Ajayi further explains:

> *As regards taxation and revenue, with the adoption of Islam, an elaborate system of taxes and dues developed from the ancient tribute in grains and other products. the taxes and dues includes; zakat (zakka), a tax on available income authorised by the Quran for charitable purpose, the jangali paid on livestock, the kharaj (kurdin kasa) or land tax, and the jizya (gandu) or capital tax generally levied on the conquered people and usually paid on slaves. There were also tax on professions, paid for instance, by craftsmen, butchers, dyers, prostitutes, dancing girls, and others. Dues were moreover levied on 'luxury' crops such as tobacco, onions and sugarcane.* [85]

Tributes (*gaisuwa*) were given by the title holders (*masu sarauta*) and the occupational chiefs (*Sarakunan sana'a*). In some occasion, masses (*talakawa*) also used to give both at the villages or town levels.

The tolls were collected on the caravan routes and markets. The payment was according to the quantity or amount of loads or donkeys conveying the load, that some amount of cowries were paid for each donkey at the point of entry into the town or merely passing by. The tax was also collected in kind. The collection of these dues were left in hands of courts favourites and influential men and fief holders, all of

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[85] Ade Ajayi, J. F., et al,(Eds), *A Thousand Years of West African history,* Ibadan University Press/Nelson, Ibadan, 1965, p. 110

whom resided in the capital and delegated their duties to minor officials.[86]

4.7 MAKARFI RELATIONS WITH ZAZZAU AND OTHER EMIRATES 1806 – 1902

As we have seen earlier, by 1806 some prominent towns have lost their independence to Zazzau. This accorded for a direct link between Makarfi area and the Emirate of Zazzau, politically, economically and socially. As vassal towns, Gimi, Durum and Ruma have politically came under the supervision of the rulers of Zazzau from Zaria. Anything they do must have been with the consent of Zazzau Emirate. They pay homage (*gaisuwa*) frequently, and attended the religious annual festivities like *Sallah* and paid the annual tribute in both cash and kind to Zazzau.[87] In addition, the towns supplied labour force to the city in times of need, and supplied warriors in times of war.[88]

The appointments of the vassal chiefs was done by the overlords, hence, the vassal relationship with the suzerain was conceived in terms of clientage (*barori*). The turbaning of the vassal chief was done either at overlord's capital that was in Zaria or by the emissary of Sarkin Zazzau at the vassal. Some formal oaths of allegiance which specified the

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[86] Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirate of Northern Nigeria*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p. 220
[87] Alhaji Adamu Dan Tsuntsu
[88] Sarkin Gimi

mutual right and obligation between the vassal and the overlord were taken.[89] Failure to adhere to these oaths was capable of emanating conflict between the two areas. If a vassal resisted successfully, the vassal regain its freedom from the overlord. But, if it was not successful, the vassal chief would then be deposed and the vassal dealt with by the overload accordingly.

The towns of Durum, Ruma and Gimi, were among the close by proximate vassals of Zazzau. Durum was given the status of vassalship at its conquest in 1806. The traditional chieftain drum (*Tambari*) and rope (*Alkyabba*) as symbol of authority, were given to it. Although vassals, they are allowed to be ruled by their own hereditary dynasties. In a whole, it was the *Sarkin Zazzau* that has the power to appoint and depose the rulers of these vassals.

The vassalship of Durum was later reduced to the position of fief few years later.[90] We are not certain of the reason why the vassalship of Durum withdrawn. Smith suggested that, it was likely they (Durum) waged war without the overlord's (Zazzua) permission, which was against the proximate vassals' jurisdiction or they attempted to rebel, by refusing to pay its tribute to Zazzau for more than three years as stipulated.

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[89] Op cit, Smith, M. G., pp. 8-9
[90] Ibid, p. 79

According to tradition, the vassal chiefs of Durum, Gimi and Ruma were agreed to exercise some certain mandates in their domains as:

> *.....each of the three chiefs could levy tax or tribute, allocate certain local offices, and had jurisdiction over minor offences karamin Shari' a and legal issues such as inheritance, divorce, land issues and debts, and the right to impose fines, imprisonment, and whipping. For the major offences manyan Shari' a, the chief could only refer them to Zaria for decision. Appeals were also to be referred to Zaria.*[91]

Each of the vassals of Makarfi area was linked to the *Sarkin Zazzau* through intermediaries (Kofa) (pl. Kofofi), who were title holder of Zazzau. Durum in particular has Turaki Karami as its *Kofa,* while it later became under the *Sarkin Zazzau* himself where, messenger *(Jakada)* (pl. *Jakadu*) intermediated between him and the area.

Smith, M.G. puts the responsibilities of *Kofa* or *Jakada* as been responsible for reporting the legal cases to Zaria courts and for passing on instructions to the vassal chiefs. They were also responsible for keeping the king of Zaria informed about developments in their vassal chiefdoms.[92]

As from 1806, the intermediaries (*Kofa* and later *Jakada)* in charge of Durum, Gimi and Ruma, became responsible for the collection and submission of an annual tribute from the vassals to Zaria. There,

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[91] Ibid, p. 78
[92] Ibid, p. 79

they retained one fifth of the total as according to tradition.[93] The items of tribute according to tradition included the slaves (*bayi*), gowns (*tufafi*), grains (*hatsi*), kola nuts (*goro*), salt (*gishiri*), mats (*tabarmilzana*), horses (*dawaki*), among others.[94]

Adamu Mahdi have particularly mentioned cattle tax (*Jangali*), fine (*Tara*), land tax (*Kurdin kasalgalma*), occupational tax (*Kurdin sana'a*), and levy from the rich people on special occasion (*aike*), and a voluntary gift (*gaisuwa*) were all collected from the vassals by Zazzau.[95] If that was the case, possibly Durum in Makarfi area could have paid the *gaisuwa* to it lordship (Zazzau) before it was eventually given the vassalage status.[96]

Another thing was the plantation agriculture (*noman runji)*, using slave labour from the vassals.[97] Although, there was no written available evidence that indicates that there are *Rumada pl. Runji* settlements in Makarfi area. But the oral tradition testified that there were slave camps which were established from about 1850. They are places where slaves were camped permanently to work on the royal farms in Makarfi area particularly within the old independent towns, an example of these could be found at Kwatakware, Dan Damisa and other towns and villages

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[93] Op cit, Adamu, Mahdi
[94] Ibid and Sarkin Gimi
[95] Op cit, Adamu, Mahdi, pp. 198-199
[96] Ibid, p. 199
[97] Ibid, p.198

within the area. The *runji* produce was taken to Zaria after the harvesting period (*kaka)* every year later the slaves retain some portion of the produce before taking it to the overlords.[98]

The two areas, Makarfi area and Zazzau Emirate have enjoyed a symbiotic economic relationship particularly on trade and commerce. It was because Makarfi and neighbours towns and villages were situated on the east to west trade route, and that area has economic potentialities like the agricultural products which were taken to Zaria.

The local industrial products like the farm implements, tools, utensils, etc and other items of trade were taken to Makarfi area from Zaria and other Emirates.[99] Most of these traders were from Zaria and other places. This was because very few people in Makarfi area parakes in trading activity even with the jihad, as compared to agriculture. They were mainly into agriculture than the trade.

During the 19th century, Hunkuyi was slated among the towns of Makarfi area, as at the coming of the British.[100] It was a walled town. It was said to have had flourishing textiles and a well patronized regional market.[101] The mainstay of the Hunkuyi market centre was the large

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[98] Sarkin noma Gandu Gubuci
[99] According to Mallam Sa'idu Gazara as testified by Mallam Jibo Meyere and Mallam Hamza Godai
[100] List of villages under Makarfi District 1916-1931, *NAK ZARPROP 378*
[101] See Lovejoy tape transcription interview, 1978/1979 for detail on Zaria traders and their activities along the Zaria to Kano trade route through Makarfi area.

scale commerce in grains and dyed textiles which the town have maintained. Even Tauregs and Hausa grain merchants patronized it.[102]

Zaria and other towns within the other Emirates and even beyond; have benefited immensely from this trade. Many of the Hunkuyi traders partake in the commerce in this market before the town finally came under Zaria directly. Lots of products made by various occupationists are brought. While others brought from all nooks and crannies of Makarfi area are taken to Zaria, Kano, Katsina and other towns through the Hunkuyi market.

This vassal and lordship relationship was to continue up till the arrival of the British in 1902. Although several attempts were made by these towns to regain their freedom, they always met strong resentment from the lordship of Zazzau. Zaria continued to hold them firmly because of its strong force in the 19th century till the coming of the British.

Socio-culturally, the *Hausawa* and the *Fulani* groups dwelled in Makarfi have had a common tradition with their kinsmen in Zaria and other Emirates. The towns and villages of this area were looking at the Emirates like Zazzau, Kano, and Katsina in particular, as their beacon[103] to which were they always looked up to for the religious as well as cultural instruction and emulations. By this, they associated in social

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[102] Op cit, Adamu, Mahdi, p.194
[103] Ibid

activities in one way or another especially, in religious and cultural celebrations and ceremonies.

Zaria city being the headquarters of the new Emirate of Zazzau have played host to the Muslims of Makarfi area on the Islamic annual celebrations like the *Ed-Kabir, Ed-Fitr* and *Ed-Maulud.* The rulers (*Sarakuna*) of Makarfi area spends two or three days at Zaria city with some of their subjects celebrating with *Sarkin Zazzau*, before returning home to continue with the celebration at their various towns and villages with their subjects.[104]

Many Islamic scholars from Zaria, Kano and Katsina entered into Makarfi area as scholars, who propagated Islamic religion and established Quranic schools (*tsangaya*) to teach the religion education. They also became Imams to the established mosques in the area.[105]

The architectural designs of the houses for the *Sarakuna* of Makarfi were borrowed from that of Zazzau and other Emirates within the caliphate.[106] This can be seen clearly in the royal houses in all the towns and villages in the area.

Another thing was the inter-marriages which occurred between the people of Makarfi area and those of Zaria and Kano. This has strongly welded the people of the areas in all ramifications. That was

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[104] Ibid
[105] Ibid
[106] Mallam Hamza Godai

why, by the close of the 19th century, there were lots of people in towns and villages of Makarfi area who have their maternal or paternal origin from Zaria and other places.[107] This has ensured a close ties and relationship between Makarfi area and Zaria as well as Kano and Katsina.

The political, economic and social relationship between Zazzau and other kingdoms with Makarfi area was very strong, formidable and cordial as at the time when Zaria and the whole caliphate finally collapsed to British expedition by 1902.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Makarfi area has experienced a great transformation in the entire lifestyle of its people. This was as a result of the *Fulani* domination of the area from the time when the Jihadists took over the major towns of Durum, Gimi and Ruma, by 1806.

Politically, the new political order emerged in the area headed by the *Fulani* aristocracy under the Islamic religious injunctions. Courts were equally established and judges appointed for the settlement of disputes among the people.

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[107] Ibid

The year 1806 was the year of remarkable achievement in the economic life of this area. It was the period when Makarfi area recorded lots of development in its former agricultural based economy. This area was also opened up to the outside world particularly on trade and commerce which in turn, enhanced their local industries like blacksmithing, dying, among others. Many traders patronized the markets and traded within the area. Some of them settled within the area because of the economic opportunities available.

Socio-culturally, the world outlook of the area became different from what it was before. This was because the *Hausawa* traditions and beliefs was to some extent been dominated by the Islamic and *Fulani* ones. This has in turn; saw the emergence of Islamic education, ceremonies, cloths, religious centres, etc, which have had to do with the *Fulani* mode of life. It was this development that resulted in the emergence of a new social order, different from what was obtainable before then.

The hitherto traditional religion was deprived and greater percentages of the traditional shrines were destroyed. Many *Hausawa* embraced the new religion Islam. A new social group, the *bori* cult, emerged. It drew its membership from the former non-Muslims who accepted Islam, but still held onto their *Iskoki*.

The year 1806 saw the collapse of an era of tradition, and ushered in a new religious influence in Makarfi area which was to continue up to the arrival of the British into the area in 1902.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOKOTO JIHAD ON MAKARFI AREA

5.0 INTRODUCTION

All the towns and villages that made up Makarfi area were independent before the *Fulani* Jihadists' conquest of Zaria in 1806. These settlements were *Habe* ruled as such, they had their administration based on the traditional system.

From 1806, they were administered by the *Fulani* Jihadists from Zazzau under the Emirate system with the Islamic religious injunction as the code of administration. As from that time, all the socio-political and socio-economic activities got transited to that of *Fulani* and Islamic religious setting from the typical *Hausawa* tradition hitherto, flourished in the area.

Even though that British conquest was to foster changes in the socio-political and socio-economic lives of Makarfi area, the impacts of the jihad was felt more to that effect. The *Islamization* of virtually all aspects of life was obvious in all the towns, villages and families as at the time of the British arrival. Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi comments on this as follows:

We (Non-Muslim Hausa) have felt the coming of Masallata (Muslims) more than that of the Europeans especially that they changed virtually most of our traditional set up. [1]

5.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JIHAD TO THE AREA

Makarfi area saw the emergence of the pure *Fulani* rulers by 1810. The *Fulani* aristocracy, who have settled in the administration of various towns and villages within the vicinity of Makarfi area after the conquest of 1806, have by 1810 formed a set of rulers. These Fulani rulers exercised absolute dominion over the *Hausawa* who are the largest group and the initial settlers of the area prior to the jihad.

The *Fulani* dominion over the early settlers, has in many ways transformed the life of the people of the area by bringing about several changes. The socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political aspects of the Jihad were significant in the era prior to the coming of the British in 1902. By the time the British came, the *Islamization* of the towns, villages, families and even individuals have reached to an advance stage. Not only was the *Hausawa* tradition (even the *Fulani* culture in the area) was dominated by the Islamic culture at the time. It has in addition, greatly been influenced by the change brought about by the greater percentage of the nomadic *Fulani* and settled *Fulani* (*Fulanin*

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[1] In an interview with Sarki Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

gida) due to the aspect of urbanisation. Within a short moment, virtually all aspects of Islamic religion could be found apparently in most of the towns, villages and the families within Makarfi area.

In Makarfi area where the Islamic contact was largely and mostly intimate by this time, marriages, inheritance, education, and general world outcome have became Islamic. And all traditional festivals, rituals, and forms of worship have almost entirely vanished.

The first impact of the jihad in this area was the planting of Islamic culture which was able to replace the political, economic and the socio-cultural activities of the area which were hitherto traditional.

Administratively, most if not all the towns and villages of the area were run by the Muslim rulers under the Islamic system of administration, in which the Holy Quran became their guide to rule by providing the rule of law. Laws were made according to Shari'a which was a derivation from the Holy Quran and Sunna.[2] Courts were established in major towns like Ruma and Gimi, and judges were appointed from Zaria.[3] All these were a deviation from the dominant traditional mode of administration hitherto practised by the rulers of the area. We should note that, there were some substantial numbers of Muslims within the area. Even the traditional system that was practise

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[2] Interview with Abduljalil Yahuza Ahmad
[3] Interview with Mallam Hamza Godai

successfully before 1806 was as a result of the overwhelming dominion enjoyed by both the rulers and ruled.[4]

The mode of selecting the rulers became more religious than traditional. Although it remained hereditary, some religious qualities, however, have to be fulfilled before accepting any person to rule, even if he was the heir of the throne. Some of these criteria were the Islamic religious knowledge, patience, modesty, courage, among others.[5] It was one of the reasons why the princes and members of the royal family themselves learnt the basic Islamic knowledge and ensured the fulfilment of the stated qualities, for them to be able to inherit the positions of their parents.

On the same vein, other people became rulers in the absence of any one among the princes who fulfills the stated qualities. An example of this occurred in Gazara and Giwaye where, outsiders inherited the throne in the absence of any prince that was able to succeed his father. In this case, the princes did not qualify because of their inability to fulfil the stipulated criteria.[6]

Before 1806, all the rulers of these towns and villages were enthroned in their localities. Even when some of these towns like Gimi and Ruma came under Zazzau kingdom, very few of their rulers were

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[4] Ibid.
[5] Mallam Musa Salihu
[6] Op cit, Mallam Hamza Godai,

turbaned in Zaria.[7] From the time when this area was brought under the emirate of Zazzau and ruled by the Jihadists, all their rulers (*Sarakuna)* were installed at Zaria.[8] After their instalment, they went back to their respective localities for the onward celebrations and administration.

Another change recorded in this area was the migration of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* out of the area immediately the Jihadists took control. A substantial number of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* fled the area to areas of Katsina and Kano emirates. They fled to other places away from their places of settlement in discontention of the new administration in their areas. Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi remarks that:

> *some of our people have fled to Maska, Kudan, Gubuci and other areas far and near immediately Masallata (Muslims) took over the leadership of the area.*[9]

Majority of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* have however continued to live their normal life in the area. They equally inter-related with the ruling *Fulani* and the repented *Hausawa* cordially that was in spite of the differences in both the religion and tradition between them, up to the arrival of the British in 1902.

The economy of the area experienced tremendous growth and developement as from 1806. This was because; all the economic

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[7] Sarkin Gimi gari
[8] Mallam Musa Goma
[9] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

activities were regulated with checks and order by the administrators under the religious injunctions, as at the headquarters of the Emirate. [10]

Economically, trade and commerce became religious oriented. All the transactions were based on the Islamic injunctions where both the buyers and sellers had equal rights in every transaction, which was a change from what was obtainable prior to jihad.

Trade and commerce became free all over the area and most of the duties levied on entrance of individual towns and villages were abolished that, all the towns and villages were under the same polity after the jihad.[11] There was exchange of goods and services from one community to another due to the free trade accorded by the development. Traders moved freely and new items of trade were introduced into the area from outside and, many were distributed within it. As a result of this, new markets were opened in virtually all the towns in the area, which included the markets of Gimi, Ruma, Kwatakware, Dan Damisa, Meyere, among others. This was in addition to the only famous place that was to exist between Gazara, Ruma and Dan Guzuri and later the famous market of Makarfi.

Taxation also differed from how it was because before the jihad, the taxes collected were numerous and is levied indiscriminately.

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[10] Op cit, Adamu Ibrahim and Alhaji Musa Goma
[11] Ibid, Mallam Musa Goma

Sometimes, greater percentage or even the whole of the possessions used to be collected off their owners in the name of tax. Before the coming of the Jihadists into the area, there was virtually tax on every belonging and there was no standing measure to be deducted out of the wealth. With the establishment of Islamic administration, there was specification on the product and wealth to be taxed as well as the measures to be given.[12] It was with the fact that, Islam has already made a provision of all the percentage to be given out of every unit of wealth owned by anybody, and there is specification in the wealth to be taxed. This was irrespective of that personal status in the society, provided he has up to the stipulated amount. With this development, the masses were able to be alleviated from the wealth of the rich within the society, which was a way of improving their condition.

Socially, things like names, cloths, ceremonies and other socio-cultural items, have equally undergone the same trend with Islamic religion, all became in line with the religious injunction. They were changed from traditional to Islamic ones especially, among the *Hausa Muslims* and *Fulani*. In terms of names, they changed to Muhammadu, Abubakar, Umaru, Usmanu, Aliyu, Fatima, Amina, Halimatu, and many others. Some ceremonies that have to do with religion like *Sallah*

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[12] See chapter four for a clear explanation of the economy of Makarfi area after the jihad.

became prominent within the area as, against the traditional ones in practise before the jihad.[13] Others like naming and wedding which were before traditionally been celebrated, were made to become religious and are celebrated base on the Islamic injunctions.

There was inter-group relation in the area more than it was prior to the jihad. All the different groups in the area mingled freely with one another. This resulted in the inter-marriages across the groups, most of whom were Muslims.[14] This generated more intimacy between the groups and cemented the differences that existed between them. All the changes in the political, economic and social lives of the people of Makarfi area have clearly manifesting themselves before the end of the first decade of the *Fulani* rule in the area.

5.2 PEOPLE AND THE SOCIETY

By the close of the 19th century, Makarfi area was faced with the threats of external attacks by both the far and near Emirates, despite the fact that it was under the Emirate of Zazzau. Notable among these attacks were those of 1807 to 1819 and 1855 to 1883 particularly, from the Emirate of Kano under *Sarki* Sulaimanu Dan Abahama and *Sarki*

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[13] Op cit, Adamu Ibrahim
[14] Op cit, Mallam Jibo Meyere

Abdullahi Dan Dabo respectively.[15] This development could be as a result of the inability of these towns and villages to protect them particularly, as they were faced with a dwindling economy which could not support their military like it did before. Their economy at this time was directly under the overlord Emirate; which determined the fate of the area.[16] Another thing was that, although Zaria was doing a little to alleviate their plight in terms of defence, in the case of any war these communities have to seek for clearance from Zaria,

Over time, there were social differentiations within the towns and villages that evolved in the society, which were formed on the basis of social-political and socio-economic status of individuals. Makarfi was made up of three major groups of people who were divided by the political, social and economic nature of the society. These were the ruling aristocrats (*masu sarauta* sing. *mai sarauta*) and the rich (*attajirai* sing. *attajiri*) as the first group, then the scholars (*mallamai* sing. *malami*) as the second group while, the masses (*talakawa* sing. *talaka*) constituted the last group.[17]

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[15] Palmer, H.R., 'Kano Chronicle' in *Sudanese Memoirs*, Vol. iii, P. 128-130

[16] For details on the Zazzau Emirate's political and social influence in Makarfi area in the 19th century, see Mahdi Adamu, *the economy of the Hausa capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries,* in Usman, Y. B., et al (Eds), *Facts and Values: Essays in honour of Abdullahi Smith* Department of History, ABU Zaria, 1980.

[17] Interview with Mallam Jibo Meyere, this was confirmed by Mallam Hamza Godai. This is inline with the explanation given by Sale Abubakar in *Birnin Shehu, the City of Sokoto: A social...*, PhD Thesis (History), ABU, 1982.

The last group constituted of the *talakawa* who were free-born and could own some belongings,[18] and slaves (*bayi)* could not own anything and in spite of their poverty either bought or born into slavery and consequently not being free at all. The group of *talakawa* suffered the exploitation of the two groups – ruling aristocrats (*masu sarauta)/* the rich (*attajirai)* and scholars (*mallamai*).

These three stratified groups cut across the groups of *Hausawa,* and the *Fulani.* The highest group in the society was the ruling class which was made up of the *Fulani* ruling aristocrats *(masu sarauta)* who are the *Fulanin gida*. This group earned its mandate from the fact that, jihad have the backing of the ruling *Fulani* aristocrats from Zaria.[19] This group owned a vast area of farmland and a large number of slaves (*bayi* sing. *bawalbaiwa*) or (*barori* sing. *bara*), who were servants to either work on the farms or at home (*barance*) of the masters. They owned large families and houses and lived at the ruling houses. Majority of them have their cattle which were taking care of by either their (*baroni*) or fellow nomadic *Fulani* at the outskirts of the settlements.

The a*ttajirai* like the *masu sarauta,* owned assets like lands and livestock (*dabbobi*), slaves (*bayi*) and large families. They made their fortunes in trade and commerce like the *fatake*. Among them were the

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[18] Some times the third group (of talakawa) is join with the slave (*bayi)*, who were in spite of their poverty, they were either bought or born into slavery therefore were not free at all.
[19] Op cit, Mallam Jibo Meyere

occupationists like the Chief farmer (*Sarkin Noma*), Head butcher (*Sarkin Fawa*), Chief of water (*Sarkin Ruwa*), Chief hunter (*Sarkin Baka*), Head smith (*Sarkin Makera*), Chief drummer (*Sarkin* Makada), Head of builders (*Sarkin Magina*), Head tanner (*Sarkin Majema*), Chief dyer (*Sarkin Marina*), Head trader (*Sarkin Kasuwa*), Chief wrestler (*Sarkin Dambe*),[20] among others. Many of them have slaves, livestock and other property in their possession.

The *Attajirai* and *masu sarauta* were closely related politically and economically; and this was due to their wealth (*masu hannu da shuni*). This was reflected in the popular saying within the Hausa land that 'rich a friend to noble one' *mai kudi abokin Sarki!'*

Beside the group of *Attajirai* and *Masu sarauta*, the next in the hierarchy were the scholars (*mallamai*).[4] The *Mallamai* were made up of the teachers, imams, preachers and judges.[22] Majority of these scholars were *Fulani* who arrive in the area mainly after the jihad.[23]

They were highly respected and take care of by both the rulers and ruled within the society, even if they were not sound enough in Islamic knowledge. This system was what is obtainable even at Sokoto

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[20] Sarkin Gimi Tasha
[4]Mallam Jibo Meyere
[22] Ibid
[23] Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isa II Sarkin Gubuci

the sit of the Caliphate and the entire Emirates within the Caliphate whenever the Jihadists subdued the area. According to Sale Abubakar:

> *The society seem to have glorified the (Fulani scholars) As Quranic teachers despite the fact that their knowledge of Islamic science was rudimentary*[24].

Even though the *Mallamai* did not accumulate wealth or exercise any political hegemony, but they were relatively comfortable in the society as compared to the last group of the societal hierarchy in Makarfi area, the masses (*talakawa).* This was because they used to be taking care of by both the first and the last groups due to their knowledge. Because of the religious system on operation, the soldiers were also given the second status in the society of Makarfi, from about 1806 to 1902.

The group was that of masses (*talakawa*), which was made up the last category of people who were dwelling Makarfi area in the 19th century. The *talakawa* were the majority, but they owned virtually nothing, only living under the mercy of the land as farmers, or partaking in other petty occupations or even remained the suppliers of labour to the other groups.[25] They were in this category due to their low economic fortunes.

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[24] Op cit, Sale Abubakar, p. 269 also see Sa'ad Abubakar, *The Lamibe of Fombina: A political history of Adamawa 1809-1901,* ABU Press, Zaria, 1977, p. 38
[25] Op cit, Mallam Jibo Meyere

The difference between *talakawa* and *bayi* was that, the *talakawa* were free-born people and some of them owned their houses, families and sometimes even some portion of farmlands or places of occupation while, slaves (*bayi)* were either captives or born-slaves, and they owned nothing and could not own anything at all. *Bayi* were assets of their masters and were always under the mercy of the masters.[26] They could be bought or sold at will by their masters.

All the three groups interacted and related with one another as they depended upon one another in all ramifications of life. This brought the exhibition of a remarkable co-existence in all the towns and villages till the arrival of British.

By 1902, there existed many traditional groups in this area. These groups have as we have seen earlier, entered into this area at different periods with their different socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political system of life. All of them exercised their socio-cultural attributes over time. These traditional groups were the *Hausawa, Fulani,* the Tauregs (*Agalawa and Tokarawa)*, the Kanuri (*Barebari*) and the Nupe (*Nufawa*). They lived and interacted together with all their cultural differences in Makarfi area throughout the 19th century although, each

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[26] Alhaji Abdulmumini Yusufu Dogarawa

of these groups maintained its cultural identity. This showed the level of inter-group relations that existed within the area.

After the *Hausawa* the host, the area continued to receive more tribes as strangers who were received by the hosts. First to come were the *Fulani* whose clans were settled based on the relationship that existed with the hosts on their arrival or there after.[27] This was the case with the *Fulani* sections in Northern Adamawa as explains Pongri:

> *An individual Fulani clan are found to have settled in a particular town or village which depend on the nature of relationship that existed between them mainly before the coming of the Jihadists*[28]

Grazing and settlement lands were accorded to them *Fulani* where they settled among their hosts, the *Hausawa*. It allowed for their interaction with the hosts.

Irrespective of differences in groups, the people of the same town or village shared a common identity and brotherhood which helped in integrating the groups over time[29]. Both the members of the two groups visited and interacted with one another, as they both needed each other for socio-economic transactions.

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[27] Mallam Hamza Godai
[28] Johnson Haniel Pongri, *'Political Development in Northern Adamawa, 1909-1960: A history of inter-group relations,* 'PhD Thesis (History), ABU, 1988.
[29] Ibid

All the Muslims in the area considered themselves brothers and sisters irrespective of their cultural differences and the majority of the Muslims are *Fulani*. As a result of this the greater percentage of the traditions in practise became Islamic and *Fulani* in nature, a situation which was to greater extent alike.

Before the arrival of the British, many people who have originated from the other traditions have become acculturated to the *Fulani* customs and practise.[30] The Muslim groups have developed inter-marriages between them[31] which further cemented them. This was an indication that religion and culture have contributed immensely to the integration of the people of the area.

With all these aspects of unity, there were elements of some tribal segregation in the area that was generated firstly by the difference in religion. After the jihad that ensured the subsequent taking over of the mount of leadership of the area by the Fulani group, the majority of the *Non-Muslim Hausa* used to be treated as heathens such that, they were transacted with only when it became necessary.[32] There were also the *Fulani* cattle rearers (*makiyaya*) and *Non-Muslim Hausa* farmers (*manoma*) relationship which tended to be either sweet or sour, as the case may be. The Fulani takes their cattle to the Hausawa farmlands to

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[30] Ardo Balele
[31] Ibid
[32] Op cit, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi

produce manure to help their plants grow, while the *Non-Muslim Hausa* gives them corn stalk (*kara*) for their cattle in return.[33] There were also some *Fulani* who keep some livestock for the *Non-Muslim Hausa* among their own.[34]

Some times, Fulani used to enter into the *Non-Muslim Hausa* farms with their cattle to graze in the *Non-Muslim Hausa* land without permission (*izini*) or without paying grazing dues (*kurdin kiwo*). This generates mishaps between them that use to be settled by the elders of the communities.[35] Later, the grazing dues were abolished in the area on the instance of the Emirate.[36]

Another thing was that, the rulers of the towns and villages have promoted the inter-group relations by giving some members of the other groups some political positions to oversee some areas or traditional titles at the palace.[37] This brought about the promotion of relationship between the groups of the area.

We should therefore make it clear that, inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations cannot absolutely be achieved devoid of conflicts in one way or another. Certainly, in the process of integration conflicts were bound to occur. This was because it involves incorporation of the

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[33] Ibid
[34] Ibid
[35] Op cit, Ardo Balele and Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi
[36] Ibid, Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi,
[37] Op cit, Mallam Hamza Godai

diverse languages, cultures, ethnic, economies, religions, etc. It is the belief in this diversity that is inherently the basis of such conflicts.[38]

Although this assertion was quickly reputed by Ikime and Tijjani, they were to state that, history of inter ethnic contact in pre-colonial Nigeria has shown that diversity of cultures and ethnicity have not always led to conflict. Adding that, people have found common grounds to resolve their group difference when they come in contact with one another.[39] Similarly, Nnoli has on the same vein says:

> *.....not inter ethnic contact between groups That breeds conflicts, rather it is the extent of competing claims that are associated with economic and political problems.....* [40]

With all this, the conflicts between the groups were very minimal possibly owing to the fact that, the diverse groups in this area were able to understand their differences and work over it for the peaceful coexistence and development.

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[38] This has rightly been indicated by Onwuejeogwu, M. Angulu, `Indigenous socio-economic and political organization and their relevance to development in contemporary Nigeria`. A paper presented at the annual conference of the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association on strategies of authentic development in Nigeria. University of Ilorin, 30th November to 2nd December 1987. Extracted from the Tijjani A., `Ethnic relations: A study of Hausa community in Ogbomoso, Nigeria, (1924-1967), *Journal of social science.* 2008, 17 (3), pp 253-260.

[39] Ikime O., *Pre-Colonial Inter Group Relations in Nigeria*, a paper presented at a conference of the Historical association of Nigeria, Ibadan, 1985. Tijjani A. `Ethnic conflict in Nigeria: A case of Shagamu and Kano riots`, in R. O. Rom Kalilu (Ed), ELA Journal of African Studies, No 5 and 6 May and October, 1999. Extracted from `Ethnic relations: A study of Hausa community in Ogbomoso, Nigeria, (1924-1967), *Journal of social science.* 2008, 17 (3), pp 253-260.

[40] Nnoli O. `Ethnic politics in Nigeria`, 4th Dimension publishers, Enugu, 1978 in from `Ethnic relations: A study of Hausa community in Ogbomoso, Nigeria, (1924-1967), *Journal of social science.* 2008, 17 (3), pp 253-260.

5.3 CONCLUSION

British subdued Makarfi area immediately after the conquest of Zaria in 1902, which was the conquering of the headquarters of the emirate. Having subdued Zaria, all the towns and villages within the Zazzau Emirate automatically became under British hegemony. This was with the fact that the new Emir of Zazzau, Aliyu Dan Sidi has asked all the towns and villages under the emirate not to confront the British.[41] The rulers were also directed to ensure that there were no problems in their communities.[42]

Makarfi area has entirely fallen, among the areas administered by the British by the close of 1902. This became imminent with the British occupation and consolidation of Zazzau Emirate which Makarfi area was under by 1902. British occupation of Zazzau Emirate in a sense meant the British occupation of Makarfi area which was based on the hegemony exercised over the area by the emirate. It was because according to British policy, any Emirate, if occupied by the British will relinquish all its vassals, chiefdoms, towns and villages to the British automatically.

Makarfi area was also administered by the British through Zazzau, and all British political, economic and social policies on Zazzau

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[41] Op cit, Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isa II Sarkin Gubuci
[42] Alhaji Adamu Ibrahim

were passed down to the area as the policy of *indirect rule* implied. Having compiled with all directives given, the *Fulani* Islamic aristocracy of Makarfi area were allowed by both the Zazzau and the British to continue with the rule of the area.

Infact, the life of the people of Makarfi area have experienced a tremendous change under the new system of administration (Islamic). Immediately after the Jihad, the political, social and economic activities began to change from their former shape. The initial traditional system was transformed. Traditional institutions were replaced with the religious. This was to continue up to 1902.

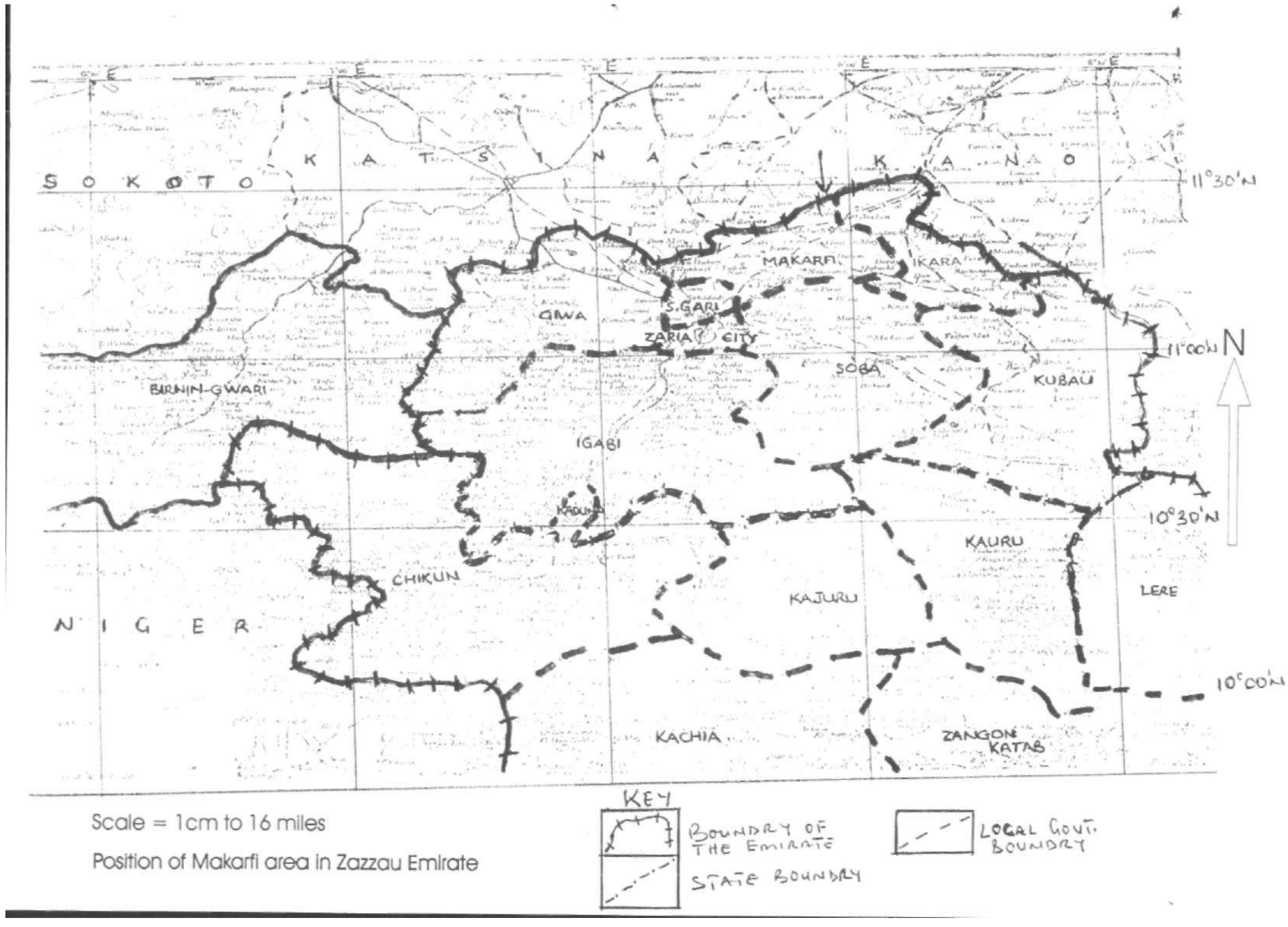
5.4 GENERAL CONCLUSION

The towns and villages became fully established with all their structures and super-structures in place, a situation that made them to be reckoned with politically, socially and economically, both within and outside the Emirate of Zazzau. The early Europeans to visit the area attested to this. In fact, prior to the establishment of these towns and villages by 1779, little or nothing was heard about the northern fringes of Zazzau kingdom as compared to the lots of works conducted by many scholars on the southern part of it. Despite this fact, there were people who were living in the area for a millennium before then. Indeed, the period 1779 to 1902 marked a tuning point in the history of the area.

economic and the socio-cultural set up of the area under the colonial masters. This was the final change that saw the last transition of the area from tradition to religious and finally to modern system introduced by the British with the application of indirect rule as a system of political and economic operation in the area.

By 1902, when the British arrived in Zazzau Emirate and the Makarfi area, as we have seen earlier, virtually all the towns and villages of this area were fully established. This could be seen in the light of how hardly one finds a newly established town or village in Makarfi area after 1902. This was also substantiated by all the people interviewed in the course of the study.

In fact, the life of the people of Makarfi area has greatly been transformed with the coming of the British in 1902 and, it has become obvious that the area was introduced into the world capitalist economy which saw the change in all the aspect of human life.



Scale = 1cm to 16 miles

Position of Makarfi area in Zazzau Emirate

APPENDIX 1

List of informants:

1. Mallam Ya'u Auchan
2. Alhaji Baba Tanko Dangashi
3. Alhaji Abdulmumini Yusufu Dogarawa
4. Alhaji Alhassan Ango Dogarawa
5. Alhaji Abubakar Galadima Durum
6. Alhaji Mu'azu Sarkin Durum
7. Alhaji Abubakar Muhammadu Zaidu (Sarkin Gangara)
8. Alhaji Muhammadu Mutawakkilu Hassan (Sarkin Gazara)
9. Mallam Sa'idu Gazara
10. Sarki Sa'idu Ibrahim (Sarkin Sabon Garin Gazara)
11. Sarkin Sabo Garin Gimi
12. Alhaji Sunusi Danyaro Sulaiman (Sarkin Giwaye)
13. Mallam Hamza Godai
14. Alhaji Abubakar Adamu (Sarkin Godai)
15. Mallam Musa Dan Guzuri
16. Alhaji Aliyu Muhammadu Sani (Sarkin Sabon Garin Dan Guzuri)
17. Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isa II (Sarkin Gubuci)
18. Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci
19. Alhaji Kabiru Abdullahi (Sarkin Makarfi)

20. Mallam Jibo Meyere

21. Alhaji Jafaru Abubakar (Sarkin Meyere)

22. Alhaji Sani Abubakar (Sarkin Sabon Garin Meyere)

23. Alhaji Ayuba Adamu (Sarkin Soko)

24. Alhaji Ya'u Isa (Sarkin Tudun Wada)

25. Sarkin Baka Talle

26. Mallam Yusuf Rabe

27. Malama Salaha Garba

28. Mallam Aminu Umaru

29. Alhaji Ibrahim Isa

30. Alhaji Abubakar Ibrahim

31. Mallam Ahmadu Dahiru

32. Mallam Danladi Makama

33. Mallam Musa Salihu:

34. Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi (Ango mijin Ta Mayau)

35. Markus Ango

36. Nuhu Yohanna

37. Isyaku John

38. Abduljalil Yahuza Ahmad

39. Galadima Waje

40. Ardo Balele

41. Umar Sanda

42. Alhaji Adamu Dan Tsuntsu

43. Ibrahim Galadima

44. Alhaji Isah Sulaiman

45. Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu

46. Basiru Abdullahi

47. Alhaji Abdulkadir Aliyu Sakatare

48. Alhaji Adamu Abdu

49. Abduhamid Inusa

50. Sani Goma Sarkin Fada

51. Sule Danjuma

52. Ahmadu Shehu Danmadami

53. Mallam Adamu Ibrahim

54. Mallam Ibrahim Adamu

55. Alhaji Sule Adamu

56. Mallam Isuhu Ibrahim

57. Alhaji Musa Goma

58. Mallam Khalidu Dan Madaki

59. Sarkin Dawa Jatau

60. Sarkin Ruma Aliyu Shafi'u

61. Sulaiman Badamasi

APPENDIX 2

List of towns and villages in Makarfi area before 1902:

1. Anguwan Makera
2. Unguwa Kanawa
3. Ba'awan Meyere
4. Basawa
5. Ba'awa
6. Charwa
7. Dutse
8. Dan Kwaire
9. Dan Basa
10. Dan Bami
11. Dan Dako
12. Dan Damisa
13. Dan Bakwa
14. Dan Basa
15. Dan Guzuri
16. Doka
17. Dorayi
18. Durum
19. Fadama
20. Gangara

21. Garu

22. Gazara

23. Giwaye

24. Godai

25. Ghana

26. Gimi

27. Gubuci

28. Gwibi

29. Hunkuyi

30. Jama'an Maida

31. Kaura (wali)

32. Kwatakware

35. Kudan

36. Kanakargo

37. Kwalo

38. Lafiya

39. Likoro

40. Mahuta

41. Makarfi

42. Meyere

43. Musawa

44. Mahangi

45. Nasarawa

46. Rahama (Rahaman wali)

47. Ruma

48. Sakadadi

49. Soko

50. Tafida

51. Taban Sani

52. Tsamiyar Masau

53. Tudun Wada

54. Zarto

55. Zabi (Zabin Kudan).

APPENDIX 3

List of towns and villages in Makarfi area from 1902:

1. Anguwan Wambai
2. Anguwan Madaki
3. Anguwan Makera
4. Anguwa Kanawa
5. Ba'awan Meyere
6. Ba'awa
7. Charwa
8. Dutse
9. Dan Kwaire
10. Dorayi
11. Dan Basa
12. Dan Bakwa
13. Dan Damisa
14. Durum
15. Dan Guzuri
16. Fadama
17. Gazara
18. Gimi
19. Gubuci
20. Godai
21. Kwalo
22. Gangara
23. Giwaye
24. Gimi Tasha
25. Gwanki
26. Ghana

27. Jama'an Maida
28. Kunkumi
29. Kanakargo
30. Kwatakware
31. Meyere
32. Mahangi
33. Makarfi
34. Nasarawan Doya
35. Ruma
36. Rahaman Wali
37. Soko
38. Sabon Garin Gazara
39. Sabon Garin Meyere,
40. Sabon Garin Dorayi
41. Tashar Yari
42. Tashar Yari Tsohuwa
43. Tafida
44. Tsamiyar Masau
45. Tudun Wada
46. Zarto

APPENDIX 4

The local government areas that made up former Makarfi area (1779-1902):

1) Makarfi local government area.

2) Ikara local government area.

3) Kudan local government area.

4) Sabon Gari local government area

APPENDIX 5

The present districts that made up former Makarfi area (1779-1902):

1) Gazara district

2) Gimi district

3) Gubuci district

4) Makarfi district

5) Mayere district

6) Nasarawan Doya district

7) Ruma district

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NOTES ON INFORMANTS

1) **Mallam Yusuf Rabe:** He is a farmer from Dogarawa village in Sabon Gari Local Government. He is 55 years old. We had only one interview with him at his residence in Dogarawa on 24/7/2007.

2) **Mallam Ya'u Auchan**: He is a farmer residing in Dogarawa village. He is 52 years old and we had the interview at his residence in Dogarawa two times on 24/5/2007 and 25/5/2007.

3) **Mallam Sa'idu Gazara**: He is 86 years old and is resident at Gazara. He is a farmer we had about five interviews at his residence in Gazara on 1/5/2007.

4) **Mallam Jibo Meyere**: He is a resident of Meyere and it was here we interviewed him in Meyere on 7/5/2007. He is also a farmer. He is 61 years of age.

5) **Alhaji Abdulmumini Yusufu Dogarawa**: He is aged 68 years old, a farmer and a resident of Dogarawa. I had three interviews with him at his residence on 28/6/2007, 29/6/2007 and 3/7/2007.

6) **Malama Salaha Garba:** She is a house wife residing in Makarfi. She is 50 years old. We had about nine encounters with her at both her house in Makarfi and in Dogarawa from 3/7/2007 to 12/7/2007.

7) **Mallam Musa Dan Guzuri**: He is the resident of Dan Guzuri and is about 58 years of age. He is a farmer and a hunter. We met and discussed at his house at Dan Guzuri once on 1/5/2007.

8) **Alhaji Alhassan Ango Dogarawa**: He is a fisherman residing in Dogarawa. We had only one encounter with him which was at his house in Dogarawa on 22/5/2007. He is 73 years old.

9) **Sarkin Baka Talle**: He is an indigene and resident of Durum. He is 75 years of age and a hunter. We met with him at his house in Durum and we had about five discussions from 21/5/2007 to 27/5/2007.

10) **Mallam Hamza Godai**: He is a 73 years old farmers who is resident at Godai village. We had five interviews with him at his house from 1/5/2007 to 6/5/2007.

11) **Alhaji Muhammadu Mutawakkilu Hassan (Sarkin Gazara)**: He is the Chief of Gazara and is 57 years of age. We had the discussion at his residence in Gazara on 1/5/2007.

12) **Mallam Aminu Umaru**: He is a farmer, and 62 years of age residing in Gazara. We met once in Gazara on 1/5/2007.

13) **Alhaji Ayuba Adamu (Sarkin Soko)**: He is the ruler of Soko village. He is 52 years of age and resides in Makarfi. We met once at his residence on 7/5/2007.

14) **Alhaji Ya'u Isa (Sarkin Tudun Wada)**: He is the Chief of Tudun Wada Makarfi. We discussed with him at Sarkin Makarfi House once on 7/5/2007. He is 64 years old.

15) **Alhaji Kabiru Abdullahi (Sarkin Makarfi)**: He is 40 years old and the ruler of Makarfi. We had a discussion with him once at his palace in Makarfi on 7/5/2007.

16) **Alhaji Aliyu Muhammadu Sani (Sarkin Sabon Garin Dan Guzuri)**: He is 30 years old, we met with him at Dan Guzuri only once on 7/5/2007.

17) **Alhaji Abubakar Muhammadu Zaidu (Sarkin Gangara)**: He is the ruler of Gangara. He is 67 years old and, we met him at his residence in Gazara one time on 1/5/2007.

18) **Alhaji Jafaru Abubakar (Sarkin Meyere)**: He is 55 years old. We had a single interview with him at his residence in Meyere on 7/5/2007.

19) **Alhaji Sani Abubakar (Sarkin Sabon Garin Meyere)**: He is the Village Head of Sabon Garin Meyere and is about 65 years of age. We had an interview with him once at Sarkin Meyere House on 1/5/2007.

20) **Alhaji Abubakar Galadima Durum**: This is a farmer and he is of about 50 years old. We had an interview with him once at the Sarkin Durum House on 1/5/2007.

21) **Alhaji Mu'azu Sarkin Durum**: He is the Village Head of Durum. He is about 70 years old. We met one time at his palace in Durum on 1/5/2007.

22) **Alhaji Abubakar Shanono Isa II (Sarkin Gubuci)**: He is the ruler of Gubuci. We had a discussion with him at his palace once on 1/5/2007.

23) **Alhaji Ibrahim Isa**: He is the Ciroma of Gubuci and is about 70 years old. We had our interview once at the palace of Sarkin Gubuci on 1/5/2007.

24) **Alhaji Abubakar Ibrahim**: He is the Majidadi of Gubuci. He is about 45 years old. We met with him one time at the palace of Sarkin Gubuci on 1/5/2007.

25) **Mallam Ahmadu Dahiru**: He is a teacher and is about 55 years old. We had the interview with him at the palace of Sarkin Gubuci once on 1/5/2007.

26) **Mallam Danladi Makama**: He is the Makama of Gubuci who is a security with about 42 years old. We met with him only once at the palace of Sarkin Gubuci on 1/5/2007.

27) **Sarkin Sabo Garin Gimi**: We met with him at the house of Sarkin Gimi on 1/5/2007. He is a ruler who held from the ruling family. He is aged 57 years old.

28) **Alhaji Abubakar Adamu (Sarkin Godai)**: He is the ruler of Godai with 50 years old. We met with him at Makarfi once on 7/5/2007.

29) **Sarki Sa'idu Ibrahim (Sarkin Sabon Garin Gazara)**: This is the ruler of Sabon Garin Gazara. He is 60 years old. The interview took place at Gazara once on 1/5/2007.

30) **Mallam Musa Salihu:** He is a farmer of about 60 years of age. We met at his residence at Sabon Gari Gazara once on 1/5/2007.

31) **Alhaji Sunusi Danyaro Sulaiman (Sarkin Giwaye):** This is the ruler of Giwaye. He is 65 years old. We had the discussion at his residence at Giwaye on 7/5/2007.

32) **Sarkin Maguzawa Ango Shimmi (Ango mijin Ta Mayau)**: The chief of Maguzawa of Gimi town. He is about 85 years old. He is absolute traditionalist to the core and a farmer whom, we had a discussion with at his residence at Anguwan Bako, Ba'awa-Gimi once on 15/5/2007.

33) **Markus Ango**: He is about 37 years old, a farmer residing at Anguwan Bako Ba'awa-Gimi. We met only once there 15/5/2007.

34) **Nuhu Yohanna**: He is a farmer that resides in Anguwan Bako Ba'awa- Gimi. We had an interview with once at their residence 15/5/2007. He is aged 23 years.

35) **Isyaku John**: This is a farmer of about 37 years old, whom we had an interview with at their resident in Anguwan Bako Ba'awa-Gimi only one time 15/5/2007.

36) **Abduljalil Yahuza Ahmad:** He is a businessman of about 42 years old. We met at his residence at Dogarawa once 5/10/2007.

37) **Galadima Waje:** He is the chief of Fulani residing at the outskirt of Rahaman Wali. He is about 77 years old. We met with him one time at his residence 14/1/2008.

38) **Ardo Bafele:** He is a chief of Fulani residing at the outskirt of Ruma. He is about 64 years old. We met with him once at his resident 11/2/2008.

39) **Sarkin Noma Gandu Gubuci:** He is 77 years old held from Gubuci town. He is the Head farmer of the area. We met once at his house at the outskirt of Gubuci on 13/8/2007.

40) **Umar Sanda:** He is a resident of Dogarawa a farmer by profession and practise trading. We had an interview once at his residence in Dogarawa on 11/9/2007. He is 59 years old.

41) **Alhaji Baba Tanko Dangashi:** He is a trader who resides at Dangashi village near Dan guzuri. We met once at his residence at Dangashi on 12/6/2007.

42) **Alhaji Adamu Dan Tsuntsu:** He is from Godai. He is a farmer of 50 years old. We had an interview once with at his residence on 23/6/2007.

43) **Ibrahim Galadima:** A farmer from Rahaman Wali. He is 56 years old. We had an interview once on 1/5/2007.

44) **Alhaji Isah Sulaiman:** He is the Sarkin Nasarawan Doya and 42 years old. We met once at his palace on 23/3/2008.

45) **Alhaji Ibrahim Dabo Aliyu:** He is the Sarkin Rahaman Wali. He is 45 years old. We had a discussion once at his residence at Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008

46) **Basiru Abdullahi:** He is a resident of Rahaman Wali farmer by profession and practises trading. He is 62 years old. We had an interview once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

47) **Alhaji Abdulkadir Aliyu Sakatare:** He is a farmer who resides at Rahaman Wali village. He is the secretary of Sarkin Rahaman Wali of 42 years old. We met once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

48) **Alhaji Adamu Abdu:** He is from Rahaman Wali. He is a farmer of about 50 years old. We had an interview once. We had an interview once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

49) **Abduhamid Inusa:** A farmer who practise trading from Rahaman Wali. He is 45 years old. We had an interview once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

50) **Sani Goma Sarkin Fada:** He is the Sarkin fada of Rahaman Wali with 40 years of age. We met once at his resident. We had an interview once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

51) **Sule Danjuma:** He is the farmer of 40 years of age. We met once and had an interview once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

52) **Ahmadu Shehu Danmadami:** He is a farmer and the Dan Madami of Rahaman Wali. He is 40 years old. We had an interview once at the palace of Sarkin Rahaman Wali on 23/3/2008.

53) **Mallam Adamu Ibrahim:** He is an administrator and farmer from Kwatakware. He is 110 years old. We had only one encounter with him which is at his residence in Kwatakware. We had the interview on 23/3/2008.

54) **Mallam Ibrahim Adamu**: He is a farmer residing in Kwatakware village. He is 45 years old. We had the interview at Kwatakware once on 23/3/2008.

55) **Alhaji Sule Adamu**: He is 50 years old who is the resident Kwatakware. He practise farming and trading. We had only one interview on 23/32008.

56) **Mallam Isuhu Ibrahim**: He is a resident of Kwatakware and it was there we had our interview at their house in Kwatakware on 23/3/2008. He is also a farmer with 30 years old.

57) **Alhaji Musa Goma**: He is 105 years old, a farmer and a resident of Dan Damisa. I had only one interview with him at his residence on 23/3/2008.

58) **Mallam Khalidu Dan Madaki**: He is a resident of Dan Damisa. He is 50 years old. We had only encounter with him at the palace of Sarkin Dan Damisa on 23/3/2008.

59) **Sarkin Dawa Jatau:** He is 84 years old and a hunter and a traditional healer from Makarfi town. I interviewed him once at his residence in Makarfi on 5/4/2008.

60) **Sarkin Ruma Aliyu Shafi'u:** He is 45 years old. He is the traditional ruler of Ruma one of the old town. I interviewed him once at his residence in Ruma 23/3/2008.

61) **Sulaiman Badamasi:** He is the secretary to the District Head office of Makarfi with about 35 years old. We met at the District Head office once on 9/4/2008.