SLAVERY IN SOKOTO CITY, c,1804-1936

by

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ABSTRACT.

Many references have been made to slavery in 'Sokoto City' by scholars who have written on the political, social, economic, military and intellectual history of the Sokoto Caliphate. These references, which are scattered in their nature, suggest that slavery was important to the society, economy and political life of the centre of the Caliphate during the nineteenth century and even after. But apart from these scattered references, which mostly focused at Caliphate level, no specific work or research has been done to show the ways and the extent to which slavery was important to the society, economy, and political life of Sokoto City itself as the centre of the Caliphate during the period in question. This only implies that the role of slavery in the centre of the Caliphate (Sokoto City), which was a slave-receiving centre, has not been given enough attention. Therefore, this study hopes to give more light on the role played by slavery towards the socio-economic transformations of the centre of the Caliphate during the nineteenth century and also hopes to provide stimulation of the study *of* social history at micro levels in the other parts of the Caliphate so that the imbalance existing in the historiography of the Caliphate could be redressed.

And again, a lot of changes have occured within the institution of slavery itself in Sokoto City, yet such

changes have hitherto not been explained in the studies so far done on Sokoto City. So it is therefore in view of this that this study seeks to demonstrate why and how such changes occured over time within the institution of slavery in Sokoto City. Hence one of the important contributions of this study in the field of social history is the discussion on the phenomenon of concubinage which has undergone many changes in its persistence in Sokoto but yet it has almost been totally neglected by the historians of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The first chapter of the study provides the antecedents of the historical background and evolution of Sokoto City, definition of some useful concepts such as slavery, servitude, subordinate and slave-owning mode of production as well as brief explanation on the views of Islam as it relates to the role of state in the practice of slavery as an institution in Sokoto with a view to providing a conceptual framework for the study. The second chapter discusses the various sources of procurement of slaves and position accorded to the slaves at the bottom of the social structure of Sokoto City society. The chapter has also examined the roles played by slaves in the various units of the jihad army such as light and heavy cavalry, infantry and in the musketeer corps. The last section of the chapter deals with the roles played by slaves in

the various sectors of Sokoto economy like commerce, craft production and manufacturing.

Chapter three traces the historical background of the establishment of slave agricultural settlements in Sokoto area to the pre-jihad period and argued that the concept of 'plantation' is not applicable to these settlements because of its historicity and racial connotations. In the chapter, we have also focused attention on the foundations, management, organisation of labour and significance of the sarauta slave agricultural settlements in view of their dominance. The fourth chapter which discusses the phenomenon of concubinage is broadly divided into three sections - nineteenth century concubinage, twentieth century concubinage, and the impacts of the practice on Sokoto society. The changes and persistence of the phenomenon were also examined in the chapter. The chapter has also discussed the social and political significance of the practice of concubinage.

The last chapter discusses the various processes of de-enslavement of domestic slavery and the shortcomings of the processes under the Caliphate authority and British colonial rule in Sokoto City. Through re-interpretation and analysis of colonial sources, it is shown in the chapter that right from April 1901 when the first British proclamation on slavery was made, several other laws on the status of slaves were passed. But most of the laws, as agrued

in the chapter, were more or less a formalisation of the Caliphate system of de-enslavement and were only pre-supposed to be effective on the future generations of domestic slaves. The chapter has also focused attention on the real factors responsible for both the decline and partial disappearance of slavery, showing the roles played by Emirs, Alkali Courts, and colonial administrators. The chapter concludes by examining the processes of emancipation of slaves and the consequences of the complete abolishing of slavery in Sokoto.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

B.S.O.A.S.	- Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
C.O.	- Colonial Office.
C.U.P.	- Cambridge University Press.
F.O.	- Foreign Office.
J.A.H.	- Journal of African History.
J.H.S.N.	- Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.
K.I.L.	- Kashim Ibrahim Library (A.B.U., Zaria).
N.A.K.	- National Archives, Kaduna.
N.H.R.S.	- Northern History Research Scheme.
S.O.A.S.	- School of Oriental and African Studies.
S.S.H.B.	- Sokoto State History Bureau.

GLOSSARY OF SOME WORDS USED IN THE THESIS.

Bawa/Bayi (Hausa)	Slave/Slaves
Ubangiji (Hausa)	Slave-master
Jari (Hausa)	Capital
Kwarkwara/Sadaka/Makubliya(Hausa)	Concubine
Gandu/Runji (Hausa)	Slave Farm Settlement
Tungaji (Nupe)	Slave Farm Settlement
Dimajo/Bacucane(Fulfulde/Hausa)	Descendant of Slaves
Gayya (Hausa)	Communal Labour
Jinga (Hausa)	Contract Labour
'Yan Cin Rani (Hausa)	Dry Season Migrant Labourers
Jihad (Arabic)	Holy War
Murgu (Hausa)	Manumission
Jizya (Arabic)	Poll Tax
Fansa (Hausa)	Ransom
Fatiha (Arabic)	First Chapter in the Holy Qur'an
Kalimat (Arabic)	The formula, 'There is no god except Allah and Prophet Muhammad is His Messenger'.
Gandun Sarki (Hausa)	Emir's/Sultan's Farm Settlement
Gandun Sarki/Gandayen Sarauta (Hausa)	- Aristocratic Farm Settlement(s)
Sarkin Gandu (Hausa)	Head of Farm Settlement
Sarauta (Hausa)	Rulership/Authority
Gaisuwa (Hausa)	Greetings
Goron Gaisuwa (Hausa)	A material present given as an expression of respect or political subordination.

Talakawa (Hausa)	Ordinary folk (peasants, artisans)
Masu Sarauta (Hausa)	Aristocrats
Gida (Hausa)	House
Garka (Hausa)	House
Fada (Hausa)	Palace
Kanwuri (Hausa)	Palace
Lifidi (Hausa)	Shield
'Yan Lifidi (Hausa)	Shield Bearers
Rugan Fulani/Ruga (Fulfulde) ...	Fulani Settlement
Tunga (Hausa)	Peasant Settlement
Gwazam-gware (Hausa)	Impersonation
Ajiya (Hausa)	Treasurer
Maganin Zafi (Hausa)	Cure for leprosy
Fadama (Hausa)	Marshy Land
Rumbu (Hausa)	Granary
Gayauna (Hausa)	A small piece of land given to slaves within the estate.
Subh (Arabic)	Time for dawn prayer
Zuhr (Arabic)	Time for afternoon prayer
Asali (Hausa)	Origin
Zakkat (Arabic)	Obligatory Alms
Kaffara (Arabic)	Expiation
Kaba/Tsawuri (Hausa)	Grasses used for making mats and roofing
Baraya (Hausa)	Central Bedroom (also used as a title for the slave official incharge of the ruler's bedroom).

Shantali (Hausa)	Clay Kettle (also used as a title for slave official incharge of the ruler's kettle).
Laya (Hausa: lit. amulet) ...	A letter of freedom carried by freed slaves.
Alkali (Arabic)	Judge
Babban Alkali (Hausa)	Chief Judge
Uban/Uwayen Kasa (Hausa) ...	District Head(s)
Bature (Hausa)	Whiteman
Raraka (Hausa)	Begging
Rumde (Fulfulde)	Settlement
Dumde (Fulfulde)	Settlements
Ushuri (Arabic)	Commission
Ribat (Arabic)	Frontier or defence settlement.
Tukurwa (Hausa)	Raphia tree
Kutura (Hausa)	Shaduff Pole
Kayan Amana (Hausa)	Trust Goods
Sadaqa (Arabic)	Alms.

DEDICATION.

This work is dedicated to the memories
of my late father, Malam Muhammad Jumare,
and my late mother, Malama Fatima B.
May Allah grant them perfect eternal
rest, peace and forgiveness, Amin.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that it is the record of my own research work. It has not been submitted and accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are distinguished by quotation marks or indented in the text and all the sources of information are acknowledged by means of footnoting and bibliography.

Name: IBRAHIM MUHAMMAD JUMARE

Signature: .....

Date: .....

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS.

Historical Background of the Sokoto City.

Prior to the emergence of Sokoto City, there has been about five strong polities in the Rima Basin area. And the eighteenth century political transformations of these Rima states had brought many changes which had created and nurtured the social, economic and most significantly, the political conditions which led to the emergence of the nineteenth century jihad movement under Shehu Usman Danfodio and the subsequent evolution of the Sokoto City as the centre of the jihad activities during the early period of the century. The pre-jihad Rima states were Kebbi, Yauri, Adar, Zamfara and Gobir.[1] Studies in the history of these states have shown that most of them had undergone various forms of transformation and some of them had either already collapsed or were on the verge of collapse before the outbreak of the 1804 jihad in the Rima Basin area. It is common knowledge that the final collapse of Gobir kingdom was brought about by the outbreak of the 1804 jihad. Therefore, the jihad could be regarded as one of the major developments

which took place in the Rima Basin area during the nineteenth century which led to the emergence and consolidation of new and stronger settlements, such as the Sokoto City settlement.

There is enough evidence to show that all of the pre-jihad states of Rima Basin were practising slavery to a very large extent and slavery was one of those legacies that they bequeathed to the Sokoto Caliphate. Gobir for example, was according to Augi, using slaves for agricultural, commercial, political and social purposes. And Last writes that "the gifts for example which the Sultan of Gobir Bawa gave the Sultan of Zamfara were valuable as luxuries, probably imported: apart from the many slave boys and girls, and 100 horses ..."[2] In addition to using slaves as gifts between the Sultan of Gobir and Zamfara in order to improve socio-political relationship, there was also the issue of selling Fulani into slavery by the Gobir society which Shehu Usman was very critical of in his Masail Muhimma where he argues that it was "illegal to sell Muslims as slaves".[3] In fact, what really attracted Shehu's criticism was not only the selling of Fulani but the indiscriminate sale of Muslims into slavery which he used as a factor of campaign against the Gobir. Because of the use of slaves as medium of exchange between Gobir, Zamfara and other states, we can argue that slavery had played important roles in their economy and society. Sequel to this,

this study seeks to examine the roles played by slavery in the social, political and economic sectors of the new settlement (Sokoto) which consequently became the centre of the Caliphate which overthrew the Gobir state.

And in this study, Sokoto City would refer to the settlement which "was founded as a camp in 1809 over five years after the jihad begun".[4] This is not to say that the settlement known as Sokoto was non-existent before the autumn of 1809. What is available in most historical sources was that from 1805-1808 A.D., Sokoto was just being used as a military post or war camp for staging and planning jihad wars.[5] From 1809 to 1814 A.D., the settlement of the present Sokoto City was walled and about six gates were made out of the walls. However, four years later, thus precisely by 1818 A.D., the walls were rebuilt and expanded due to population increase and security reasons. And two more gates were added and the total number of the gates rose to eight.[6] But it has been difficult to determine the first six gates out of the eight even through their nomenclature.

The walls which had surrounded the old and new Sokoto settlement since about 1818 A.D. had enclosed the Sultan's Palace, even though for most part of the nineteenth century the city did not serve as the residence of the Caliph, Shehu's and Bello's mosques, prison yard, hubbare, old market, and several wards. Sokoto district was in the

east bordered by Wurno district, in the north by Kware district, in the west by Silame district, and in the south by Shuni district. But by the year 1812 the city was officially made the centre of the whole Sokoto Caliphate and the administrative headquarters of the western part of the Caliphate under Sultan Muhammad Bello in line with the new political and administrative structure brought about by the 1804 jihad, while Gwandu was made the headquarters of the eastern part under Abdullahi bn Fodio. Since then, the city had undergone various forms of social, political, economic and intellectual transformation at a considerable speed due to many factors. One of these factors was slavery whose significance and contribution this study seeks to examine and explain. Thus such significance and contribution can not be overlooked because slavery continued to linger in the social, economic and political structures of the City throughout the Caliphate period and even during colonial rule of the City, slavery continued to play important roles in the society of the City - Sokoto.

'The Concept of Slavery'.

In a research like this, which involves discussion of some controversial concepts, there is need to define these concepts in an introductory chapter. This definition aims at eliminating confusion as to what actually

constitutes slavery and who is really a slave. To start with, servile, servility, servitude, subordinate and serf may not be regarded as separate concepts even though they express different connotations of slavery. However, the definition of the concept of 'slavery' and 'slave' would facilitate our understanding of those connotations in addition to providing a definitional and conceptual framework for this study.

The concept of 'slavery' has been defined in classical Hausa language as '<u>bauta</u>'[7] which literally means a state of being forced to work for others and having no freedom, whereas according to Procter, slavery is "the system of having slaves and the condition of being a slave"[8]. It is therefore the aim of this study to examine and explain the concept of slavery as a system of possessing and using slaves as well as the condition of being a slave. In this regard, Sokoto City, the setting of this study, was importing and exporting slaves for most part of the nineteenth century due to the flow of slaves to the City during and even after the jihad in form of tributes, gifts, etc. And many of the slaves in Sokoto City used to perform non-agricultural functions and even those who were kept in farms were not really totally tied to the land, because some of them could be moved from the land to other sectors of the economy or in the case of royal slaves, they could be re-assigned to administrative

functions from the land. This movement from one service to another and lack of not being totally tied to the land has made slaves in Sokoto rather relatively different from serfs.

In Hausa language and culture, slave is synonymous to bawa[9] who is considered the property of another man bound to serve him in any capacity. While in the context of English culture slave is regarded as "a person owned in law by another".[10] Thus far, the meaning of the 'concept of slave' in both English and Hausa cultures could, to a certain extent, be synonymous in view of its implication. Such implication raises the question of legal ownership and a peculiar property with a soul in slavery which, according to Finley, has to be supported by some institutional procedures to distinguish the slaves from the free persons; thus:

> If a slave is a property with a soul, a non-person and yet indubitably a biological human being, institutional procedures are to be expected that will degrade and undermine his humanity and so distinguish him from human beings who are not property.[11]

This property nature of slavery is one of its common manifestation in most or all societies where slavery was practised and Sokoto City can not just be an exception in this generalisation. And in this context, Lovejoy has pointed out and analysed some of the common characteristics of slavery in some African and Asian societies.

According to him, prominent among these characteristics is the fact that "a slave is property".[12] And in Sokoto City, a slave was not only considered as property but potential form of jari,[13] meaning capital investment in person or human being. This rather points to the fact that slavery has been a business venture for profitable investment in that prices of slaves, more especially female slaves, normally go up in addition to the children the owner is going to realise out of her. Thus the value of human being as property does not sifnificantly depreciate but rather increases.

Another common characteristic of the slave is that of being "an outsider of the society".[14] This is however not always the case in Sokoto City as many slaves were either captured or brought from the fringes of Sokoto, Kano, or Maradi to mention a few, sharing common language, religion and cultural backgrounds with the free persons in the City. This does not necessarily rule out the fact that some 'outsiders' were among the slaves found in Sokoto City as one of my informants said:

> Some of the slaves brought to Sokoto City from far distant emirates could neither speak nor understand Hausa language. Such slaves were Islamised and acculturated into the society over time.[15]

But even the so-called 'outsiders' of Sokoto society would be gradually assimilated and within a few years they would become insiders.

There are other common characteristics of slavery outlined by Lovejoy but unfortunately do not conform with the nature of the slavery system practised in Sokoto City during the period under study. One of such characteristics is that "slave is a person who has been denied his heritage through judicial sanctions and that slave status is inheritable".[16] Critical and close observations of the descendants of slaves in Sokoto City reveal that many or almost all the slave descendants seemed to have forgotten their status of slavery over time as a result of the social changes taking place in the City. Such social changes manifested in the immigration and settlement of strangers in some of these places. In this regard, the elders of some of the slave settlements I visited during my fieldwork, such as Danbara and Gidan Salihu, have strongly argued that their forefathers were not slaves but rather "trusted friends of Sultan Bello or his disciples or of the subsequent Sultans".[17] But it has however been shown clearly in most researches and even in the current oral traditions[18] in Sokoto City that Danbara was a slave settlement founded during the time of Sultan Bello and it is likely that Gidan Salihu settlement was also a slave settlement founded during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The concept of dimajo or its plural dimajai is of Fulbe origin and it is part of the concepts which reflect

a sort of reality in our understanding of slavery as it was practised in Sokoto City where we have a conglomeration of Hausawa, Fulani, Gobirawa, Zamfarawa and many others. According to Bargery, the word dimajo which is identical with bacucane in classical Hausa, means "one born in slavery of slave parents ...."[19]. While the Fulani regard the descendants of their slaves as cucanawa, there are several families whose descent can be traced to the first generation of slaves either captured in Sokoto area or brought to Sokoto City from distant emirates.

So far, the concepts of slavery, slave and dimajo, have been explained in the above paragraphs with a view to providing a sort of conceptual framework for the study. Therefore, wherever and whenever any of these terms is used, it is hoped that it will be understood in the context provided above.

Slave-Owning Mode of Production.

Marx, according to Finley, paid little attention to slavery because it was one of the modes of production which he subjected to brief abstract analysis. Finley goes on to argue that it is "a major error to draw on Marx's various acerbic remarks about American slavery ...."[20] while we are studying nineteenth and twentieth century slavery in Africa.

Now, what is a mode of production? And how can the concept be applied to study and understand the roles played by slavery in the evolution of Sokoto City and finally to what extent is the concept useful to our analysis of the study?

A mode of production in general can be defined as "a complex interaction between economy, society, and the state in a form that reproduces these relationships".[21] However, our reference is directly to the slave-owning mode of production whose fundamental characteristics are "the prevalence of slave labour in vital sectors of the economy, the development of class relationships based on the relegation of slaves to the bottom of the social order, and a consolidation of a political and commercial infrastructure that can maintain these forms of exploitations".[22] And even in the Marxist literature, the slave-owning mode of production is usually referred to as "an institutionalised system of large-scale employment of slave labour in both the countryside and the cities",[23] as practised in the Sokoto Caliphate. Consequential upon this institutionalised and systematic employment of slave labour in the countryside and in the city of Sokoto, the political and religious elites, though not coterminous with the entire system of slavery, became to a very large extent dependent on slave labour for their basic production, consumption and distribution

of goods and services. The wealthy persons were also found to have used slave labour in their economic activities.

Now let us consider each of the two main features of a mode of production with a view to showing their relevance and how they can apply to this study. Firstly, the 'means of production' which would in this context refer to the tools, material resources, labour, technique of production, land and other inputs. In as much as the focus of this research is going to reflect on the political, economic and social roles of slavery in Sokoto City, it is important to point out that all the slaves in Sokoto who were originally either war captives, purchased or brought as tribute, had none of the above means of production except their physical strength or labour and in some few cases may possess knowledge or skill of craft or agricultural production. But in order to exploit their labour, the slave-owning class (members of the ruling class, religious elites and merchants) who owned the means of production provided the slaves with land, seeds, simple tools of production, food, clothing and shelter so that the slaves would be able to produce enough surplus for the maintenance of the slave-owning classes as well as for supplying the demands of the Sokoto growing market.

'Relations of production', the second feature of

the mode of production, would mean "the social relations which are the basis of the productive system";[24] it can be expressed simply as the question of "how work is organised and who gets what from whom".[25] The social relations between the producers (slaves) and those who appropriate the surplus as well as the way in which the slave surplus product is separated from them through this system of relations of production, constitute the main considerations here. In the exploitative relationship between slaves and their masters, the latter used to appropriate the larger share of what the slaves produced, the slaves being allowed to use only the minimum share which was enough for their subsistence and biological reproduction.

Organisation and reproduction of labour are important aspects of these relations of production. Such organisation of labour was certainly needed to make maximum use of the labour of large number of slaves flowing into Sokoto with a view to increasing production and facilitating the appropriation of their (slaves') surplus product as Volkov says:

> The surplus product of the individual slave was insignificant, but the total amount of surplus product obtained by exploiting huge number of slaves whose cost of labour was extremely low and was relatively large.[26]

In Sokoto, such organisation of labour was often common in agricultural estates, especially those owned by the

royalty.

Thus the continued supply of new slaves from emirates in form of tribute and from among war captives in the Sokoto area implied an accumulation of huge number of slaves in Sokoto City which further confirm the manifestations of the slave-owning mode of production in the area. This continued supply of slaves in large numbers to Sokoto and the appropriation of both the (necessary and surplus) product of slave labour by the slave owners justify the use of this concept of slave-owning mode of production in this study of slavery in Sokoto City. Slave labour was also used in such sectors of the Sokoto economy like porterage, long-distance commerce and in some stages of craft production and manufacturing like weaving, dyeing, smithing, building, pottery, etc. In addition, family and peasant labour was also used as a supplement to slave labour, particularly in the agricultural estates. And according to Saleh, "the institution and practice of gayya, so important in agricultural production (especially in the countryside), did not have an equally sifnificant role in urban craft production";[27] though it was certainly a direct effort to deal with the problems of labour scarcity in the City. Another form of labour used to a large extent to supplement slave labour both in agricultural production and in craft production was the jinga system of labour which Saleh defines as "contractual

payment (in cash or kind) made in return for a specified service ...."[28]. The jinga form of labour was more common in the outskirts of Sokoto as it was needed for large-scale agricultural production, while in the City it was only common during the dry season when people from the country-side called 'yan cin rani moved into the City in search of labour after harvest. Undoubtedly, all these forms of labour explained above, were very useful to the economy of the City as each one of them played both complementary and supplementary roles in the various sectors of the City's growing economy.

Finally, one may ask why and how the slave-owning mode of production declined, as it was one of the systems which supported the economy and society of the City, while other systems of labour continued to be practised. Colonial aggression all over the Caliphate was one of the immediate factors which can perhaps explain the reason as to why slave-owning mode of production had to decline in Sokoto City. This was because, in addition to the blockade of the available sources of slaves coming to the City, the City itself as the seat of the Caliphate government was attacked and conquered in March 1903. As a result of this conquest and according to colonial records, many slaves from the City and the rural areas of the City had escaped to unknown destinations leaving only a very few number of slaves. Except for a few pocket states in the Caliphate, most of the emirates which supplied

slaves to the City were already conquered by the British by 1903. Thus the consequent disintegration of the whole Caliphate as a result of colonial conquest shows a clear case of the long-term package of integrating the Caliphate into the world capitalist system which had been struggling against slavery for almost a century at the time when the Caliphate was colonised. And since capitalism could not go along with slavery, the slave-owning mode of production had to face a total collapse at this stage.

Islam and Slavery.

The concept of ideology in this study would mean "a pattern of beliefs and concepts (both factual and normative) which purport to explain complex social phenomena with a view to directing and simplifying socio-political choices facing individuals and groups".[29] The polemics which surround this very concept of ideology in the context of its various definitions involve a debate as to whether distortion and selection of ideas are conciously made to defend a social system, for example, the system of slavery practised in Sokoto. Therefore, in view of this distortion and selection of ideas, most of the definitions of the concept appear to be defective and subjective. Nonetheless, the concept cannot just be thrown away because the issue "of distortion and selectivity should be regarded as secondary ...."[30] in our attempt to understand, define

and apply the concept in this study.

And certainly, in most modes of production, particularly the slave-owning mode, there is an ideological foundation upon which social relations of production are built and which perpetuate and rationalise the exploitation and appropriation of surplus, characteristic of the mode in question. The concept of ideology has several definitions, one of which has been provided above, and utilities. The definition provided above has been found to be relevant and applicable to this study. The obvious essence and relevance of this question of ideology in this research is to show the justification and rationale for the policy of the state as well as the attitudes and practices of groups and individuals towards the practice of slavery in Sokoto during the nineteenth century. Another reason which makes ideology a relevant concept in this study is that it helps the researcher to study, analyse and understand the basis and the role of slavery in Sokoto City.

Religion, according to many writers on slavery in both ancient and modern societies, provides the ideological basis for enslavement. In the case of Sokoto City, it was the religion of Islam which was manipulated by the state, the aristocracy and the well-to-do against the slaves and peasants. Having made this pronouncement

here, it is important to note that enslavement and slavery as a socio-economic institution was certainly a pre-Islamic phenomenon which pre-dated the establishment of Sokoto City by many centuries. Its origin and development came about during that pre-Islamic period which was characterised by barbarism and vandalism. The condition of slaves in most or all societies during that period was absolutely unjust, inhuman and intolerable in that:

> Slaves led an unhappy life under their pitiless masters, were denied ordinary amenities of life, were despised, tortured, whipped and had no social and legal status. They were driven from place to place in gangs, fed like swine and housed worse than swine. With fettered feet and manacled hands, men, women and children were dragged about the country with rags on their bod", their ankles alcerated, their naked feet torn. If anyone of the wretches flagged and fell, he was laid on the ground and lashed until the skin was flayed and he was nearly dead.[31]

Having shown in the above quotation the pathetic nature and conditions of slavery during the pre-Islamic period, it is pertinent to raise some conceptual questions here as to why and how Islam allowed the continuity of slavery after its advent in the world. It was perhaps along this conceptual thinking that Qutb asked:

> How did the religion based on the notion of perfect equality among men, stressing the common origin of them all and then successfully translating its concept of equality in its social life, recognise slavery as part of its social system and as such made laws for it? Does God intend that human beings for ever should remain divided as masters and slaves?

> Why did God not explicitly forbid it in His Book and abolish it outright as He did, for instance, abolish drinking, gambling and usury, etc. the practices which He abhores?[32]

It is perhaps tenable to argue that it was apparently in view of the strong entrenchment of slavery in the social, political and economic systems of the pre-Islamic societies that Islam found it virtually difficult or even impossible to provide an ideology that would completely destroy the whole system of slavery within a short span of time without causing social and economic problems in such societies.

However, what the ideology evolved by Islam did to the institution of slavery was to introduce and implement gradual but revolutionary measures in form of laws aimed at changing the sub-human condition of slaves to a better, just and more humane one without destroying the social and economic benefits to the slave owners. It was because of these Islamic revolutionary laws of slavery that we propose in this study that the concepts of slave and slavery which originated and developed during the pre-Islamic civilization, are derogatory and completely ly alien in Islam. The ideological basis established by Islam for slavery in both Qur'an and Hadith, emphatically shows that "the true relationship between the master and his slave was not one of slavery and overlordship nor of subjection or objection but that of kinship and brotherbood".[33]

So, contrary to the concept of slave and slavery, kinship and brotherhood are the universal basis of establishing general relationship in Islam. And again, the concept of kinship and brotherhood are the basis of establishing equality of humanity in both social terms and of course in the right of God (Allah) in the Muslim socio-economic systems as revealed in one of the authentic hadith:

> He who kills his slave we shall kill him; who mutilates his nose we shall cut his nose; and who gelds our slave, we shall get him gelded in return.[34]

This, in the first place, strongly confirms that Islam recognises slaves as human beings, not commodities, and their soul equal to the soul of their masters though the question of legal ownership of the slaves by their masters is still maintained to a certain extent. But the change from commodity or property status to human status during the advent of Islam was one of the greatest transformations which slavery has undergone in the Muslim societies. This raising of the status of slaves can be seen in the more humane type of slavery in the Muslim societies when compared with pre-Islamic or non-Islamic civilizations.

From what has been discussed above, it is obvious that the practice of slavery has pre-dated the coming of Islam and although Islam could not do away with it

completely, it has nevertheless definitely provided all the necessary conditions which were aimed at establishing a tolerable life for slaves. To this extent, alternatives as to what to do with captives of war were clearly given, with enslavement coming as a last resort so that slavery will gradually face total extinction in Muslim societies. According to Islamic theory, only an unbeliever who was captured during a holy war (jihād) could be enslaved. Even in this process, there are options of "execution of captives in exceptional cases, ransom, exchange against Muslim prisoners, taxation or jizya for non-Muslims, free release and finally enslavement".[35] Out of these options, it is the 'free release' of war captives which has been recommended by most famous scholars, such as Khadduri and Muhammad Qutb. For according to their opinion, if Muslims hold war captives as slaves, that was rather purely their discretion and desire and not Islamic recommendation as

> what it explicitly laid down is rather the ransoming or setting them (captives) free as a favour, for it is these two that the Qur'an prescribes ... Thus if the Muslims held the prisoners of war in slavery, it was purely an act of policy dictated by the force of circumstances. It does not form any intrinsic principles of the Islamic law.[36]

Coming down to the area with which this research is specifically concerned, that is Sokoto City, which received and captured war prisoners in large numbers

and was therefore an area where the Islamic theories or principles on slavery and war prisoners were supposed to apply but unfortunately such theories were either manipulated or not applied completely. In this perspective, we simply ought to uphold the argument of Qutb: "If the Muslims held the prisoners of war in slavery, it was purely an act of policy dictated by the force of circumstances"[37] such as the circumstances which Sokoto City found itself in during the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that many or all the slaves found in Sokoto City were initially prisoners of war captured either by the Sokoto forces or by the emirates, but that owing to the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in these areas (such as instability, exchange of slaves for arms, peopling of farm settlements, conscription, and security) during the nineteenth century, these prisoners of war were inevitably turned into slavery from captivity.

For example, during the conflicts between Caliph Bello and Abdussalam which subsequently led to a war between the two principal personalities and their followers, it was reported that "Bello .... after defeating the rebel Abdal Salam's supporters released those who knew the Fatiha and the ritual of ablution, enslaving the rest".[38] Yet, one would argue theoretically that inability to read the Fatiha and perform the ritual of ablution

does not clearly show any distinction between a Muslim and a non-Muslim because it is usually the pronouncement and believing in the Kalimat[39] that makes a non-Muslim a Muslim and vice-versa. The ability to read Fatiha and perform ablution is of secondary importance to newly converted Muslims. Therefore, in this situation, one would strongly subscribe to the views of Qutb that it was not in conformity with the Islamic stand on slavery that those rebels were enslaved but rather it was the circumstances which Sultan Bello faced that made him to enslave the rest of the rebels who did not know the Fatiha and ablution.

But as Abdullahi ibn Fodio argues, rebels can not in any way be enslaved or even be kept in any form of servitude apart from custody:

> ... as for the 'bughat' or rebels, they are defined as those who wage war on the Muslims or who rebel against the Caliph and refuse to pay zakkat taxes.[40]

In yet another source, Abdullahi says th t

> these (rebels) must be called back to recant, and are to be fought only if they refuse to do so with the object of bringing them back to loyalty. If captured in battle they must be remanded in custody until they repent.[41]

It is very clear from the two quotations above that Abdullahi Fodio holds a divergent view from Sultan Muhammad Bello as to whether rebels should be enslaved or not. And in as much as the reason of the rebellion, according

to Abdullahi, was "the injustice, tyranny, and depravity of the Caliph, the rebellion should be tolerated and even be encouraged, provided that it was a genuine attempt to remove evil, the ultimate consideration being the welfare of the community".[42]

Islam has strongly discouraged the enslavement of war captives in that war prisoners, according to the Qur'ān, are either set free or their ransom is taken:

> And afterwards either set them free as a favour or let them ransom (themselves) until the war lays down its weapons.[43]

While it can be understood from the above verse that Islam has clearly discouraged the enslavement of war captives on the basis of its humane social policies, the emirs in the emirates, their warriors and merchants were continually encouraging slavery in all its facets because of the economic, social and political benefits which they derived from it. It was obvious that slavery was perpetuated by these interests despite the fact that Islam has strongly discouraged it. Thus by implication, the socio-economic factors, benefits and aspirations of the operators of the system have over-ridden the theoretical and practical injunctions of Islam over the issue of war captives and slavery in Muslim societies.

In conclusion, it can be seen that slavery was a pre-Islamic practice which had inevitably flourished in Muslim societies and which Islam has reluctantly

recognised and sought to transform in line with its human principles. The ultimate object or purpose of these principles is to finally but gradually exterminate slavery in all its facets in Muslim societies.

The State and Slavery.

Now, what actually constitutes a state? And how does such a state interact with slaves or to what extent was such a state dependent on slavery? To begin with, one of the main constituents of a state is "the existence of public (social) authority representing the interests of the class which dominates economically and politically, and not of the entire population. This authority rests on armed force ...."[44]. And very often, such a "state of any exploiting society (slave-owning, feudal ...) is designed to protect the interests of the ruling class both within the country, relations with other states".[45] But a more precise definition of a state in this context would be:

> a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign. The term may refer either to the society as a whole or more specifically to the sovereign authority that controls it.[46]

Having discussed slave-owning mode of production as well as Islam and slavery in the preceding sub-titles, it is worthwhile to examine, at least briefly, the role

which the state has played in the procurement of slaves and in facilitating their (slaves') exploitation and also the role which the state has played in the development of slavery as a system, under this sub-title. In this perspective, the state had to a certain extent served as a political instrument which imposed and maintained the domination of the ruling class over the ruled classes (slaves and peasants) by placing the control of the factors of production (land, labour and capital) at the disposal of the members of the ruling class.

Within the context of our definition of the state, Sokoto City is regarded as the geographical area which served as the headquarters of the state of the Sokoto Caliphate where the sovereign of the Caliphate lived and controlled the entire state to a certain degree. In the centre of the Caliphate, division of the spoils of war was carried out according to the theoretical provision of the Maliki School of Law in which a ratio of one-fifth was given to the state while the remaining four-fifth was shared among the army. But if such division was however not done in this way, it was either due to personal desire or the circumstances prevailing at that time that made it impossible as earlier mentioned under "Islam and Slavery". The share of the spoils of war allocated to the state could be employed in the state agricultural estate (gandun sarki), or be sold out to

North African traders or be exchanged for horses, arms, etc. which the state needed for its warfare and expansion. In the cases where slaves possessed some mechanical or technical skills such as blacksmithing, weaving, woodwork and dyeing, their production usually belong to the state. The state would provide them with the necessary implements and raw materials, and those who had no such skills would usually be deployed to the state agricultural farms.

Slaves as instruments of state power were politically delicate and socially stable. Slaves who were loyal were appointed as village heads as in the case of Gandi village, and sometimes as regent district heads so as to eliminate the fear of internal rebellion and strengthen defence against any external aggression, for Sokoto was vulnerable to such aggression and rebellion during the nineteenth century. The appointment of slaves to strategic positions is one of the effective process of centralisation of power because it ensures absolute loyalty and control over the subjects and "even the princess as well as other members of the aristocracy were effectively controlled by the royal slaves".[47] But according to M.G. Smith, the use of slaves as part of the processes of centralising power was a phenomenon commonly identified with the development of centralised polities during the pre-jihad period which had spilled over to the Caliphate period. Smith says that "Islam, slave raiding, slave tribute, slave

export, slave settlements, slave officials, eunuchs and concubines were effective in the development of centralised and dictatorial government in Hausaland",[48] since about 1350 A.D. It is therefore important to examine these factors of centralisation of powers as part of the legacies of Hausa sarauta system which subsequently became characteristics of not only the Sokoto City sarauta but the whole Caliphate itself.

Slavery was an important and effectaive factor in the success of the military activities of Sokoto City in that in almost all the campaigns and warfares fought by the Sokoto forces, slaves had played important roles in the various divisions of the jihad army, particularly in the musketeer corps. This was evident during the 1826 encounter between Gobir and Sokoto, and even though the encounter was disasterous for the Sokoto forces as Smalldone writes that "Sultan Bello in 1826 made an unsuccessful attack on Gobir and the fourty-one muskets marshalled by the Kano contingent among the attackers were handled by slaves".[49] In addition to the role played by slaves as attackers, there was also an old woman slave whose assistance during that war cannot be forgotten, because according to Fisher, she was found to be "the most useful person there as well as being brave as any, was an old female slave who had nursed five governors of Zanfara and who rode astride a scrafty horse giving

water to the wounded and thirsty".[50] But one interesting fact in the history of slavery in Sokoto City is that slave soldiers had never collaborated or attempted by themselves to carry out coup d'etat as some slaves did in East Africa during the nineteenth century according to Fisher: "the armed slaves of Arabs played prominent part in the Muslim coup d'etat which temporarily placed power in Buganda in Muslim hands in 1888".[51] But a more profound example not only of slave coup d'etat but establishing a regime would be the Mamluks of Egypt.

FOOTNOTES.

1. For the details of the rise and fall of states or kingdoms in the Rima Basin area during the pre-jihad period, see the following: A.R. Augi, The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, c.1650-1808 A.D. (Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1985); Garba Nadama, The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara (Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1977); Mahdi Adamu, A Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the Nineteenth Century (M.A., A.B.U. Zaria, 1968); M.B. Alkali, A Hausa Community in Crisis: Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century (M.A., A.B.U. Zaria, 1969). But there is very little or even no comprehensive research on the kingdom of Adar except Djibo Hamani's paper, "Adar, the Touareg and Sokoto: Relations of Sokoto with the Hausawa and Touareg during the Nineteenth Century", in Y.B. Usman(ed.), Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, Third Press International, Lagos, 1979, pp.392-407.

2. D.M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Longman, London, 1967, p.lxx.

3. Shehu Uthman Danfodio, Masa'il Muhimma, pp.2, 12.

4. D.M. Last, op.cit., p.lix. And there are more traditions of origin of this pre-jihad settlement known as Sokoto. One of such traditions shows that "Sokoto was no more than hunters camp and that the term Sokoto may have been in use from early times to refer generally to the district in which the settlement grew", according to E.W. Bovil, The Golden Trade of the Moors, O.U.P., London, 1970, pp.231-2. But according to the brand of Fulfulde spoken by Felatahs in the Sokoto City during the nineteenth century, the term Sokoto only signifies "a halting place" as revealed in E.W. Bovil, Missions to the Nigeria, vol.IV, London, C.U.P., 1966, p.701 cited in Saleh Abubakar, Birnin Shehu, The City of Sokoto: A Social and Economics History, c.1809-1903 (Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1982), p.26, footnote 5.

5. Both Saleh and Last seemed to conclude that Sokoto was a military and war camp before 1809. See Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.24 and D.M. Last, op.cit., p.lix respectively.

6. The eight historical gates of Sokoto are: Kofar Aliyu Jodi, Kofar Marke, Kofar Taramniya, Kofar Kware, Kofar Atiku, Kofar Rini, Kofar Dundaye, and Kofar Kade.

7. G.P. Bargery, A Hausa-English and English-Hausa Vocabulary, O.U.P., London, 1934.

8. Procter (ed.), Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Longman, London, 1978, p.1050.

9. Bargery, op.cit., p.97.

10. Procter (ed.), op.cit., p.1049.

11. M.I. Finley, Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology, Chatto & Windus, London, 1980, p.95.

12. P.E. Lovejoy, Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa, C.U.P., London, 1983, pp.269-70.

13. Interviews with Malama Ige Yarmama at Gidadawa and Garka wards, Sokoto, between 25-26 February 1986. In fact most people, especially wealthy individuals, seem to see slaves as such. It is only the aristocrats who do not have such conception about slaves.

14. Lovejoy, op.cit., p.1.

15. Interview with Malam Balarabe Junaid at his residence in Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto, 9th March 1986.

16. Lovejoy, op.cit., p.1.

17. Interview with the village heads of Danbara and Gidan Salihu on 1st March 1986 and 4th March 1986 respectivelay.

18. See Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., and it was also confirmed during a group interview in the Sultan's Palace by Malam Dauda and Malam Balarabe Junaid at Gidadawa Ward that Danbara and Gidan Salihu were originally slave settlements.

19. Bargery, op.cit., p.54.

20. Finley, op.cit., p.41.

21. Lovejoy, op.cit., p.269, and M.A. Klein(ed.), Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, Sage Publications, London, 1980, p.15.

22. Lovejoy, op.cit., pp.269-70.

23. Finley, op.cit., p.67.

24. Klein, op.cit., p.15.

25. ibid., p.15.

26. M.I. Volkov(ed.), A Dictionary of Political Economy, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p.323.

27. See Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.66, footnote 5, where he describes gayya as a communal approach to labour supply and as a sort of sociological response to labour shortages in households and enabled more work to be done, faster and cheaper than otherwise would have been possible.

28. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.65.

29. International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vols.7 & 8, Macmillan, London, 1972, p.76.

30. ibid.

31. M.M. Qadri, Islam and Slavery, Alqadir Islamic Publications, Lahore, p.2.

32. Muhammad Qutb, Islam: The Misunderstood Religion, Islamic Publications, Lahore, 1982, p.25.

33. ibid., p.29, quoting the Holy Qur'an IV:36 and V:36, to support the argument.

34. This is an authentic Hadith narrated by Imam Bukhari, Muslim, Abu-Dawud, Tirmidhi and Nasa'i as cited in Muhammad Qutb, op.cit., p.29.

35. A.G.B. Fisher & H.J. Fisher, Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa: The Institution in Saharan and Sudanic Africa and the Trans-Saharan Trade, C. Hurst & Co., London, 1970, p.18.

36. Muhammad Qutb, op.cit., p.44.

37. ibid.

38. Hajj Sa'id, Histoire de Sokoto, attached to Tedzkiret-en-Nisian, p.313, as cited in Fisher & Fisher, op.cit.

39. Kalimat means there is no god but Allah and Prophet Muhammad is His Messenger. The pronouncement of this kalimat makes a pagan a Muslim and its denouncement makes a Muslim a pagan.

40. Abdullahi bin Fodio, Idah Zad alma'ad bn Muraqabat..., Kad. A/AR/5:40.

41. Abdullahi Fodio, Judat al-sa'adah, 1224 A.H./1809 A.D., CMBD.

42. Abdullahi Fodio, Khulasat al-Usual, 1227 A.H./1812 A.D., Jos, M.S.885.

43. Muhammad Qutb, op.cit., p.44.

44. V.G. Afanasyev, Marxist Philosophy, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p.282.

45. ibid., p.283.

46. International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vols.15, 16, 17, p.150.

47. Malam Balarabe Junaid and Malam Dauda, interviewed on 9th March 1986 and 25th February 1986 respectively.

48. M.G. Smith, Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption Among the Hausa, University of California Press, 1964, pp.351-3.

49. J.P. Smalldone, Historical and Sociological Aspects of Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate, Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1970, p.131.

50. Fisher & Fisher, op.cit., p.134.

51. ibid., p.132.

CHAPTER TWO

SOURCES, POSITION AND ROLES OF SLAVES IN SOKOTO CITY.

Sources of Slaves.

There were several sources and many roles played by slaves in Sokoto City during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Conversion of captives of jihad wars to slavery was one of such several sources through which slaves were procured in Sokoto City during the early period. Many of the captives remained captives only during the transition between captivity and slavery, while a few of them were either ransomed or set free during this period. Those who remained in captivity were usually converted into slavery. A number of such slaves would be taken to the Dajin Malleri which was close to the market and was also an execution ground during the nineteenth century.

Sokoto City, being the headquarters of the Caliphate where the Amirul-al-Muminin lived, received its share of booty from the subordinate emirates in form of war captives annually. To this extent, the Caliph usually received one-fifth and sometimes one-half of the war captives from the emirates whose source of revenue included slaves. Such emirates had many non-Muslim

enclaves located in their southern or plateau parts and were used as sources of supply of slaves as occasional raids were carried out in the enclsaves to acquire slaves. In this situation, it was not only the Caliph who got a share of the war booty in form of slaves but also the Vizier and other state officials living in Sokoto City. They used to get their own share after every successful war in Sokoto area as well as from other subordinate emirates. This would naturally increase the number of slaves flowing into the city of Sokoto as long as the wars were successful. A typical example of the way in which slaves sent to Sokoto were shared is described by Last:

> 100 slaves were sent to the Amir al-Muminin, 50 to the vizier, 10 to the Dangaladima, 10 to the women in his house, plus 10 in case of accident, 1 for the Kofa (intermediary), and 5 for the remaining 9 for the house of the Sheikh.[1]

The above system of distributing war captives represented the main process by which substantial numbers of slaves were channelled to the Sokoto aristocracy. Thus the system has consequently provided the surplus labour which members of the ruling class settled in their agricultural estates, the creation of which Clapperton reported about as early as the mid-twenties, and which would seem to have increased in the succeeding decades. However, it seems clear also that large numbers of slaves

were settled in Sokoto itself, as well as sold out: "a significant proportion of the slaves received in Sokoto in this process was probably sold out of the city, for some of the Zoromawa merchants for one are known to have made a living out of selling slaves thus acquired".[2] This source and system of distribution of slaves was an integral part of the tribute payment system to the state and overlords by the subordinate emirates and districts of the Caliphate.

With regards to slave-raiding, Smalldone reported that "in the Central Nigerian plateau there existed several enclaves of pagan peoples who formed the reservoir from which the emirates drew their slaves by means of systematically executed military expeditions".[3] This central plateau region was geographically located between Bauchi and Zaria provinces and the non-Muslim (pagan) inhabitants of this area lived on top of the steepest rocks and hills because of the natural protection from various hazards and slave raids. However, the emirate soldiers and warriors had devised a strategy of capturing the hills and rocks residents, as Vogel reports:

> An imposing force to occupy the fields in the valley, driving all their forces in the then green harvest, until the poor fellows on the mountains surrendered for fear of starvation, and sent down the number of boys requested for them. The Sultan obtained in this three weeks two hundred fine slaves who were marched off immediately to Sokoto for sale.[4]

The specific areas which fell under the central plateau region in Bauchi and Zaria emirates were the areas of Tangale-Waja and Tula in the south of Bauchi while in Zaria it was the southern districts of the emirate as well as the areas occupied by the Gwaris.

But in the case of Adamawa emirate where there were several pagan enclaves which would provide attractions to slave raiders, the emirs are said to be in the habit of mounting raids on these enclaves to procure slaves.[5] In addition to sending war captives as part of the annual tributes, which constituted a major source of slaves for Sokoto City, there was also the system of giving gaisuwa (voluntary gift) to the superiors by the subordinate emirates. This was a sort of "voluntary personal gesture in material form, given in recognition and re-affirmation of the authority of the recipient and the allegiance of the giver".[6] In this perspective of gaisuwa system, the direct historical evidence we have was the fifteenth letter in the collection of Backwell which showed a letter of such present from the Emir of Bauchi to the Sultan that:

> .... my wish is to inform you that I have sent Muhammadu Mandi and Sarkin Bayi to you and along with them my usual annual present of seventy slaves and ten bags of cloth.[7]

This letter was written by Sarkin Bauchi Umaru son of Suleyman to the Sarkin Musulmi Abdurrahman son of

Atiku. The letter was significant in revealing the number of slaves, the nature of the gift and the place where the slaves came from. The letter also shows the distinction between tribute payment and voluntary personal gift called gaisuwa. The tribute was a mandatory annual or biannual payment by the emirates to the Caliphate authority or by the district heads to the emirate authorities. It was the property of the state. Failure to pay it would be considered as insubordination. While the material given in the name of ordinary gaisuwa was a sort of voluntary personal gift from the subordinate title-holders to their overlords, such materials were considered as the personal belongings of the receiver not state property. Contrary to the large number of slaves sent to the head-quarters of the Caliphate as gift from Bauchi and Adamawa, Kano emirate sent only "one slave and one thousand kola nuts"[8] at a certain instance as reported by Backwell's collection. This letter was written around 1903 by Sarki Bayero to Sultan Attahiru. The contents of the letter are at least significant in showing a sort of contrast between what Kano and other emirates sent to Sokoto as personal gift or gaisuwa.

Within the context of capture as a source of slaves, there was another instance which revealed that war captives were made slaves in Sokoto in that there was an "occasion when Allah granted the Muslims the conquest of the town

of Konni and thirty slave girls from the booty were brought to the Sheikh and Wode", according to Malumfashi.[9] However, information as to what subsequently happened to these thirty girls captured during the conquest of Konni is not readily extant in the literature of the jihad. This source of slaves made up of tribute payment and voluntary personal gesture (gaisuwa) had no doubt enabled, particularly the aristocrats of Sokoto City, to establish many agricultural slave settlements in the outskirts of Sokoto City and even in far distant areas under the control of Sokoto City. These distant slave settlements therefore became the appendages of the City's socio-economic and political activities in that their owners were residents of the City.

Again, within the context of capture as a source of slaves, some powerful emirs used to impose levy in form of slaves on their village heads and district heads. This was evident during the time of Sultan Abdurrahman when the District head of Talata-Mafara went into an open revolt and subsequently sacked the town of Tureta where women and children were captured. Consequently upon this revolt, Sultan Abdurrahman imposed "an indemnity of one thousand slaves"[10] on the rebel. The implication of this severe punishment would consequently lead to organised raids in order to get captives to settle the indemnity imposed. Although we are not trying to pass

a moral judgement here, nonetheless, there is a need to discuss the legality and illegality of capture as a source of slaves in Sokoto City.

Capture as a method of procurement of slaves was apparently illegal and violent in its nature. This is so because capture involves kidnapping of weak individuals, young children and women through violence. And in a theocratic state, such as the state of Sokoto Caliphate, capture as a source or method of procurement of slaves was classified into two categories - the legal category and the illegal category. The legal category involved a process of making a person a prisoner of a holy war or jihad, while the illegal category was in form of organised raids in both Muslim and non-Muslim areas with the hope of capturing persons to be used as slaves or concubines and eventually to be sold in the market or be used at home. Mahdi has explained the legal process of procuring slaves, and according to him, "... only during military expeditions organised by the government or any of its agencies that slaves could be acquired through legal capture. In such cases, they were brought to the war camp first as prisoners of war and then those who were not ransomed by their relatives were converted into slaves".[11] In such situations, prisoners of war whose relatives could not pay their ransom were supposed to be set free on moral grounds.

Kidnapping was one of the illegal ways of acquiring slaves and it was a common characteristic of the Sokoto slavery as shown by several court cases. In a petition to the Vizier by the Amir of Yamma Muhammad Barau, a case of kidnapping was reported that "you should know that about the wife of Baura, her slave girl was stolen ...."[12]. Following kidnapping was the seizure of slaves more especially slave girls. Both kidnapping and seizure of persons were illegal ways of procuring slaves. A survey of the cases dealing with the seizure of slaves shows that it was mostly girls who were frequently seized. Such a seizure was perhaps for the purpose of reproducing more slaves.

Purchase of persons in the market was another way of procuring slaves. The captives who were sold in the market could be out of those whom the individual military commanders appropriated as their personal war booty or they might be those persons who were kidnapped from distant places. Purchase as a source of procuring slaves was characteristic of Sokoto slavery from fairly early in the City's history, as Clapperton reports:

> a few slaves are also sold out of the province to the merchants of Kano, Katsina, Ghadamis and Tripoli. A young male slave from 13-20 years of age will bring from 10,000-20,000 cowries, a female slave if very handsome from 40,000-50,000; the common price is about 30,000 for a virgin about 14-15.[13]

Slaves were also acquired through gift. It was usually during the marriage of princesses in Sokoto that "one or two female slaves were given as gift to the bride and would be taken to the bridegroom's house".[14] These female slaves in the bride's house usually performed all the domestic services which the bride was supposed to do as a housewife. Such female slaves were "ordinary domestic servants and not concubines".[15] And traditionally, the husband cannot have any sexual affair with such domestic aids but if he so wishes, he can get his own concubine from other places.

Slaves were among the legal properties that could be inherited by heirs of a deceased person. In this way, many individuals came to possess slaves in Sokoto City. Some of the inherited slaves might not be resident in the City or nearby settlements but in far distant settlements, but nonetheless they have to be included in the properties to be shared among the heirs of a deceased who had owned slaves during his life time. Of course not all heirs could continue with the maintenance of the slaves they inherited. Some of them had to dispose their share of the slaves. So while inheritance was a way of acquiring slaves, it was also another way of disposing slaves in that some of the heirs had to sell their own share because of their inability to maintain them. This disposal of the deceased's slaves by his

heirs explains the decline of many slave agricultural settlements in Sokoto as will be seen in the next chapter which deals with the establishment and decline of slave settlements in Sokoto City and its hinterland.

Having examined and analysed the various sources and methods of procuring slaves in Sokoto City, it is important as a final note in this analysis to point out that "voluntary slavery",[16] as Lovejoy discussed it, was perhaps what the colonialists described as political clientship. According to Lovejoy, voluntary enslavement occurs "particularly when the threat of starvation left the person with no other recourse".[17] In addition to this, it can be argued that insecurity to life and property may be another factor that can lead to voluntary enslavement. However, inspite of the fact that Sokoto area was an area which was vulnerable to famine, drought and insecurity in the nineteenth century, there were no cases of voluntary enslavement. What obtained in the area, even though the conditions of voluntary enslavement were conspicuous, was political clientship. These clients submit themselves to the ruling houses willingly not because of threats of starvation and insecurity but rather because of the social and political prestige of such houses. But according to another opinion, such clients simply sought security and sustenance in return for their loyalty and/or labour

The Position of Slaves in the Social Structure of Sokoto City.

> There were in ascending order, three basic classes. These were the slaves (bayi), the commoners (talakawa), and the aristocrats or the ruling class made up of the dynastic and title holding lineages (masu sarauta).[18]

This ascending categorisation of people into three classes was a common feature of the Rima Basin societies even before the outbreak of the 1804 jihad. Augi's study of Gobir society shows that "slaves class constituted the lowest group among the groups in the Rima basin"[19] area before the nineteenth century. Therefore, the outlook of the structure of Sokoto society might have been possibly influenced by the previous structure of the Rima societies in which slaves were said to be relegated to the bottom of the society.

While using the above description of the social structure of the nineteenth century Sokoto society, it would be appropriate to provide a working definition of the concept of class before any further analysis on the theme of the position of slaves in the social structure of Sokoto City. Thus within the context of our discussion, classes would refer to a

> ....large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production... Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.[20]

> in Sokoto a world view which at the same time served to justify their privileges and eccentricities.[21]

The residence of the Sokoto aristocracy, its slaves and its followership is located right in the heart of the City's physical structure, popularly known as Kanwuri. The location of this Kanwuri in Sokoto is obviously suggestive of the City's social structure. In this context, Saleh has identified and analysed two broad zones of settlement and writing on the aristocratic settlement, says:

> The innermost of these (settlements) was the area running east-west along the centre of the city, stretching from Galadanci, Kofar Rini, Torobbe and Gidadawa on the east to the western fringes of the quarter of Sabon Birni on the west. At the centre of this core area were to be found, at different locations, the city's two jami mosques, its two palaces, the Alkali's Court, the prison, the Sheikh's tomb (Hubbare) and the open spaces that served as the city square. These were the symbols and institutions of the city's political and cultural life such that sovereignty and religious leadership of the community united the palace and the dynasty ....[22]

And peasants' settlements have surrounded these core settlements.

Now, the focal point of our discussion in this sub-theme is the position of slaves in the social structure of Sokoto City and having examined the position of two other classes, the aristocracy and peasants, we will subsequently concentrate on the position of slaves for

"slaves constituted, by some accounts, the largest class"[23] in Sokoto City's population. The evidence which can support this assertion is the acknowledged fact that Sokoto City was a slave-receiving society throughout the nineteenth century in form of tribute, and of course there was the natural increase of slave population through the practice of concubinage in both the City and in the outskirts of the City. Slaves, according to Malam Balarabe Junaid, were divided as follows: "fada slaves, political slaves, gandu/runji slaves, and gida slaves".[24] The above classification of slaves by one of my informants can not be used in its wholesale because there is no justification for any distinction between fada (palace) and political slaves, for they are more or less the same thing in terms of position and function in the palace bureaucracy. So for the purpose of analysis, the two groups (fada and political slaves) will be considered as one group and will be described as fada slaves or royal slaves.

Royal (fada) slaves were the most powerful slaves who participated in the City's political and administrative affairs. They showed absolute loyalty and reliability to the palace and Sultan and other title-holders in the palace. They usually served as the intermediaries between the palace and the public. Some of them are being used as the personal servants or assistants to

the Sultan or the Vizier and district heads. They are also used as the official agents of masu sarauta who toured districts and villages on either annual or biannual basis for the collection of tributes, taxes, and presents. During the collection of these dues, royal slaves usually intimidated and harassed both the rural and urban peasants so as to reinforce the idea and acceptance of sarauta on the peasants. In fact, the activities of these royal slaves in the hinterlands of Sokoto were described as very outrageous and inhuman. The social status of royal slaves was placed above the status of the other slaves and free-born peasants because of their attachment to sarauta bureaucracy in the city.

Gida (household) slaves were the slaves confined to domestic functions in the houses of the aristocracy, wealthy people and other title-holders. They looked after horses and other domestic livestock within the city. They were fed and clothed by their owners. And the females among them could be married to anybody by their masters. Masters encouraged inter-marriage among the male and female slaves for the purpose of reproducing more slaves for the house. However, domestic slaves were also a source of labour because they could be moved to the owners' farms if there was shortage of labour. Some of the domestic slaves were kept in craft centres by well-to-do craftsmen to do some menial work.

Gandu or runji slaves were the slaves who were mainly engaged in agricultural production in the estates which belonged to either the state, members of the ruling classes or wealthy individuals who practised large-scale agriculture for commercial purpose or for feeding the aristocratic retinue. They were usually settled in villages under the supervision of Sarkin Gandu. These slaves were only engaged in crop production and general livestock production. The treatment of slaves and management of gandu will be discussed in the appropriate chapter.

The Role of Slavery in the Jihad Warfare.

> Slavery or rather the process of enslavement, was a particularly important factor in the internal situation in Hausaland that contributed to widespread discontent. It Therefore served to integrate the other, more diffuse forces working for political and social change.[25]

Slaves were among the discontented elements who played a decisive role in the destruction of the pre-jihad states of Hausaland. The slaves who were exploited and maltreated had a number of grievances against the pre-jihad states hence sought their freedom through alliance with the jihad army.

The slave unit in the jihad army had also played important roles in the light and heavy cavalry, light and heavy infantry, and finally in the musketeer corps.

Both the light and heavy cavalry fought the jihad warfare on horseback. They formed the bodyguard of the Sultan or commander of the jihad forces. Members of the nobility, their free clients and some selected slaves made up the cavalry forces of the jihad army. The jihad army had adopted the lifidi system of warfare from Hausa kings because both the recruitment and function of the lifidi unit in the jihad warfare did not so much differ from that of pre-jihad states. In the jihad warfare, it was discovered that "recruitment to the ranks of the 'yan lifidi appears to have been limited to servants and slaves alone",[26] as it was the case in the states of Hausaland before the jihad. However, Last was rather critical to the use of lifidi by slaves. He saw it as a military "prejudice against armour ... in that it was usually slaves who wore the lifidi but free men were often protected by chain-mail".[27] The cavalry force was significant to both the leaders of the jihad and the army generals in the battle-field because it provided them with protective shield. The officer corps and ranks of this cavalry force were mostly slaves.

The infantry division of the jihad army was made up of peasant volunteers, representatives of district heads, village heads, free men, mercenaries and slaves. Slaves in this division had only participated at the

level of training and execution of the jihad wars, while the leaders did the planning. Furthermore, it was the slaves' infantry officers who were training the rank and file of the jihad infantry soldiers. Many slaves who escaped from their masters or from slave farm settlements during the milieu of the jihad found an easy outlet in this division of the Sokoto jihad army and they fought gallantly. This infantry division has become the stronghold of Sokoto's standing army in about 1860. The infantry was increasingly becoming stronger in view of the supply of modern arms from Europe and North Africa towards the second half of the nineteenth century, because Sokoto City was already in commercial and cultural contact with North Africa and Europe. Traders, travellers and explorers from Europe and North Africa were coming to Sokoto during that time.

Slave musketeer corps was another division of the jihad army which played a very significant role in the jihad warfare. However, the problems of limited supplies of muskets from North Africa, poor quality of the muskets and of course the scarcity of modern arms, made it difficult for a historian to understand and reconstruct the role of slave musketeer corps in the military activities of the jihad army. The works of J.P. Smalldone on the historical and sociological

aspects of warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate shows that "commander of musketeers (in late nineteenth century) was the seventh in order of degree of importance in the military organisation of the Caliphate".[28] And it was usually slaves that were appointed commanders of the musketeer corps because "towards the end of the century, slave generals were increasingly given command of armies"[29] in Sokoto City.

The role of slavery was also extended to the level of construction and maintenance of fortifications in the ribats and in Sokoto City. As part of the warfare strategy, the Sabon Birnin Sokoto and the Tsohon Birnin Sokoto were joined by a single wall in 1818. The construction and maintenance of fortifications as well as the joining of the Sokoto old and new cities together needed an intensive kind of labour. Consequently, it was the joint effort of slaves and free peasants that made it possible to join the old and the new cities together.

In order to solve the problem of transportation of goods such as foodstuff, arms, etc. to the battlefield, slaves were used as porters to carry such goods and other essential war materials. Even the foodstuff supplied to the battlefield was largely produced by the slaves in the state farms. And some of the slaves who were skilled in smithing were engaged in the production

of blades, swords, bows and arrows, while others were engaged in breeding special horses and camels for war. Some slaves were also engaged in military intelligence work which was a dangerous enterprise in that they used to be sent for spying in the areas to be attacked by the jihad forces. It was a dangerous military activity in that as soon as they were identified as spies in such areas, they could easily be lynched instantly or be apprehended for torture.

Other slaves were made to carry out expeditions in pagan areas with the express purpose of acquiring more slaves. One interesting evidence of the role played by slaves during the jihad wars was reported by Clapperton during his second visit to Sokoto when he said that:

> the most useful, and as brave as any one of us, was an old female slave of the Sultan's, a native of Zamfara ... She was mounted on a long-backed bright bay horse ... At her saddle bow hung about half a dozen gourds, filled with water, and a brass basin to drink out of, and with this she supplied the wounded and the thirsty.[30]

Clapperton made the above observation when he accompanied Waziri Gidado and Sultan Bello to the war in which Sokoto forces met with Gobir forces at Gawakuke in 1836 and consequently Gobir was defeated.

The Role of Slaves in Sokoto City Economy.

Agriculture has been an important economic activity in most African societies and the roles played by slaves in this sector of Sokoto economy will be discussed separately in the next chapter. Now, our main concern in this sub-theme is the question as to how did slaves play any roles in other economic activities such as commerce, craft production and manufacturing in Sokoto.

Commerce which was an important sector of Sokoto economy, Sokoto, according to Clapperton, traded with Touaregs, Tripoli, Timbuctu, Kano, Katsina, among others in kolanuts, textiles and undoubtedly slaves, most especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus slaves were most probably used as medium of exchange and in payment of goods and services as Saleh wrote:

> There was not a single currency in operation throughout the Sokoto urban economy. Cowries, strips of sawaye cloths, slaves, Maria Theresa dollars, gold and even kolanuts were offered and accepted in payment of goods and services.[31]

and

> in exchanges involving large sums, such as payment for horses or bulk consignments of other high price goods, slaves and/or Maria Theresa dollars were often used.[32]

In this commercial sector of the Sokoto economy, "the Zoromawa are acknowledged to have more or less exercised

almost a monopoly in the City's slaves and horse trade".[33] The Zoromawa monopoly of this aspect of Sokoto economy was somehow encouraged by the royal patronage in that "members of the ruling class provided most of the slaves and bought most of the horses dealt in by the Zoromawa ...."[34].

Craft production was of course another form of economic activity in which slaves were used in getting capital and for supply of labour. In most craft production centres, production and distribution of the crafts were based on household unit whereby only members of the craftsmen family supplied the necessary labour and other inputs of production. And in this respect, Saleh wrote that "an important quality of the labour (whether free or slave) used in production is the fact that it was for the most part not paid for (except in the case of slaves who were bought and where therefore an initial payment was involved)".[35] An informal method of transmitting the skills of crafts production usually developed through a system of apprenticeship whereby members of a craftsman family acquire the skills of such craft production after a certain period of training. It was discovered that only in a few crafts production centres that slave labour was used mainly because slave holding in most of the centres was insignificant when compared to aristocratic holdings. However, gayya, a form of

communal labour, provided a source of extra labour in some of the craft production centres located in the outskirts of the City.

Jinga, a form of labour contract mostly found in Sokoto urban area, was also used to supplement both family and communal labour in some of the centres where extra labour input was required to meet demands. The payment of this sort of labour was either in cash or in kind. It was mostly migrant labourers who were usually engaged in this system of labour contract as explained by the Ward Head of Marinar Tsamiya.[36] The migrant labourers used to come to the city from rural areas mostly after harvest during the dry season period. Migrant labour was most important whenever there was a high demand of dyed cloth, according to the village head. However, slaves were used during wet season if there was high demand, as migrant labourers only came to the City during the beginning of dry season.

The manufacturing sector of the Sokoto economy was also found to have used slave labour. Manufacturing industries like leather, tannery, pottery, cloth-making, spinning and weaving were some of the local manufacturing industries which most likely used slaves for transportation and in some stages of production. Slaves were employed in most of these local industries particularly those industries which were labour intensive. An example

of labour intensive manufacturing industry was smelting of iron-ore in which "gayya (communal labour) was necessitated by the enormous labour input required by the job, which an individual or small household could not meet unless they used numerous slaves".[37] But in the case of korino-making, there was a sort of monopoly of its skills for korino-makers, according to Saleh, "mostly worked in the privacy of their homes exposing the skins to public eye only after the dye had been applied; they also avoid the use of slaves in the business"[38] in order to maintain the secrecy and their monopoly of the skill. Korino is a mixture of local chemicals used in tannery for dyeing skins into colours.

FOOTNOTES.

1. D.M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Longman, London, 1967, p.204.

2. Saleh Abubakar, Birnin Shehu - The City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History, c.1809-1903, Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1982, p.59.

3. J.P. Smalldone, Historical and Sociological Aspects of Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate, Ph.D., California, 1970, p.36.

4. E. Vogel, "Notes from the Mission to Central Africa", PRGS.11:1, 1858, p.33.

5. A.G.B. Fisher & H.J. Fisher, Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa, C. Hurst, London, 1970, p.29. Fisher's portrayal of this is rather highly coloured.

6. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.198.

7. H.F. Backwell(ed.), The Occupation of Hausaland, 1900-1904, Frank Cass, London, 1969, Letter No.15.

8. ibid.

9. Umar Faruk Malumfashi, The Life of Sheikh Uthman Danfodio and Sultan Muhammad Bello: Being an Editing, Translation and Analysis of Rawd Al-jinan fi Dhikr Ba'd Karamat Al-Sheikh Uthman, and Al-Kashf wa Al-Bayan An Ba'd Ahwal Al-Sayyid Muhammad Bello, M.A., ABC/ABU, 1973, p.30.

10. H.A.S. Johnston, The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, O.U.P., London, 1967, p.219.

11. Mahdi Adamu, "The Delivery of Slaves from the Central Sudan to the Bight of Benin in the 18th and 19th Centuries", in H.A. Gemery & J.S. Hogendorn(eds.), The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, Princeton University Press, 1979, pp.163-80.

12. AMSS.2/49/758, p.48, SSHB(Sokoto State History Bureau), translation by Dr. S.W. Junaidu, Department of Arabic, University of Sokoto.

13. Clapperton, op.cit., p.222.

14. Interviews with Ige Yarmama and Malam Balarabe Junaid in Gidadawa Ward and at Kofar Bai on 9th March 1986.

15. Ige Yarmama, interviewed at Kofar Bai, 9th March 1986.

16. P.E. Lovejoy, Transformation in Slavery, Cambridge University Press, London, 1983, p.4.

17. ibid., p.4.

18. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.215.

19. A.R. Augi, The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, c.1650-1808 A.D., Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1985, pp.242-3.

20. V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.29, p.421.

21. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., pp.217-223.

22. ibid., pp.220-221.

23. ibid., p.215.

24. Malam Balarabe Junaidu, Yaron Sarkin Musulmi, interviewed on 6th March 1986 at Gidadawa Ward.

25. M. Hiskett, The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of Shehu Usman Danfodio, O.U.P., London, 1973, p.77.

26. Smalldone, op.cit., p.23.

27. Last, op.cit., p.72.

28. Smalldone, op.cit., p.19.

29. ibid., p.20.

30. Clapperton, op.cit., p.188.

31. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.140.

32. ibid., p.142.

33. ibid., p.161.

34. For more details about Zoromawa, see Last, op.cit., and Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.161.

35. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., pp.64-65.

36. Group interview, Malam Umaru Adamu and others; Marinar Tsamiya, 23rd February 1986.

37. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit., p.73.

38. ibid., p.192.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF SLAVE SETTLEMENTS IN SOKOTO CITY.

Conceptual Problems.

These are fundamentally the problems of definition and applications of the term 'plantation' in the historical reconstruction of the foundation and development of slave agricultural settlements or estates in the surrounding areas of Sokoto City. Any attempt to define or describe the village farms in which slaves were resettled as 'plantations' would no doubt becloud the racial issues which characterised the origin and development of the concept. I shall therefore throughout the discourse of this chapter, and in fact the whole study, be using the phrase 'slave agricultural settlements or estates' instead of 'plantations' because the concept of plantation is not appropriate in defining the kinds of slave agricultural settlements founded in Sokoto during the nineteenth century.

The concept of 'plantation' had originated and developed in the South American colonies where slaves were imported from Africa and Asia and invested in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, tea, tobacco and other

cash crops in European farms or what was rightly called plantations, hence they were considered 'outsiders'. One of the historical implication of the concept is its connotation of racism. Historically, it was blacks who were enslaved on racial grounds to supply labour to the production of crops such as tea, cotton, sugar and tobacco in South American colonies. This is the basis of the avoidance of the concept in this study. Perhaps M.G. Smith and J.S. Hogendorn[1] who applied the concept in their study of slave agricultural estates in Zaria emirate have deliberately ignored this issue of racism in the term. But on the contrary side, Michael Mason, Polly Hill and Sa'ad Abubakar[2] have completely avoided the use of the term 'plantation' in their study of slave villages, perhaps due to the historicity and the controversy which surrounds the applicability of the term to African situations. In place of 'plantation' Mason used slave and client villages or tungazi, Polly Hill called it farm slavery, while Sa'ad Abubakar called them dumde in the Adamawa area. In a similar perspective, O'Fahey argued that "the evidence for a form of plantation slavery is meagre even though slaves were employed by the Sultans of Sudan and others as settled agricultural labourers".[3]

Though Paul Lovejoy has been keen in applying the term 'plantations' in reconstructing the roles of slavery in the economy and society of the Sokoto Caliphate, he

argues that "the use of 'plantation' should not be construed as an assertion that institutions in Africa and the New World were identical"[4]. Therefore, since the African institution of slavery was not identical with that of America, 'plantation' can not be used to describe or define tungazi, gandu, dumde, or runji as they were known and called in various parts of the Caliphate. Lack of Hausa concepts which are identical with 'plantation' is not enough reason to call slave agricultural villages 'plantations'.

There are more grounds upon which the use of 'plantation' can be rejected in this study. One of such grounds is the physical size of the slave villages and the size of the slave population which supplied labour in the farms. Thus, even a rough assessment of the area of land and the number of slave work-force could not be compared with those of Western or New World plantations. The purpose of the New World plantations was to produce large consignments of industrial raw materials needed in Europe, whereas the purpose of the establishment of slave agricultural estates was to produce grains, fruits, and vegetables for the consumption of urban elites, palace slaves and officials, and a surplus which was taken to market.

The relations and organisation of labour and production in slave agricultural estates of Sokoto were

not similar or even comparable with the relations and organisation of labour and production in the New World 'plantations'. Because relationship between producers (slaves) and the owners of the estates was rather paternalistic, while exploitation and brutalism were the common characteristics of relationships between slaves and their masters in the New World. Although slaves in runji were organised in groups just like their counterparts in the New World, nonetheless this does not mean that such runjis could be called plantations. In this study, the expression 'slave agricultural estates' only would be used, as the purposes of plantation agriculture in the New World and in the Sokoto Caliphate would be that while the former serviced an emerging capitalist mode of production, the latter serviced aristocratic agriculture.

The phenomenon of slave settlements for agricultural and other purposes was undoubtedly an important aspect of slavery in Hausaland during the pre-jihad period and slave settlements were scattered throughout the rural and urban areas of Hausaland long time before the outbreak of the 1804 jihad in the Rima Basin area.[5] The nature of rural slave settlements was essentially agricultural and pastoral, while the urban settlements were more or less settlements in which slaves were kept for daily domestic services.

The gandu system of farming which was largely carried out by slaves was common in most parts of Hausaland, functioning as one of the state's source of revenue in places like Zaria, Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Kebbi, and Zamfara. The ones identified in Gobir were dated to as far back as 1757[6] and were of course used as part of the state's source of revenue. It used to be the tradition in these areas that slaves who were acquired through warfare or purchased in the market were invested in farms with a view to increasing agricultural production. Unfortunately, as a result of lack of sufficient evidence it is not possible to understand the nature, operation and organisation of labour in most of the slave settlements which had existed before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. However, many of such new settlements were founded during and after the jihad. Our major concern here is the establishment of new slave settlements around the central city of the Caliphate which was more or less a sort of continuation of the former practice without any fundamental modification. This is then a clear case of carrying over some

> strong features of the states that were overthrown in the jihad movement. Thus, in the Central Caliphate ... the legacy of Gobir in particular as well as other states overthrown by the Mujahidun in the region, became clearly evident in the cultural, economic, political and administrative structures and relations throughout the era of the Caliphate.[7]

Slave labour was not only confined to the economy and society of the Gobir and other states of the Rima Basin area but it was also an important factor of agricultural production in many societies of the West African region. The first few decades of the nineteenth century which marked the evolution of Sokoto Caliphate and its City was the period in which trans-atlantic slavery was declining. This external decline of slave trade was among the factors that gave rise to the internal marketing and increasing utilities of slaves. Following the development of internal slave markets and increasing utility of slave labour, slaves became more abundant in number and the relationship between the factors of production (land, labour, capital) and slavery was becoming conspicuously feasible in many parts of the Caliphate, especially in the headquarters of the emirates where slave agricultural estates were in existence long before the establishment of Sokoto City.

The issue of relationship between the factors of production and the supply of cheap labour was crucial to the development of agricultural estates around Sokoto City. Of course land was not a problem in this situation, as the city under study was a nineteenth century creation which had around it vast territory of virgin land. This facilitated the development of numerous slave agricultural settlements during the first half of the nineteenth

century. The land resource and its allocation was controlled by the aristocracy which further made it easy for the aristocracy to allocate to its members the most fertile land where they could invest their own share of slaves. An example of such allocation of land resource was the land given to Malam Sambo and Malam Yero as well as Danbara. Sambo was one of the disciples of Shehu Danfodio while Yero was a war commander and Danbara was Bello's servant.[8]

Slaves were both capital and source of labour in Sokoto City. There was enough land for agricultural production on a large scale but the main problem was labour. Family labour and gayya (communal labour) which were characteristics of most agrarian communities were inadequate to supply or meet the demands of agricultural produce that would be enough to such a growing city like Sokoto. So the immediate alternative or source of additional labour was slave labour. The steady supply of slaves to Sokoto City made it possible to use their labour in agricultural estates. In fact, the number of slave agricultural settlements around Sokoto is suggestive of the extent to which slave labour was used in agricultural production and the economy as a whole. Aristocrats and wealthy merchants in Sokoto were using slaves as a form of capital either in the context of monetary value or commodity value in that slaves could be sold or invested in any way. This links the discussion

with the issue of exchange in which slaves were accepted as currency.

The Founding of Slave Settlements in Sokoto.

The city of Sokoto became both a slave-receiving and exporting society due to the regularity in the flow of slaves as tributes and captives from the emirates. In order to consolidate the social and economic development of the City and for the purpose of the expansion of imperial power, slave villages were founded around the City and even in distant places. This subsequently became a system of state organisation of agricultural production which led to the development of Gandayen Sarki in many parts of Sokoto hinterland. In this system, the Sultanate, the chancery, district heads and village heads as well as even the most miniature headship had a runji or gandu attached to his office. It was mainly slaves and peasants that usually worked the sarauta slave settlements (gandayen sarauta).

The founding of slave agricultural estates in the areas of Sokoto City had begun during the time of Sultan Bello, because "creation of agricultural settlements was a common characteristic of urban development in the Caliphate which was one of the important duties perceived by Bello and hence urged emirs to pursue it in their emirates", according to Y.B. Usman.[9] This policy was

further substantiated and clearly spelt out in Usul as-Siyasa:

> One of the duties of the Muslim leader was to see to the colonisation of rual areas through the foundation of villages and walled towns. This was to be not just for administrative convenience and defence, but as part of a general policy of fostering the material welfare of the people.[10]

Bello strongly advised emirs to persue it all over the Caliphate. Ribats or frontier towns, which were in many respects different from the slave agricultural settlements were also founded during the same period. And slaves had played prominent roles in the establishment of the ribats.[11]

The founding of slave settlements in Sokoto City had apparently started from the time of Muhammad Bello as most slave settlements visited so far traced their origin to the disciples of either Shehu Danfodio or Bello or to the servants or clients of Bello. In a few of such settlements, there used to be three types of settlements: the runji or gandu in which slaves were kept for agricultural production, the rugan Fulani in which cattle Fulani were settled with their herds of cattle and then a tunga settlement of free persons who moved there voluntarily in qest of fertile land. Areas where this sort of three-tier settlements were founded were few; among others was the Runjin Gidado in Gumbi District and the Gandun Sarkin Musulmi.

In this study, all those slave agricultural settlements which were founded by the servants of Bello and his clients would be considered as belonging to Bello or the state, as they are called Gandun Sarki or Runjin Sarki or Badon Sarki. For example, Runjin Sarki located just outside the City, was founded by Muhammad Yaji. According to the old hakimi of the runji, "it was Bello who instructed his son Ahmed Rufa'i to resettle Muhammad Yaji who surrendered to the jihad forces from Gobir in the Runjin Sarki".[12] So the foundation of this runji was laid after Muhammad Yaji had surrendered to Bello and paid allegiance to Shehu Danfodio. Badon Sarki, located outside Sokoto a few miles along Birnin Kebbi road, was another slave agricultural settlement which was founded by a servant of Bello called Danmangu.

According to Baraden Bado, "Danmangu lived in the Garka - the Sultan's palace - and had participated in most of the jihad wars".[13] The foundation of this settlement began with seven houses, namely:

> Garkan Liman Salihu, Garkan Biyon Bello, Garkan Marusa, Garkan Kofa Cumbude, Garkan Ango, Garkan Ardo, and Garkan Ibrahim.[14]

Since Danmangu was not living in Badon Sarki, Ibrahim the great-grand-father of the present hakimi was appointed to supervise the farmwork - which implies that Badon Sarki was a slave agricultural settlement. Gumbi village, located a few kilometres away from Bado was regarded

as an extension of Sultan's palace for "it was the Garka slaves who were resettled there with a view to producing agricultural items needed in the palace".[15] Similarly, Danbara village located within a walking distance south-east of the Illela garage, was founded by "the trusted servant of Bello who came to Sokoto from Zaria area".[16] Danbara slave settlement was named after the founder. Before the resettlement of slaves in the area, it was blacksmiths who were the inhabitants of the place.

It was not only the servants of Bello who were founding slave agricultural settlements, but also the servants of the Waziri were doing the same thing in that Badon Waziri was established just opposite Badon Sarki. The slaves allocated to the chancery were usually kept in Badon Waziri which was initially called Badon Gamba. There were other slave settlements which were founded by the Waziri and have remained under the control of the house. These were "Fari, Bazza, Fadama and Guntun Gida".[17] There was also the Runjin Gidado located between Gumbi and Badon Sarki. Other title-holders had also established their own slave settlements mostly in areas which they administered. For example, Gidan Mudi had a number of slave settlements which were founded by Malam Mudi, the younger brother of Waziri Gidado who held the title of Dangaladima in the chancery of the Caliphate.

Apart from the sarauta slave settlements which were mentioned, there were other slave settlements which were established by either the disciples of Shehu Danfodio or Sultan Bello. Some of these disciples participated in the jihad campaigns while others remained as scholars. Their study has revealed that they were founded in the same historical circumstances in which the sarauta slave settlements were founded. The only fundamental difference between sarauta slave settlements and the slave settlements established by scholars and warriors is that the sarauta slave settlements were more or less attached to the sarauta offices, meaning that they can not be disposed of neither can they be inherited by the sons and daughters of the title-holder of the office. By contrast, those established by the warriors and scholars were apparently a sort of capital investment which was used as a source of income and can be disposed of after the death of the owner by his sons and daughters. Runjin Malam Sambo and Runjin Yero are examples of non-sarauta runji settlements.

Explaining how Runjin Sambo was founded, the Magajin Sambo said:

> One hundred male and one hundred female slaves plus cattle, sheep and the land of the area called Runjin Sambo were given to Malam Sambo as a reward for his effort to convince Shehu Usman Danfodio to move from Sifawa to Sokoto City.[18]

were privately owned by rich persons who had no connection witn Sokoto sarauta, as was the case in Kano emirate during the nineteenth century. Of course, there were many rich persons who had slaves, but not to the extent of having them in large numbers worth keeping in a runji or ward in Sokoto City during the same period. Recent researches have shown that rich traders, craftsmen and a few large-scale farmers used to have slaves but their number was not as much as the number which was possessed by people who were connected with the sarauta in Sokoto City. A study on the development of leather industry in precolonial Northern Nigeria with particular reference to Sokoto has revealed that "one of the most important changes on the supply side of the industry was the tremendous use of slave labour ..."[21] in order to meet "the unprecedented demand for hides and skins during the period of nineteenth century".[22]

As a result of this high demand of leather products in the nineteenth century, a lot of changes took place in the relations of production in the leather industry. Even then, individual slave holdings remained insignificant in craft production when compared with sarauta holdings of slaves. For example, "the production of hides and skins, like every other important economic activity during the period was carried on with the considerable help of slave labour. All accounts indicate

that each butcher of free status owned between two to four slaves".[23] In some of the prominent dyeing centres in Sokoto City, "the holding of slaves of individual rich dyers was between one and three".[24] They were involved in all stages of dyeing as their counterparts in the tannery centres.

Long-distance traders in Sokoto also used to own a few slaves who served them as porters, security guards, etc. The number of slaves is said to have been "between one and ten",[25] as no runji or gandu where a large number of slaves were kept has been associated even by affiliation to any long-distance trader or rich man in the Sokoto area. This was perhaps due to the fact that the Sokoto economy was not as developed as the economy of Kano emirate where kola traders and other merchants had large farms worked by their slaves. One of such wealthy traders in Kano was the Tambarin Agalawa Yakubu who died in the 1890s. It was believed that this Yakubu had about five hundred slaves working in his farms at "Makafi, Gonar Kuka, Allah Tayamu, and Gonar Kofa ..."[26]. There was also another wealthy man in Kano who had many slaves in his farms. According to Lovejoy, "Madugu Kosai, the famous late nineteenth century Tokarawa caravan leader, had his farms near Kano City called Kayan Amana ... on which he kept sixty slaves".[27] But in the case of Sokoto City, the whole question of who owned large number of

slaves centred on sources of procuring them only.

As Imam Umoru wrote, "in the nineteenth century commoners buy slaves, but they are unable to buy 1,000 of them. Officials have more than 1,000 because they do not buy them, they seize them during war campaigns".[28] And again, Tambo has shown that "one-fifth of captives of war were given to Emir and four-fifth were kept by individual warriors and Government officials".[29] Tambo's explanation of the disposal of war captives is important in showing why and how the monopoly of warriors and officials dominated the ownership of slaves in large numbers in Sokoto. In fact, the case of large-scale slave ownership in Sokoto City was really a persistent monopoly of the aristocracy either in the domestic servitude or in farms, which had begun right from the foundation of the City itself during the nineteenth century and continued up to the beginning of the twentieth century, because the Colonial Reports on the City show that by about 1904 "the chiefs of outlying towns are generally large slave owners and have large farm estates, from this, their revenue is obtained, from Gandu (Gado)".[30] It is therefore in view of this sarauta monopoly of large slave ownership that we are going to focus our attention and analysis on the management of sarauta slave settlements in Sokoto in the next sub-theme of this chapter.

and manure, the slave supervisor usually sorted out the variety of the best grains during harvest and kept them against the next season. Manure was locally collected in the runji especially in a runji where there were herds of cattle.

Feeding and clothing of the slaves as well as their shelter were all provided by the masters of the slaves. It was the master of the slaves, not the overseer, who approved marriage among slaves as in the case of Runjin Sambo. Runjin Sambo and Bado slaves were encouraged to find their spouses from their own runji. In situations where a slave fell sick, it was the overseer who used local herbs to prepare treatment to such a slave. Even among the slaves, there might be a few who were skilled in identifying useful herbs for treating various kinds of illnesses in the estate. In this respect, a whole village was established with a view to producing herbs for cure and prevention of diseases. This was evident in Danbara slave settlement where herbs of "maganin zafi (leprosy treatment) were produced in large quantities as there was no modern medicine during the early period".[32] According to the hakimi of the settlement, "it was Muhammad Bello who gave Danbara the founder of the settlement, the seedlings of the herbs and asked him to cultivate it in the fadama side of the settlement".[33]

The safety of the slaves, their property and the

settlement itself were all under the care of the state or the individual who established them. All the slave settlements were well protected from raids and other harassments. In cases where slaves reached old age, they were usually confined to petty labour such as picking fruits, guarding farms and applying manure. And in a few cases, they may be transferred from the estates to the City where they performed some light domestic work in their masters houses.

The management of slave agricultural settlements also made provision for natural crises such as famine and crop failure. Reserves or storage called rumbu were usually built in most of the slave settlements in which grains were storedin order to be used during scarcity as a result of either crop failure, locust invasion or inadequate rainfall. Estate grains reserves were not only used during such disaster but were also used during jihad campaigns as many of the estates were established by either the state or the jihad warriors.

Raising of cattle, sheep, rams, and chickens as practised in Runjin Sambo and Danbara slave settlements was another function which slaves performed in some of the slaves estates. Animal husbandry was important to the agricultural development of the estates as it provided effective manure in the farms. It was out of the rams raised in Danbara settlement and Badon Waziri that one

was sent annually during Ed-el-Kabir to Sultan's palace and the chancery respectively. They used the rams for for Sallah sacrifice. This practice, according to Musa Danbara, "had started right from the time of Muhammad Bello[34] and Wazir Gidado".[35] Slaves supplied firewood to these houses on regular basis. The felling of trees and fetching of firewood to masters' houses in the City were usually dry season work as there was no farming activities except clearing farms and carrying manure before the rain falls. In addition to supplying firewood to masters' houses, the surplus consignment of firewood was taken to market and the amount of money realised from this was usually used in the estates by the slaves and their supervisors. The slaves purchased things like soap, salt, meat and potassium etc. with their share of the money realised from the sale of such surplus items.

In most of the runji around Sokoto City, such as Runjin Sambo, Gidan Salihu and Gandun Sarki, there used to be separate farm for individual slaves (called gayauna in other places). In this separate farm, slaves usually cultivated fruits, vegetable and sugar-cane during both dry and rainy seasons in order to earn money which they would use for their personal purpose. Peasants living around slave settlements, that is the inhabitants of Tunga, were usually co-opted into the estate labour. This was a sort of coercion in which the estate supervisors

mobilised enough labour to cultivate the sarauta farms. Runji slaves were to a certain extent indifferent to the fertility and productivity of the soil and they hardly made any extra effort to improve the soil, except applying manure which was necessary for the growth of the crops. Moreso, slaves usually subjected most of the runji farms to the production of single crop or grains for longer time.

What has been very difficult to determine was the statistical data of estates production.[36] In all the sources used so far in this study, statistics of production was not provided at all. This problem was not only common in Sokoto City, as Polly Hill has found similar problems in quantifying the production of slave farms she studied in Kano emirate and her conclusion in this respect is that "we West Africanists have to be content with such general judgements as that slave ownership was undoubtedly profitable to the owners ...."[37]. Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to show that great amounts of grains and fodder were produced in the slave estates listed at the end of this chapter. Efforts to get even the correct statistics of slaves in some of the estates, let alone the quantity of what was produced, have proved abortive.

Organisation of Slave Labour.

Organisation of labour in slave agricultural estates was an important aspect of the management which centred around clearing bush, sowing seeds, grass weeding, harvesting, collection and transportation of the grains or whatever was produced from the estates to the City. In fact, slaves were completely involved in all these processes of agricultural production which run throughout the year. Slaves usually cleared the lands a few months before the first rain falls. Immediately after the land was cleared and the garbage burnt, slaves would bring manure from other places. In places like Runjin Gidado and Gandun Sarkin Musulmi near Gumbi, cattle Fulani provided the manure by keeping their herds of cattle on the farms for some months. This was a sort of co-operation between the Fulani settlement (ruga) and the slave settlements(runji).

The seeds sowed by the slaves after the first heavy downpour, were usually the best grains sorted out during the previous year and kept by the head of the settlement. Weeding of grasses usually took place between three to five weeks after planting and is carried out at least three times before harvest. Slaves were also engaged in harvesting, collecting, and transporting the master's share of what was realised during the season. In the master's house, there was another group of slaves who

performed domestic work such as preparing food for the slaves in the master's house. In other parts of the Caliphate, female slaves and slaves' wives participated in most of these stages of production but in Sokoto City, female slaves were strictly kept in domestic activities such as preparing gandu food and supply of water to the farms. The young children of the slaves sometimes look after the runji cattle and other livestock.

The organisation of daily hours of labour was routine in most of the settlements. However, individual supervisors might use their discretion to change the hours by increasing or decreasing the hours for work on the farms. Work usually started immediately after subh or early morning prayer, and lasted up to the time of zuhr prayer in most runji farms. The work was carried out under very close supervision. Clapperton had reported during his visit to Sokoto in 1824 that "the hours of labour for his master are from daylight till midday".[38] This routine was daily, except on Fridays when people moved into the City to perform Friday prayer and carry out some exchange and purchase of items like salt, potash, cloths, etc., as Fridays were, and still are, the market days of the City. This movement of tunga, ruga and runji population and their leaders into the city and to the palace emphasizes their existence/position as extensions, more or less of the City's social, economic and political system as

their owners were resident in the City.

The owners of the agricultural settlements were quite aware of the importance of introducing agricultural innovations in the estates. Thus, a shaduff system of irrigation on fadama lands and a new sugar processing method were introduced in a few agricultural settlements owned by Sultan Muhammad Bello and Waziri Gidado, as

> Bello for example, introduced a novel sugar refining process on one of his farms, while Gidado is credited with introducing from Kano the kutura or the pole of a shaduff for irrigating the farms around Sokoto.[39]

Thus, the introduction of these two innovations was significant to the development of agriculture, and particularly as sources of legitimate income for both the Sultan and the Waziri in that ".... neither the Amir al-Muminin nor the vizier had any need of support from the treasury. Bello had insisted on being self-supporting and the ideal remained"[40] throughout his reign as the Caliph.

Discipline in the slave agricultural settlements or in other words the control of slaves in order to ensure the maximum exploitation of their labour was also an important aspect of the management of slave agricultural farms in Sokoto. There were, however, fewer cases recorded in Sokoto which manifested the problems of indiscipline or lack of control of slaves in agricultural settlements. Firstly, there was the problem of the Caliphal slaves in Gandi who could not easily be controlled

due to their numerical strength and the political privileges given them by the Sultanate. Secondly, there was the indiscipline of slaves in Dallol-Fogha salt industry which was reported by Heinrich Barth in the 1840s that:

> the flight of slaves can be identified in Dallol-Fogha, the location of a salt making industry in western Kebbi. The rebels centred at the Dendi stronghold of Yelou, raided Dallol-Fogha a number of times, concentrating their attacks in particular on the town of Kawara-Debe. As a result, the local Fulani slave owners of the town, lost the whole of their slaves who under such circumstances, had run away in a body.[41]

There were also cases in which slaves run away from one runji to another in protest at maltreatment. An example can be cited from the above incidence in which slaves run away in a body only probably to join "slave resistance in Dendi"[42] or simply escaped to some other places. If such escapes were just within settlements owned by one master, it would not attract any serious punishment. But if such escapes involved different settlements, it would be resolved through litigation. Violent cases of escape of slaves from settlements were identified during the first decade of this century, because in 1906, it was confirmed by Burdon that "as far as he could learn, the adherents who at one time flocked to Satiru were nearly all runaway slaves".[43]

In the historiography of slavery, it has been shown that violence was a useful means of controlling the

behaviour of slaves with a view to making an optimum use of their labour, particularly in agrarian societies. Slaves who engaged in acts of sabotage like destruction of agricultural implements, seedlings and failure to work were no doubt violently dealt with by the overseers. But cases of laziness and lateness were not punished harshly. However, such cases usually "involved further work on the gandu after others had finished, thereby lessening the time the offender could spend that day on his gona".[44] All cases of sabotage and other forms of grievous offences were not only dealt with by the hakimi but were also reported to the owners of the estates who were mostly aristocrats living in the City. Such recalcitrant slaves were usually sent to prison where life was worse than what it was in the runji. This was confirmed by Clapperton in 1827 when he wrote of the prisoners and prison in Sokoto that:

> their only food is the bran or husks of millet and dourra (sorghum), with water but their friends are allowed to give them food, if they have any. It is a filthy place, and the terror of the men-slaves of Soccatoo. The prisoners are taken out, two and two, everyday to work at the walls or any labourious work which may occur.[45]

Recalcitrant behaviour was generally punished by imprisonment, overworking or selling the slave concerned.

What actually made slave indiscipline relatively low in Sokoto was the sort of paternalistic relationships

between the slaves and their masters who were mostly aristocrats. In fact, this has further made some of the Sokoto slaves to tolerate and even become proud of their slave status and position in Sokoto society. Certain categories of slaves in Sokoto even considered their status as a kind of social upliftment, for even free-born persons used to attach themselves to some of the prominent slave settlements in order to get the political and social recognition accorded to the slaves of such settlements due to the asali (origin) of the settlement. This is what has given rise to what Magajin Gidan Yero called gwazam gware,[46] referring to free-born people who parade themselves as the slaves of such and such persons in the City.

Similarly, Magajin Gidan Sambo argued that "even if the slaves of this runji were to be offered freedom, they would reject, because they always trace their origin to the founder of the settlement (Malam Sambo)"[47] and that was why none of Sambo's slaves or their descendants have sought any legal means to be free or to escape. There used to be a common saying among runji slaves that Runjin Sambo slaves were more or less like "Bayin Sarki ba'a sai she su, ba'a kyauta da su",[48] meaning that Sambo slaves were just like Caliphal slaves who could neither be sold or given out.

Significance of the Slave Agricultural Estates.

The slave agricultural estates in Sokoto were useful as sources of production and distribution of grains, foodstuff, fodder to jihad soldiers, and horses. The estates were also the source which supplied Sokoto City market in which trans-Saharan and other forms of exchange were carried out during the nineteenth century. The estates were important as vents for new slaves as Sokoto City was a slave-receiving society throughout the nineteenth century. The survey conducted in this research has shown that majority of the estates belonged to the members of the ruling classes. Therefore, the significance of such estates manifest in meeting the demands of the state, aristocracy and even of the peasants during famines as Abubakar Sokoto wrote:

> the absorption of the products of the royal estates was largely for state purposes and mainly for the maintenance of the non-producing agents of the state e.g. courtiers, bureaucrats, religious officials, soldiers and war horses. Part of the products were also stored in central granaries of the state and they were doled out to the peasants in periods of adversity such as famines.[49]

The estates were also a significant source of income for the state and for conslidating the idea of self-reliance of both the Sultanate and the chancery as taxes were not collected from the peasants by the Sokoto authority during the nineteenth century. Some of the estates were significant as places of keeping emirs on exile like Badon Sarki where two deposed emirs from Zaria were kept

on exile. In fact, Sambo, one of the two emirs of Zaria who "was deposed in 1888"[50] was brought to Sokoto, kept in Badon Sarki, where he eventually died and was buried there.[51] His graveyard has been visited many times by his descendants from Zaria. The social significance of the estates shows that the rams which the Sultan and Vizier slaughter during Sallah occasion and other important occasions were brought from Danbara and Badon Waziri respectively. The estates were also important in providing grains and animals for zakkat, since payment of zakkat on animals and agricultural products was based on the amount of grains and number of animals realised during the year in the estates.

The estates were also important sources of supply of local industrial raw materials such as indigo which was cultivated in large quantity and many of the dyeing centres in Sokoto City were dependent on some of the estates as their source of supply.[52] During the second half of the nineteenth century, Sokoto was one of the famous and qualitative dyeing centres which means that the demand for indigo was really high. Such demand had increased the production of indigo and its business was an additional source of income for both the slaves and their masters. Fruits and vegetables were also produced in large quantities, particularly in the estates which were founded around the fadama lands and were taken

directly to the City market and estate owners' houses as they were needed for preparing food and soup throughout the year. That was why there was rainy season production and dry season production through irrigation. Tobacco leaves and rice were other items produced in the estates located on fadama lands. Estates like Runjin Sambo, Gidan Fadama, Runjin Yero, Gidan Salihu and Garkan Sarkin Musulmi as well as Danbara were some of the estates founded around the fadama lands which produced items like rice, indigo, fruits, and vegetables.

Tukuruwa plantation (Raphia vinifera)[53] were also cultivated in some of the estates. Danbara slaves estate was one of the areas where such raphia vinifera trees were cultivated as evidence for the production of the raphia trees are still very much visible in the area. Raphia vinifera trees and leaves were important in roofing and fencing of houses and fadama farms. There was no doubt that there was a high demand for raphia tree's stem and leaves in order to build more houses and market stalls in the market with a view to accommodating the large number of immigrants trooping into the City during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the same Danbara slave settlement, kaba and tsawuri grasses were also cultivated there and the most important plant cultivated was the herb which was used by Sultan Bello in preparing medicine for leprosy. According to the

present village head of Danbara, "it was during the period of Sultan Bello that the seeds for the herbs were introduced"[54] because there was no modern medicine for leprosy then. So from what we have observed, it can be concluded that slave settlements were significant as centres of agricultural production as well as for production of herbs and breeding animals. Some of the important slave settlements were Runjin Sambo, Runjin Yama, Runjin Yero, Runjin Gazau, Badon Sarki, Badon Waziri, Gandi, Gumbi, Tofa, Garkan Sarki, Runjin Sarki, Gidan Fadama, Gidan Salihu, Norawa, Gidan Egwi, Gidan Kuka, Kofar Bai, Nasarawa, Gidan Idi, Gidan Modi, Gidan Kaya, Guntun Gida, Bazza, Fadama, Goronyo, Gandun Waziri, Gandun Magaji, Runjin Gidado, and Gandun Ardo.

The above list was compiled during the fieldwork and most of them were slave settlements which were either directly or indirectly sarauta slave settlements.

FOOTNOTES.

1. M.G. Smith and Hogendorn seem to share similar opinion on the application of the term 'plantation' in Zaria Emirate. See M.G. Smith, The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, London, 1955, and J.S. Hogendorn, "The Economics of Slave Use on Two 'Plantations' in the Zaria of the Sokoto Caliphate", International Journal of African Historical Studies, 10, 1977, pp.396-83.

2. Michael Mason and Polly Hill have avoided using the concept 'plantation'. They instead used tungazi and 'farm slavery' for Bida and Kano respectively.

3. R.S. O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dar-Fur", J.A.H., 14, 1973, pp.37-38.

4. P.E. Lovejoy, "The Characteristics of Plantations in the Nineteenth Century Sokoto Caliphate", The American Historical Review, vol.84 no.5, December 1979, p.1271.

5. For detailed discussion on slave agricultural settlement (gandu system) of the pre-jihad states around the Rima Basin area and other parts of Hausaland, see A.R. Augi, The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, c.1650-1808 A.D., Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1985, p.434; M. Bello Alkali, A Hausa Community in Crisis: Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century, M.A., A.B.U. Zaria, 1969; Garba Nadama, The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara, Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1977; and Mahdi Adamu, A Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the Nineteenth Century, M.A., A.B.U. Zaria, 1968.

6. A.R. Augi, op.cit., p.434.

7. ibid., p.538.

8. This point was raised by Magajin Gidan Sambo, Magajin Gidan Yero and Musa Danbara respectively in my interviews with them between 1st March 1986 and 10th March 1986.

9. Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina, c.1796-1903: The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment and Evolution of the Emirate, Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1974, p.426.

10. Muhammad Bello, Usul as-Siyasa.

11. Ibrahim M. Jumare, "The Role of Slavery in Shaping the Policy, Establishment and Development of Ribats in Sokoto", University of Sokoto Seminar, 15th January 1987.

12. Group interview in Runjin Sarki on 4th March 1986, comprising new and old hakimi, Imam of the village, and Malam Sani.

13. Baraden Badon Sarki, Malam Ibrahim, 4th February 1986.

14. idem.

15. idem.

16. Musa Danbara, Danbara village head, 1st March 1986.

17. Malam Balarabe Junaidu, Yaran Sarkin Musulmi, Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto, 9th March 1986.

18. Magajin Sambo, Tsamiyar Yero, Sokoto. This interview was conducted by S.U. Lawal of the Department of History, University of Sokoto, on 24th April 1983. The cassettes are available in the Department. I am grateful to him for allowing me to use the cassettes.

19. Malam Balarabe Magajin Gidan Yero, Sokoto. This interview was also conducted by S.U. Lawal and the cassettes are available in the Department

20. E.J. Arnett, Gazetteer of Sokoto Province, Waterlow & Sons, London, 1920, p.7.

21. I. Anagbogu, "The Development of Leather Industry in Precolonial Northern Nigeria", Department of History Seminar, University of Sokoto, pp.15-16.

22. ibid.

23. ibid.

24. Malam Bawa Mai Tarihi, Marinar Gangu, and Malam Umaru the Ward Head of Marinar Tsamiya, 6th February 1986.

25. Alhaji Sa'idu Tsohon Kasuwa, Sokoto, 10th March 1986.

26. P.E. Lovejoy, "Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate", J.A.H., 19, 1978, p.361.

27. P.E. Lovejoy, "Plantations in the ....", p.361.

28. D.E. Ferguson, Nineteenth Century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Imoru of Land, Economy, and Society of his People, Ph.D., University of California, 1973, p.205.

29. D.C. Tambo, "The Sokoto Caliphate Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century", International Journal of African Historical Studies, vol.9 no.2, 1976.

30. NAK, Sokprof, 15/1/1904 - Notes on Tributes, p.1.

31. Claude Meillassoux, "The Role of Slavery in the Economic and Social History of Sahelo-Sudanic Africa", Kano Seminar, 1976, p.28.

32. Malam Musa Danbara, 1st March 1986.

33. idem.

34. idem.

35. Malam Balarabe Junaid, 9th March 1986.

36. It has been the problem of the distance of the period and the disappearance of many granaries, coupled with the decrease in the size of the farms, that made such quantification difficult. Records were hardly kept and to the best of our knowledge not recovered.

37. Polly Hill, "From Slavery to Freedom: The Case of Farm Slavery in Kano Emirate", Kano Seminar, January 1976, p.12.

38. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo, John Murray, London, p.214.

39. D.M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Longman, London, 1967, p.184, and P.G. Harris, op.cit.

40. D.M. Last, ibid., p.185.

41. P.E. Lovejoy, "Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade", African Studies Programme, Madison, 1986, p.16.

42. ibid.

43. C.O.446/53, p.115.

44. S.U. Lawal, "The Economics of Slave Use in Runjin Sambo Slave 'Plantation' of Sokoto", Department of History Seminar, University of Sokoto, 9th February 1984, p.11.

45. H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.210.

46. Malam Balarabe Magajin Yero.

47. Magajin Gidan Sambo.

48. idem.

49. Abubakar Sokoto Mohammed, op.cit., p.94.

50. R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies, Longman, London, 1977, pp.80-81. Explanation on the name of the other emir is not extant.

51. Ibrahim Baraden Badon Sarki, 4th February 1986.

52. Malam Umaru, Ward Head of Marinar Tsamiya, 17th February 1986.

53. NAK, Sokprof.S.2071.

54. Malam Musa Danbara, 2nd March 1986.

CHAPTER FOUR

KWARKWARA (CONCUBINAGE): A PERSISTENT PHENOMENON OF SLAVERY IN SOKOTO CITY.

Nineteenth Century Concubinage.

Concubinage is known as *kwarkwara*, *sadaka* or in Sakkwatanci dialect *makubliya*. This practice of concubinage was one of the pre-jihad phenomenon of slavery, whereby a woman or girl lives with a man as if she were his wife without being lawfully married to him, which had inevitably found its way into the Caliphate social and political systems, evidently from the immediate states which were overthrown by the Caliphate forces during the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, concubinage had subsequently become persistent in the social and political structures of the Caliphate in quite a significant form. And this persistence of concubinage phenomenon had remained as it was perhaps to the same extent throughout the nineteenth century. In fact, the practice has not really stopped up to this decade of the twentieth century. Thus, it is true that "the emergence of a more militant puritan Islam in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not fundamentally alter the situation, though some of the leaders behaved with restraint".[1]

So as a matter of fact, if there was any factor which led to the continuity of the practice of concubinage in the centre of the Caliphate, it was of course the circumstances of the nineteenth century jihad in which female spoils of war became abundant during and after the jihad wars. This has consequently made the phenomenon a common characteristic of the social system not only of the centre but the whole of the Caliphate, as concubines were found in large numbers in the household of members of ruling classes, judges, scholars, wealthy people and other influencial persons in many parts of the Caliphate. In fact, even the most miniature title-holders within and outside Sokoto City have acquired concubines. Today, prospercus farmers, civil servants and successful traders are also keeping concubines in their homes. This means that keeping of concubines is a social issue which has historically cut across different classes of people in the Caliphate. Imam Umoru described the phenomenon in Hausaland during the nineteenth century as a common feature of nineteenth century slavery:

> When a man sees a beautiful slave and likes her, he keeps it a secret. He sleeps with her regularly and she becomes his concubine. When she bears once for him, she becomes a free woman; he does not sell her, he does not give her away as a gift nor will he make her pay a tax, but he continues to discipline her as he likes. When he dies she becomes a free-born woman.[2]

Imam Umoru's description of the nineteenth century Hausa-land concubinage has given us a significant information about the essential social character of the Sokoto Caliphate, which has occupied the territories of Hausa-land, beyond the superficialities we have often been told about.

The nature of concubinage in Sokoto City reveals that it is a form of dependency in which the concubine does not participate in decision-making within the structure of the family, for she is totally dependent on what the master and his wives decide in the house. Her own was just to execute what has been decided. As part of the nature of this dependency which characterised the Sokoto concubinage, a concubine is completely forbidden from entering into the master's room (baraya) during the night time. Nights are exclusively shared on equal basis among two or four free wives,[3] whereas concubines, irrespective of their number, can only enter the master's bedroom during the day time. If they are many, the master may prepare a sort of routine schedule of duty or call which shows when and where each of the concubines is expected to attend to the master during the day time.

The system of concubinage permits concubines to remain in the master's bedroom throughout the day "for the purpose of sweeping and general tidiness of the

room and all his personal belongings"[4]. She must make sure that there is always water in the master's kettle (shantali). However, division of labour in aristocratic homes between concubines and free wives was different in that it was the free wives who allocated female slaves with labour and directed them on what to do as observed by Clapperton during his visit to Sokoto:

> ... the wives of the principal people, of whom they all appear to keep the number allowed by Koran, which is four, with concubines as many as they can get or are able to keep, are occupied in directing the female slaves in their work, cooking their husband's food, cleaning and spinning cotton and dressing their hair,[5]

while the concubines were engaged only with their own traditional roles.

In the preparation of food, concubines carried out some stages of the cooking. In some houses, the concubine does all the cooking except sharing out food when it is ready. In such houses, it is one of the free wives who is supposedly having her turn that would go to the kitchen and share the food accordingly. And in other houses, concubines' accommodation are completely detached from the free wives' accommodation hence everything was done for them separately. In most homes, free wives use double rooms while concubines use only single rooms. This arrangement of accommodation obviously makes it difficult for the concubines to mix freely

with the free wives. This also made conflict unlikely between the free wives and the concubines, as the arrangement does not provide common conveniences.

However, there are houses in which the concubines mixed freely with the free wives and domestic work is shared equi-tably between the free wives and the concubines. In this situation, concubines usuallay carried out all the menial work in the house such as "cooking tuwo, fetching water, threshing grains, while the free wives prepare soup and fura or porridge"[6] for the master. The performance of the menial work in the house does not preclude the concubines from attending the master's bedroom at any time he requested her, particularly during his leisure hours. It is apparently this characteristic of concubinage that made possible the full absorption of concubines into the family structure of such homes, as she mixes with the master, his wives, children and even the relations of the master's family. This familiarity with the whole structure of the family is one of the obvious reasons which makes it impossible to sell concubines.

In particular, a concubine who gives birth to a child or children can not under any circumstances be sold out. This brings the discussion to the status of the children born to concubines in Sokoto City. Historically, the status of concubines' children has

been equal with the status of free wives' children as the theory and the circumstances which provided for the ownership of concubines did not in any way differentiate between the sons or daughters of concubines and those of free wives. However, there are some authors who seem to believe and show some superficial segregation between the sons and daughters of concubines and free wives. Prominent among such authors are Dunbar and Fisher who believe that:

> At sometimes important complication arising from concubinage was rivalry among children. In strict law the children of a free wife and the child of a concubine were exactly equal in status and privileges. But respect for the law was not always effective in eradicating the feeling that it was only right and proper to prefer the son of a free woman to the son of a bonds-woman.[7]

Dunbar, commenting on this issue of status, also noted that "children of free wives and those of concubines are equal in rights and privileges, but historically this was often a source of conflict in political rivalries".[8]

Though both authors have given an impression of awareness of equality in the status of concubines' and free wives' children, nonetheless there are serious shortcomings and misconceptions of the status of concubine children in the views expressed by Fisher and Dunbar above. Fisher's impression of giving preference to the sons and daughters of free wives at the expense

sion and he has not cited any example to buttress his assertion. And Dunbar's understanding of the issue as a source of political rivalry was just a narrow perception, because political rivalries are events or incidence commonly identified even in families where mothers were all free-born wives. It is clear from the cases cited in this study that concubine offsprings are not supposed to be denied any political, economic or social rights and privileges either by their fathers or by the society in general. This is historically evident here in Sokoto City as sons and daughters of concubines rose to prominence as sultans, district heads or important title-holders just like their counterparts born of free wives. Among others were Aliyu Babba the first Amir-al-Sudan and later Sultan (c.1842-1859), Mualledi the first Sarkin Kaya of Maradun and Fodio, the new Sarkin Gobir were all of concubine mothers.[9] Thus it is apparent that concubines' offsprings unquestionably inherit the social status of their father for genetically he can not deny them as his own offsprings.

Even the twentieth century society in Sokoto City which still practices concubinage maintains a good level of equality among the sons of free wives and concubines. In most of the houses visited during this research, this equality is clearly manifested. The

conversations I had with some of the "concubine sons and daughters as well as some others in whose houses there are concubines have confirmed to me that they have been feeding on the same kind of food, living in the same rooms and whenever they are to be provided with clothes during Sallah occasion or any other important occasion, they are usually given the same stuff".[10] However, some mothers may be rich and can always buy additional or expensive dresses for their sons and daughters. This does not in any way entail discrimination as the difference does not emanate from paternal angle. And as far as the position of father is concerned in this aspect of slavery, marrying out the daughters concubines is more or less the same thing as marrying out the daughters of free wives for both of them have similar rights and privileges in choosing their husbands and the amount of gara or gift given them during the occasion of their marriage must be equal.

Here also, the mother irrespective of her status in the house, usually does her best if she is rich by furnishing her daughter's room expensively. In the aristocratic houses, such rights and privileges of choosing husbands by both concubines' and free wives' daughters are not always feasible, "because such daughters are in most cases forced to marry from within the class they belong to, irrespective of whether they

like the husbands or *not*".[11] *Some of them are* even married out to distant emirs in order to establish stronger relationship, as in the case of present Emirs of Kano, Zaria and Yawuri who married the daughters of the present Sultan.

Equality also prevails in the issue of inheritance, which is another area where such discrimination is likely to manifest. Inheritance of social and political status as shown in this study is never dependent on whether the heirs are sons of concubines or free wives. Material wealth is equitably divided among the male and female beneficiaries of such inheritance without taking into consideration the status of their mothers in the family structure. But this issue of equality and equitability does not rule out the question of rivalry and struggle between the sons with a view to achieving *some of their life ambitions*. This rivalry and struggle is obviously a common characteristic even among the sons of polygamous families where there may be no concubines but only free wives. The rivalry between the sons and daughters of concubines was an important factor in raising their conciousness to struggle hard and eventually become prominent rulers, scholars, or wealthy persons in the society.

Twentieth Centurey Concubinage in Sokoto City.

Due to its pervasiveness in the social, political and economic systems, the colonial administration was unable to deal or destroy the basis of the institution of slavery and this has been responsible for the persistence of concubinage in Sokoto City. In fact, it was this phenomenon of concubinage that became most difficult for the British administration in Sokoto City to deal with in view of its vicious nature. British attitude to domestic slavery was evidently revealed in the 1901 Proclamation which partly alloweds 'natives' to own slaves and in the formation of the 1931 Advisory Council on concubinage.

The 1901 Slavery Proclamation was just a colonial policy statement which in theory proscribed the practice of slavery only to the extent that "all children born after that date were free-born children".[12] The Proclamation clearly meant that all those who were already in bondage before 1901 would remain so, and hopefully there was not going to be a single virgin slave girl who would be taken as a concubine in the City after a decade or two of the proclamation. However, three decades after the 1901 colonial policy on slavery was passed, an Advisory Council for concubinage and dowry had to be formed by the colonial administration in Sokoto, because:

> ... by 1931, it became apparent that the concubinage issue within the context of slavery must be discussed by the colonial government so as to tally it with the new policy on slavery so as to find out the public opinion on the changes introduced into the social system caused by the proclamation of slavery policy.[13]

It was undoubtedly in view of the persistence of concubinage after thirty years of proclamation against slavery in Sokoto that made it necessary for the colonial regime to set up an Advisory Council to examine the phenomenon of concubinage, which had remained persistent in the social framework of Sokoto society. For by the 1930s, most of the concubines were supposed to be free-born, not slaves, according to the 1901 Proclamation. Thus, it was the descendants of slaves who were being used as concubines which was contrary to the provisions of 1901 Proclamation. This persistence had made adjustment of colonial policy towards slavery necessary with particular reference to concubinage, in view of its prevalence in many homes in Sokoto.

Such necessary adjustment of the law was meant to redefine the relationship between a concubine and her master within the context of extra-legality so as to have him convicted, as

> a man with free-born concubines must by the legal jurist be considered as living with them in an extra-legal relationship. If concubinage however should continue, this would lead to an impossible situation and some legal adjustment of the law would appear to be necessary.[14]

Having mentioned the attempt made by the colonial administration to check the continuity of concubinage since about 1930, it is pertinent to ask as to what were the factors that were responsible for the persistence of concubinage in the social systems of Sokoto City up to date. Firstly, colonial administration had perceived it as a social problem which was beyond the administration's capability, for most of the laws, proclamations and so on were just paper work, as there was no attempt to implement the laws. In fact the colonial administration was reluctant in implementing the slavery laws because it was mainly the members of the ruling class who were involved in keeping concubines. Secondly, implementing the laws would mean searching all the harems and houses in which the concubines were hidden and of course blocking the source of acquiring them which the colonial government was not ready at all to do.

In addition, the colonial government was apparently apprehensive of totally abolishing slavery, because of its social consequences. One of such social consequences was an increase in the rate of prostitution in the City and rural areas, as most of the concubines who would be set free would likely resort to prostitution instead of getting married or going back to their parents. The domestic female slaves were also part of this social problem as most, if not all, of them could not even

trace their parents and therefore the only alternative for them if set free was to remain in the City or move to other urban centres as prostitutes and petty traders. In fact, it was discovered that some of the concubines and domestic female slaves who escaped from their masters' houses during the confusion attending the conquest of Sokoto City in March 1903, followed the soldiers of the Royal West African Frontier Force to their homes.

In order to deal with this as a social problem, the colonial administration found it convenient to keep such categories of slaves "under the custody of some trusted individuals".[15] Thus allowoing concubines and females slaves to remain in the trusted hands was by implication allowing slavery, especially concubinage to continue silently in many homes. In fact, cases of escape, selling and stealing of concubines and female slaves were not only reported to District Officers or Residents during colonial rule but many of such cases were reported to either the Sultan, vizier, or judges, because they had more faith in them than on the colonial administration which outlawed the practice.

The survival of concubinage as a phenomenon in Sokoto could be attributed to the collusion between the colonial administration and the traditional rulers. The colonial government had formulated a policy on

slavery to be implemented gradually by the traditional rulers, but as the obvious beneficiaries of the system, the latter could not implement this policy. Thus even if slavery laws were applied to other features of slavery, it was not deliberately applied to the aspect of oncubinage, because the nature of concubinage in the family structure of Sokoto City was highly complex and it is this complexity that made it possible to survive throughout the colonial period and even after. The source of procuring concubines was not fully and effectively blocked by the slavery laws, hence the practice of enslaving (as concubines) daughters of ex-slaves by masters remain a common practice and Sokoto social system still accepts that

> any slave woman who got married to a slave man, her sons and daughters are slaves. Their master can choose his concubine or sadaka from among their children.[16]

Though it is only the daughters of ex-slaves that are nowadays being used as concubines, the sons are allowed to persue their occupational inclinations.[17]

Azbinawa from the Republic of Niger also bring the daughters of their own slaves (mostly Bugaje or Buzaye) annually to Sokoto for sale. For girls between the ages of ten and twenty, the price offered is about one thousand eight hundred Naira.[18] A survey of opinion of people who have bought Buzaye concubines has confirmed that

"they are really more obedient, hardworking and tolerant"[19] than the Sokoto concubines. Buzaye concubines are largely patronised by wealthy people and civil servants in the City, while Sokoto native concubines are usually found in sarauta houses and in families connected with Sokoto sarauta by marriage or clientship as it is only such families who have the descendants of their ex-slaves within and outside the City. In some cases, "the concubines are obtained from slave settlements outside the City by the families whose forefathers had established such settlements".[20] One of my informants was of the view that "it is abject poverty which has resuscitated the selling of daughters as concubines to well-to-do people and to sarauta houses in Sokoto"[21] and he further emphasized that in most cases, neither the fathers nor the mothers of the girls were of slave origin.

Due to the prevalence of concubinage now in the City, there are special brokers who carry out the marketing of concubines. These brokers are usually old women of between fifty to sixty years who were either ex-concubines or domestic slaves who go to villages outside the City in search of concubines for those who want to buy them. It is as a result of the persistence of concubinage that now "even prostitutes are sometimes sold out as concubines to prospective buyers. It is this category that eventually escape and return to

prostitution in different towns".[22]

The business of brokering for concubines seems to thrive well in the City, as the demands for concubines is obviously increasing inspite of the new conditions imposed on it by the parents of the concubines and their brokers. The conditions imposed on the purchase of concubines in the twentieth century Sokoto society are different from what used to obtain during the preceding century in that

> the mother and father of the would-be concubine must be given cloths, wrappers, gowns for their personal use in addition to the cash payment. And the concubine is also to be provided with the necessary wrappers, headties etc. of any kind for her own use before she moves to her prospective master's residence.[23]

These conditions imposed by the parents and brokers of the concubines who benefit in form of commission were not known during the earlier time and they have made the whole affair to appear as a non-slavery transaction, for in the real situation where concubines were acquired as slaves, such conditions were never imposed and the concubine had no choice as to who possessed her, what she wore, ate and where she lived.

Concubines who attained old age before they died are usually taken care of by their sons and daughters, and usually end up as spinner artisans, petty traders in the market, nannies and hawkers of women wears as well as brokers of concubines. Some of them have made

enough fortune out of these businesses to build their personal house and even own slaves who served them as their domestic aids.[24] This category of concubines have been barren throughout their life and have to struggle even at old age to earn their living, for their master can no longer look after them as they are no more useful.

It is common knowledge that concubinage had played important roles in the demographic growth and overall development of Sokoto, particularly during the initial stages of the development of the City. Moreover, the practice of concubinage which Saleh describes as a kind of

> a popular indulgence of the Sokoto ruling and propertied class, raised the rate of increase or growth in upper class, slave-owning families and therefore may have raised the rate of expansion of the urban population generally.[25]

The above view has undoubtedly given a comprehensive picture of the impact of concubinage on the overall development of the centre of the Caliphate, as population factor is usually considered one of the index of socio-economic development. Concubinage has also played significant roles in widening gaps between the peasantry population and the ruling classes by increasing the number of aristocratic population against the growing number of peasants and artisans in the City. And as a result of misuse of concubinage phenomenon in which adult princes are given concubines before getting married,[26]

many of them have been discouraged from getting married at the ideal age. Some of them may even have children with their concubines before they get proper marriage. The high rate of divorce and prostitution in Sokoto City may be attributed to the practice of concubinage as some concubines would be set free only to be forced to marry a relation of their master against their wish. Hence, the moment such concubines find an opportunity, would escape to distant villages or urban centres only to get plunged into social hazards and would eventually resort to prostitution.[27]

But those who could not escape usually returned to their ex-masters' houses for the purpose of nullifying her marriage, and if this can not be done in the house, she would go to an Alkali Court to seek redress for a legal divorce. To this extent, the Alkali would sanction the divorce through the legal processes and issue her with a legal paper as a divorced lady who can always find a suitable husband of her own choice. At least, this may be the beginning of her freedom for the rest of her life.

Though it was earlier on pointed out that the impact of concubinage in Sokoto has been historically positive, nonetheless the most unfortunate consequence of this practice is that it has certainly been encouraging material corruption in the society in that keeping

concubines and free wives means producing more children and creating more responsibilities in the household. In order to satisfy the material needs of such a sizeable family, the master has to mobilise extra resources in addition to his regular income. Finally, the long-lasting social effect of concubinage is the stigma of slavery which the sons and daughters of concubines wear throughout their life irrespective of what they may become. Such social consequence is however not morally recognised. So the persistence of this stigma in the history and social status of daughters and sons of concubines is part of the manifestations of societal attitude towards slaves in general as it is a common phrase today that "he or she is just a daughter or son of a concubine".

FOOTNOTES.

1. Allan G.B. Fisher & Humphrey J. Fisher, Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa, C. Hurst & Co., London, 1970, p.103.

2. D.E. Ferguson, Nineteenth Century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Imoru of Land, Economy and Society of his People, Ph.D., University of California, 1973, p.231.

3. Zaratu Yabbuga, 63 years, Gidan Haki Ward, Sokoto, January 1987. She was interviewed in her residence.

4. Rabi Jakadiya, 57 years, Kanwuri, Sokoto, December 1986. She was interviewed in a group of others.

5. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo, John Murray, London, p.211.

6. Salaha Dillaliya, 40 years, Kofar Bai. She was interviewed at Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto, February 1986.

7. Fisher & Fisher, op.cit., p.105.

8. Roberta Ann Dunbar, "Slavery and the Evolution of Nineteenth Century Damagaram Zinder, Niger", in Susanne, M. & Igor, K.(eds.), Slavery in Africa, Wisconsin University, Madison, 1977, p.164.

9. For a detailed discussion on this issue, see D.M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Longman, London, 1967, p.84; Maradun District Notebook and Isa District Notebook, both in S.S.H.B., Sokoto; and A.R. Augi, The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, c.1650-1808 A.D., Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1986, p.537.

10. Anonymous.

11. Anonymous.

12. NAK, Sokprof., S.1646, ADvisory Council 1931 - Concubinage and Dowry, p.1.

13. ibid., p.1.

14 ibid., p.1.

15. ibid., p.3.

16. Malam Balarabe Junaidu, 46 years, Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto, March 1986.

17. Malam Dauda, Kofar Bai, Sultan's Palace, Sokoto, March 1986.

18. Kulu Buzuwa and Ige 'Yarmama, a slave girl and her broker. They were interviewed at Kofar Bai in Sultan's Palace, Sokoto, March 1986.

19. Anonymous.

20. Anonymous. This informant, whose identity can not be disclosed, witnessed the selling of two girls at Durbawa village, Sokoto, to be used as concubines.

21. Malam Isah Junaidu, a staff of S.S.H.B., pointed out these facts to me in the dialogue I had with him during my research in the Sokoto State History Bureau, Sokoto, March 1986.

22. Malam Musa Danbara, Village Head of Danbara. He was interviewed in his residence, March 1986.

23. Ige 'Yarmama, Gidan Haki Ward, Sokoto, April 1986.

24. Ladi 'Yarbuga, Kanwuri, Sokoto, February 1986.

25. Saleh Abubakar, Birnin Shehu, The City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History, c.1809-1903, Ph.D., A.B.U. Zaria, 1982, p.60.

26. Anonymous.

27. Malam Musa Danbara, interviewed in March 1986.

Note on Anonymous Sources and Other Sources.

The sources described as anonymous above are either colleagues or friends who discussed the topic with me and specifically requested that their names should not appear in the footnotes. And most of the Arabic sources used herein are the versions translated by my colleagues and some members of Sokoto State History Bureau staff. Names of colleagues who assisted in the translations are mentioned in the appropriate section of the footnotes. Few of the anonymous sources are points or facts which were obtained through informal conversations with friends and colleagues on the issue of concubinage in Sokoto City. I found it rather necessary to use the above

sources in writing this chapter because people in Sokoto City are apprehensive of making comments openly on the topic as they described the phenomenon of concubinage a "very sensitive one".

CHAPTER FIVE

DE-ENSLAVEMENT OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY UNDER THE CALIPHATE AND BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN SOKOTO.

The Processes of De-Enslavement Under the Caliphate Rule.

It was mostly the category of bayi (slaves) kept in slave farm settlements who benefitted from many of the processes of de-enslavement. Those who found it difficult or impossible to be de-enslaved escaped to other places. Slaves kept for domestic services within the City and who realised the social consequences of slave status, even though a few of them entered into clientship with their ex-masters, sought their own freedom through any of the following processes of de-enslavement: redemption/ransom, manumission, pious acts, legal expiations, voluntary gift of freedom, court's order without payment, death-bed declaration, army service, concubinage, etc.

Within the perspective of de-enslaving slaves, Sultan Muhammad Bello was reported to have argued that "giving alms (sadāqa) was preferable to freeing a slave (itq), freeing a slave was rewarded by freedom from damnation, but so was affirming the unity of God ..."[1]

What obviously influenced Sultan Bello's preference on giving alms rather than the manumission of slaves was the jihad circumstances which needed the slaves' participation in the "light cavalry, light infantry, and heavy infantry"[2] of the jihad forces. Thus, if de-enslavement of slaves continued indiscriminately, the size and the strength of the jihad army was going to be affected.

And even inspite of Sultan Bello's preference to sadāqa as opposed to setting slaves free, manumission of slaves at the end of Ramadan as part of pious act was reported to be common in Sokoto by Clapperton in 1824. According to him, "several slaves were freed ... And Clapperton's landlord himself liberated fifteen slaves"[3]. The most unfortunate and pathetic problem was that almost all the slaves were ignorant of the processes of realising their freedom and their masters tried as much as possible to divert their attention to other issues and pretended as if such provisions did not exist. So there was ha dly any initiative from the side of the slaves to set the process of their emancipation in motion before the advent of colonial rule. Afterall, even the Alkali Court which was supposed to be their last resort was an extension of their masters' powers. There were several ways through which slaves could have access to what may be termed as gradual emancipation or manumission

leading to complete freedom.

Redemption and ransom are two concepts used commonly in the analysis of the process of de-enslavement without any distinction. However, we are going to show their distinctions in our own case study because they were applied differently and in different situations. The latter, ransom (fansa), was more applicable to war captives who were yet to be enslaved. Thus ransom involved payment of money or other goods in exchange for war captives or, in other situations, exchange of prisoners of war between the fighting forces. In our own case study, ransom was often paid during the time when the jihad was being fought. Redemption was the process of setting actual slaves free by payment of money, or doing some job in respect of the payment by the slave who wanted his freedom, or by his relations. This was one of the common processes through which slaves realised their freedom throughout the nineteenth century and even up to the time when colonialism set in. Unfortunately, records or evidence of such cases are scattered in the Arabic literature of the nineteenth century. However, there is enough archival and oral evidence to show the increasing rate of redemption during the first few decades of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria. For example, the Summary of Native Court Cases for the Year Ending 31st December 1907 showed that:

42 slaves were freed, 20 redeemed and
31 complaints of ill-treatment by slaves[4]

in Sokoto Central Native Court alone. Two years later, the number of slave cases in Sokoto Central Native Court declined in that there were "no case of slavery, 28 manumission, 5 redemption, 1 ill-treatment".[5]

These two colonial reports and the figures contained in them are clear manifestations of increasing resort by slaves to seek their freedom through various legal means, even though the reports were more or less intended to show the significant impact of colonial rule on the institution of slavery in the area. In fact there was hardly any quarterly or annual colonial report from Sokoto between 1903 and 1930s that does not contain cases of slave manumissions and ill-treatment. Further discussions on the British colonial policy on slavery and its repercussion in Sokoto will be carried out in the next sub-theme of this chapter.

In pre-colonial Sokoto, legal expiation (kaffara) was a common outlet in which slaves realised their freedom. Kaffara, involving freeing of slaves, was usually done for some wrongdoing such as deliberate breaking of Ramadan fasting or committing an unintentional homicide as well as breaking oaths of promises by their owners and it is religiously encouraged and preferable to set slaves free in respect of such religous offences. In addition to freeing slaves for legal

expiation,masters were sometimes found voluntarily freeing their slaves on the basis of piety, especially at the end of the month of Ramadan. Should a slave demand his freedom in writing, the Holy Qur'ān makes it mandatory for the masters to give such slave his freedom in this way.

> And if any of your slaves, ask for a deed in writing (to enable them to earn their freedom for a certain sum, give them such a deed, if ye know any good in them; ye give them something yourselves, out of the means which God has given to you.[6]

There was also the death-bed grant of freedom to slaves in which masters who realised their proximity to death would call their slaves in the presence of witnesses and heirs and make a formal declaration of freedom for the slaves in expectation of rewards in the hereafter. This effectively prevented perpetuation of the slave's status. There were few instances in which a court would order the setting of slaves free without any form of compensation or payment either by the slave or his relations. Such cases involved a situation whereby a master could not maintain his slaves even on the least subsistence level. Though records of such cases are not extant, it was nonetheless an important process of the de-enslavement of slaves in Sokoto. What might have explained the non-existence of records of such cases in most of the sources used was the inability of the

affected slaves to take their cases to court, because majority of them were either dependent on gayauna(fallow) land in which they produced for their subsistence or were maintained by their masters out of what was produced in agricultural estates.

The process of the de-enslavement of concubines carried along with it some elements of emancipation as concubines usually become free after giving birth to a baby. The master can formalise his relationship with her or she may be set free to marry another person of her choice in view of her free status. She would in that case be entitled to all benefits given to a free-born wife. This was common in both pre-colonial and colonial Sokoto society. In fact, the practice of formalising relations with concubines has subsequently become one of the social characteristics of Sokoto society even during the post-colonial period. It was undoubtedly due to the complicated nature of the practice of concubinage that it persists even today.

Any slave who joined the military service would consequently become free without any hurdles. This was evident both during the jihad wars and colonial conquest of Nigerian society. Many slaves had participated in the jihad warfare as escapees from pre-jihad Hausa society and after the jihad they were no longer regarded as slaves. Similarly, many slaves had escaped and joined

the British Royal West African Frontier Force (BRWAFF) during the British conquest of Northern Nigeria which reached its climax in March 1903 when Sokoto City, the centre of the Caliphate, was conquered.

Cases of manumission (murgu) were prevalent in Sokoto. This involved the securing of freedom through self-purchase in which payment was made instalmentally or in form of labour supply to the master's farm or craft centre. Manumission differs from ransom in that ransom involved payment of lump sum of money by the slave or whoever wanted to redeem him. In manumission, the master usually allowed his slave to practise his skill to acquire enough money in order to pay for his freedom. This practice has also featured during the colonial rule in Sokoto.

> Freedom by purchase (fansa) is common and the incomplete form of freedom for a small payment (murgu) is still more so. The usual rate of the latter is 5/- per year the theory being that the payer is earning money to pay the complete sum of £5.5/- under fansa ....[7]

The shortcoming of murgu lies in the fact that slaves could only gradually obtain their freedom and this freedom would remain incomplete as long as there was an outstanding amount. The money used to be up to £5.5/- and the instalment was 5/- a year during the colonial period. Thus it would take a slave about twenty years to obtain his freedom through the murgu system. The implication

of this long period of payment would only increase the period of the slave bondage to his master, and to the view of the society, whereas ransom (fansa) was significant in closing the marginality of slaves because it was done only once-and-for-all and the slave became free for ever. In the murgu system, even an enterprising skilled slave could be kept for a longer period in view of the benefits which his master reaped from the process. When taxation was introduced by the colonial government in Sokoto, many masters were compelled to enter into murgu agreement with their slaves so that both could pay their taxes, since if slaves were not allowed to persue some trade or craft, it would be their master who would bear the burden of cheir taxes. In Sokoto City, cases of ransom and manumission were supported by letters signed by the parties concerned in the presence of witnesses and endorsed by an Alkali. It would also be recorded in the court's register and a letter of freedom called ataqa or laya would be issued to the freed slave. He would be keeping that letter to avoid any attempt to claim him back or his children by his ex-master or his family. Thus the impact of his freedom would be more meaningful to his children as his own average lifespan might be closing by the time he achieved his freedom.

Both ransom and manumission were important ways

Both ransom and manumission were important ways of raising the question of the marginality of slaves in society. For example, manumission was perceived as a kind of "withdrawal from the master and his kin group, and it may or may not also mean withdrawal from the host society and sometimes a return to one's own".[8] Though manumission eventually made a slave to realise his freedom from the bondage of his master and the master's kin group, unfortunately he would have to remain in his master's household and society in general, for he can not return to his own autochthonous society in view of the fact that he might have forgotten the society he was removed from or the root of his own kinship group. The slave thus found it almost inevitably and obviously safer to remain at least in his master's society for the rest of his life. This was the problem known as the problem of marginality which the system of manumission created for slaves in most societies, in that the slaves would have to tolerate the marginal status which the society was going to offer them until generations pass away. It was fundamentally because of fear of this marginality that some slaves preferred to remain with their ex-masters so that after some generations, the manumitted slave would become an integral part of his ex-master's family without any form of payment.

Domestic Slavery Under British Colonial Rule in Sokoto.

This sub-theme is going to focus on slavery under British colonialism with a view to showing the extent to which it was abolished during colonial rule in Sokoto. In this perspective, Lugard optimistically pointed out at the inception of colonial rule that "the power of the Fulani was broken in 1902 and 1903, and slave-raiding put end to"[9]. Thus slave-raiding and trading were the immediate aspects of slavery which British colonial social policy focused on, not domestic slavery, which the colonialists sought to use as a means in establishing colonial domination through the so-called Indirect Rule. Hence domestic slavery was allowed to continue in silence for a period longer than necessary, perhaps because of the dependence of the aristocracy on it.

The first colonial policy made against slavery was the 1901 Proclamation which was ironically "the most radical law the British enacted, stipulating that no-one who was born on or after 1st April 1901 could be regarded as a slave"[10]. And Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard) argued in defence of the policy that "the April 1901 Proclamation was a decree of general emancipation of the coming generation"[11], which by implication had no relevance at all to the system and generation of domestic slavery existing as of the time when the British colonised Northern Nigeria. The details of the 1901 Proclamation

show that

> the government of Northern Nigeria on 31st March 1901, passed a law making all transactions in slaves a penal offence, confirming the abolishing of the legal status, and decreeing the emancipation of all children born after that date and of all persons brought into the country as slaves.[12]

As Lugard himself categorically pointed out in his Political Memoranda to colonial Administrative Officers in Northern Nigeria, "the institution of domestic slavery is not hereby abolished, as would be done by a decree of general emancipation ..., it does not constitute it an offence for a native to own slaves".[13] It is therefore unrealistic to say with any finality that the British had abolished slavery and liberated slaves either in Sokoto or in Northern Nigeria in general at the inception of colonial rule. In this regard, M.M. Tukur has clearly shown that the whole package of British colonial social policy on slavery was more or less a collection of imperialist socio-economic contradictions which has been grotesquely "misunderstood and distorted by historians, anthropologists, lawyers and administrators ..."[14] who seem to be uncritically arguing that the British had abolished slavery and liberated slaves, because the society they conquered was a slave-owning society.

Contrary to this uncritical idea, the pre-colonial system of domestic slavery was more or less legalised

and sanctioned by the laws of 1901 as it was "not a penal (or even criminal) offence for anybody (native) to own slaves".[15] And it was apparent that the British introduced nothing new in the processes and laws of emancipation of slaves after the 1901 declaration. Such processes as payment of ransom, manumission, self-redemption, death-bed grant of freedom, etc., as discussed in the preceding chapter were all processes of emancipation of slaves under the Caliphate social system which were merely incorporated and legalised by the British. Given the above, it is ironical to believe or argue that the British really abolished slavery and liberated slaves in Sokoto, as British colonialism in itself "by its very nature, was a form of slavery imposed on the colonised society as a whole ...".[16] Therefore, the consequence of the imposition of British over-rule in Sokoto and the subsequent legislations as well as proclamations on slavery, particularly on its domestic aspects, had only prolonged the existence of slavery until when colonial economic and political structures made it accidentally or coincidentally possible for it to start declining.

However, the capture, trade and sale of new slaves were to some extent suppressed during the first decade of colonial rule in the Sokoto area, but exchange in old slaves had continued for some time even though it

was made illegal by the colonial regime. Children and concubines were the other susceptible victims of this illegal trade since they could be sold secretly and without any form of resistance. In fact, even British colonial administrators in Sokoto were obviously suspicious and openly contemptuous of the British proclamation on slavery, as servitude of various kinds continued for some times and such continuity was sanctioned by the colonial administration. It is clear from what George Maxwell wrote:

> I submit that the whole subject of the continuance of slavery in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria required the most earnest attention from every point of view, and that the solution can best be found by asking the potentates and chiefs for their advice as to the methods to be employed, and by securing their co-operation in carrying out these methods.[17]

This shows that the British had no method of their own in dealing with domestic slavery except that prescribed by the slave-owning class, who would definitely not recommend any method detrimental to their own interest. Hence slavery continued throughout the colonial period, and even to the post-independent period in some forms.

So it was quite apparent from all indications that the British had conceived the idea of abolishing slavery but unfortunately, the implementation and success of the idea was no doubt dependent on the co-operation and goodwill of the members of the ruling class in whose

possession were the bulk of the slaves. It was once discovered that "certain district alkalai had been detected in substituting for the proper freedom paper (pansa) a paper of ransom for concubinage, thereby perpetuating the state of slavery of the woman, and assisting in the purchase of a slave ..."[18]. The above case was just one of the many ways through which judges and other sections of the aristocracy were perpetuating slavery, particularly concubinage, especially in Sokoto. All that the British were apprehensive of was the social and economic consequences likely to be brought about by the abrupt abolishing of slavery from both the sides of masters and slaves as well as the colonial government itself. In the end, it was the interest of the masters that was considered of paramount importance in view of their relationship with the colonialists.

Some of the slaves used to show preference to remain with their masters for their own convenience inspite of the British proclamation on slavery. This issue was one of the questions which engaged the minds of many colonialists. The Resident of Sokoto argued that:

> .... whilst every European power in Africa has devoted its utmost attention to the complete eradication of enslavement in every form, nevertheless the question of the persons who are supposed to be content to remain in a position of slavery; in some form or another, requires more attention than it has yet received...[19]

Yet it was the conditions created by the colonial administration for the liberated slaves that forced them to show preference for servitude. The colonial government's desire to avoid social and economic consequences which would be fatal to colonial rule and slave masters, such as vagrancy, prostitution, robbery and other crimes thought likely to emanate from freed slaves who had no land and skill to earn an independent living, and the fact that it was not ready to pay compensation to masters if they were forced to set their slaves free. The issue of payment of compensation was perhaps one of the strong reasons which made the British to pass laws which were more or less window-dressing and which only brought about cosmetic changes in the institution of slavery.

During the early period of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, natural disasters like famine resulting from lack of rainfall, crop failure and locust invasions had turned the so-called success which the British had claimed in abolishing slave raids and trade into retrogression, for according to the annual reports of the first ten years of colonial rule (1900-1911), "the famine which prompted the people to sell their children caused a great increase in the slave trade".[20] Two famines had occured in Sokoto Province which made it possible for slaves to escape from their masters due to lack of feeding. The two famines had perpetuated slave trade in young

children within and outside Sokoto, most especially to the eastern part of Sokoto. These famines, called "Mundunga" and "Hamada", popularly known as the Buzaye famine, are still fresh in the memories of old men in Sokoto. According to Abubakar, "Mundunga famine occurred during the reign of Sultan Abdurrahman (1891-1902) and it was so severe that people had to dig up ant hills (for the grains that have been stored by the ants) in order to find food while Hamada famine occurred after the arrival of the British and many people died".[21]

The impact of these famines, coupled with the consequences of the 1903 colonial conquest of the City, further aggravated the impoverishment of people generally, forcing them into selling their children or exchanging them for grains and other necessities of life. This obnoxious trade and exchange of human beings for commodities lasted for some time as the colonial government did not make any significant effort to alleviate the sufferings of the colonised people. In addition to the resurfacing of slave trade in children, pawning of children had also become prevalent in Sokoto during that period. It was the negligence of the situation by the colonial administration which made people to pawn and sell their children as slaves.

The concept of domestic slavery had to be redefined several times with a view to legitimising and justifying

its continuity under colonial rule. This was because the colonialists came to realise the dialectical relationships between domestic slavery, the aristocratic class and the colonial regime itself, with the colonial regime largely dependent on the aristocratic (slave-owning) class which was on the other hand dependent on domestic slavery for its existence. Hence the need to justify and legitimise domestic slavery became a serious issue in colonial circles. Thus,

> slaves who did not take advantage of the law to ransom themselves (in 1901) prior to ordinance number 19 of 1936, slaves who took advantage of the law to ransom themselves (in 1901) but have continued in their previous mode of living and children of slaves, who though born after 1901 and are therefore free, have continued to live with their parents' masters, as the latter's dependant,[22]

were defined as domestic or voluntary slaves in the legal context of colonial administration. There was an open contradiction and confusion in this definition of domestic slavery. Certainly it was the political clients who took refuge in aristocratic houses who the colonial government considered as voluntary slaves. The political clients were social and political dependants of the ruling classes who would never make any attempt to ransom or manumit them elves as they were not originally slaves but usually served as instruments of power in such households. Some agents of the colonial government were aware

of this contradiction and critical of it. One of them, W. Armstrong Gore, wrote:

> My view is that the continuance of any form of servitude, even if described as 'voluntary' or domestic cannot be acquisced indefinitely. Existence of domestic servitude in any form reveal continuity in slavery.[23]

Since it has been argued in the foregoing paragraphs that the British had never abolished slavery and other domestic servitude instantly in Sokoto and that the success achieved in abolishing slave capture and trade was not very significant, we have to address ourselves to the questions, how domestic slavery declined, and to what extent it subsequently disappeared in the social fabric of Sokoto society?

The Decline of Slavery in Sokoto.

The term 'decline' has been subjected to much debate in the historiography of slavery and M.I. Finley has even asserted that the term

> 'decline' is a dnagerous word, because slavery is not a moral category, comparable to good manners or honesty, it's an institution performing various functions, in particular that of providing an important part of labour supply. And so long as that labour is needed, slavery cannot decline tout court, it has to be replaced.[24]

Though the colonial policy of slavery was not all that effective in changing the status and person of

slaves, nonetheless, the new social and production relations which characterised the colonial period made it possible for wage labour, paid labour, family labour, clients labour and peasant corvee labour to replace slave labour in aristocratic agricultural estates. This subsequently became instrumental in changing slave-master relationships to servant-master relationships - another form of servitude. The slaves described in the preceding paragraphs were inevitably converted to servants as opposed to slaves, because their relationships with their masters were transformed by a new social order created by colonial social and economic structures. Therefore, colonial development has created the necessary social and economic conditions in which slavery gradually declined and was replaced by a new form of dependency.

Lovejoy argues that "the colonial period ushered in a new era throughout the Caliphate: it meant the end of the plantations and the consolidation of the peasant economy".[25] Similarly, Michael Mason asserted that "in other parts of West Africa, the decline of the slave system in the colonial era facilitated the development of a colonial economy by freeing labour for work in the cities ..."[26]. The gradual decline and partial disappearance of slavery in the Sokoto social structure, as discussed above, was no doubt accelerated by the commoditisation of labour in Sokoto during the late 1930s.

Although there was paid labour in areas of Sokoto where rice was cultivated during the early colonial rule, precisely 1910, nevertheless, its impact was not as important as the impact of commoditisation of labour in the late 1930s in accelerating the rate of the decline of use of slave labour in various forms of production.

By 1938, labour was categorised as skilled and unskilled. Gold-mining labourers were paid "£2:0:0 per ounce of gold and in some cases they received a daily payment of 6/6d or 7½d".[27] The following table shows the rate of payment for labour which served as alternatives to slave labour in the 1940s:

Unskilled casual labour	- 5-6d per day
Unskilled permanent labour	- 8d " "
Night Watchman	- 8d " "
Motor Drivers	- £2:0:0 per month
Masons	- 1/9d per day
Carpenters	- 1/9d " "
Painters	- 1/9d " " [28].

The above table is significant in showing how colonial admin' 'tration exploited various kinds of labour at a very minimal rate of remuneration which was perhaps below subsistence. In fact, before the categorisation and commoditisation of labour, the colonial administration itself was dependent on 'political' and 'voluntary' labour for building feeder roads to agricultural production centres and other infrastructures necessary for

or individual may go to any chief and ask them to erect any buildings, nor may they apply to him for any labour .... And in future Native Chiefs must not undertake work for any private employers".[30] Firms were required to go to the labour market to recruit labour and adequate remuneration must be made for such labour. The development of forced labour in several forms under colonial rule in Sokoto is a subject that requires its own independent research, even though it was undoubtedly another form of servitude.

So from the available historical evidence before us, it was the commoditisation of labour necessary for the exploitation of human and natural resources during the colonial rule that set the social and economic basis upon which slave and other kinds of forced labour started declining. The primary objective of commoditising labour during colonial rule was to ensure a consistent flow of cheap labour, which was considered to be more efficient than both slave and forced labour and would facilitate the process of consolidating peasant labour towards the production of export crops.

All along we have been focusing on the decline of slavery; what of its disappearance? When did it really disappear as a source of cheap labour and human reproduction in Sokoto society? This issue of the disappearance of slavery in the social structure of Sokoto society

and of the utility of slave labour as well as of the use of concubines for reproduction, has been usually overlooked by most historians of the Sokoto Caliphate. Slavery did not really disappear in all its forms during colonial rule in Sokoto as the descendants of the slaves were still being socially, not legally, considered as people of slave origin. And the utility of their labour in agricultural and non-agricultural productions did not disappear in toto, as tenant farmers in rural agricultural settlements were in recent years bringing certain percentage of what they produced annually to the house of their former masters in the city of Sokoto. Thus in addition to these social and economic ties, they have also, by implication, been living as tenant farmers, occupying land which did not belong to them. This landlord-tenant system has been one of the basis upon which relationships are maintained between the ex-slave families in rural Sokoto and ex-master families in the City.

Having argued in the above paragraph that slavery did not disappear in its totality because of the way it was handled by the colonialists, but has rather been gradually declining in Sokoto, it is imperative to show how the decline came about and the span of time which the process of the decline has passed through in the subsequent paragraphs.

The process of the decline of domestic slavery lasted for about half a century in Sokoto and although between 1901 and the late 1930s many slavery proclamations were passed on paper, these were not always physically enforced. However, another proclamation was passed in 1936, against the domestic slavery this time. That was the first time when the colonial government began to give any serious attention to the question of domestic slavery in Sokoto and other provinces in the North. The 1936 proclamation which centredon the status of domestic slavery in Sokoto was contained in a circular from the Resident of Sokoto Province to all District Officers (D.Os), Assistant District Officers (A.D.Os) and Emirs, District Heads and their Village Heads, which confirmed that:

> The status of slavery is therefore finally and completely abolished, the previous conception as to the persons born in or bought within the Northern Provinces before the 31st March, 1901 is now cancelled.[31]

This was a radical departure unprecendented in British colonial policies on slavery since the establishment of colonial rule. This radical change in policy was the response to a series of memoranda and petitions from colonial Residents in Sokoto, Katsina and Zaria who demanded for a total abolition of the status of slavery in the social structure of their societies.

It was B.H. Bourdillon, who was serving as the Governor of the Colony, that consented to the demands for total abolishing of slavery. Bourdillon did not give his consent to the demand until he consulted the Sultan of Sokoto in order to find out whether the new proposed slavery policy of total abolishing would present any problems to the slave owners and sharing of inheritance after the death of slaves. Even to this extent, the Secretary of Northern Provinces, G.W. Izard, had to submit another memorandum convincing the Governor on the possibility and the need of total abolishing of slavery on the ground that "the relationship of slave to master does not now exist except possibly nominally among few elderly domestics".[32] Consequently, Governor Bourdillon responded thus:

> .... I have the honour to inform you that after giving the matter careful consideration, I am of the opinion that time has now arrived when the legislation relating to slavery in Nigeria should be amended so as to include in the declaration of freedom contained in Section 3 of the Slavery Ordinance ...[33]

This amendment of slavery ordinance was not however well received in both Pauchi and Adamawa Provinces as their Residents reported that "ransom-money would have to be forgone by those standing in the relation of master to persons who had not yet obtained a declaration of freedom in accordance with Section 4 of the Slave Ordinance.

And murgu also was to be forgone";[34] and that it would lead to "complications with regard to inheritance and the holding of property but these should not prove insurmountable and do not constitute a valid objection".[35]

But the situation in Sokoto was rather different in that the Sultan was almost certain that "disputes regarding property will not arise in practice in Sokoto and Gwandu to grant inheritance to children of slaves not their masters".[36] The Emir of Gwandu, who was considered as second to the Sultan, was also of the same opinion for according to him, the proposal for the amendment of the Slavery Ordinance "was acceptable and desirable as finally ending any quest of slave status".[37]

It is obvious from the above cases that colonial administration was apprehensive of what would happen to the question of inheritance of slave properties such as houses, farmlands, cattle and wealth, as the system of slavery in Sokoto had allowed slaves to acquire property and even to accumulate wealth. This in a way explains why colonial administration was really slow and indecisive in passing administrative or legal decree to abolish slavery once and for all. On the basis of this apprehension, the question of slave status had been dragged from 1901 to 1936 witnout any definite decision being taken against it until when it was finally realised in 1936 that "all indications prove that the freeing,

by administrative decree, of all slaves would meet with no difficulties".[38]

Even to this extent, there came the question of employment of freed slaves which featured in most of the 1930s colonial annual reports and consequently made British colonialists to think that amendment in slavery laws before 1936 was not necessary, because if large numbers of slaves were set free, they would have been plunged into the labour market with unfortunate consequences for the entire framework of the society. The 1936 decree only became feasible consequent upon the realisation that the number of slaves likely to seek government employment has become comparatively small. And persistence of 1901 Declaration would definitely become outdated social laws. It was in view of this reluctance exhibited by the British that perhaps made Poly Hill to assert that:

> .... slavery continued to flourish during the first twenty years or so of colonial rule, it then rapidly declined, dying a natural death by about 1930, owing both to the decreased stocks of slaves and to the changed attitude of the times.[39]

Emancipation of Slaves Under Colonial Rule in Sokoto.

The processes of emancipation of slaves in pre-colonial Sokoto were examined in the last chapter. So under this sub-theme, we will examine the roles played

by the Sultan, his Emirs, Alkali Courts along with the colonial government towards the process of emancipation of slaves and complete abolishing of slavery in Sokoto. It suffices to re-emphasize here that it was mostly the pre-colonial methods of emancipation which were modified slightly and adopted by the colonial regime. One fundamental difference of the modified method was the awareness of the slaves this time to seek for their freedom. While during the pre-colonial period, majority of the slaves were hardly aware of any process of emancipation, and the few ones who knew the process could not make any meaningful attempt to emancipate themselves, as the whole process was made to be much more difficult for them and moreover,

> .... the mental helplessness of the depressed class (slaves), as the almost inevitable result of the conditions in which they live and their forefathers lived, may sometimes present a practical obstacle of the great difficulty ....[40]

to those slaves who knew and wished to persue all the processes of emancipation until they achieved it.

The roles played by the Sultan and his Emirs in all the stages of the decline of slavery and the emancipation of slaves in Sokoto have been fairly documented in the colonial records as part of the concerted efforts put forward to bring about the decline of slavery in Sokoto. During the first phase, colonial government

had undoubtedly solicited and used the support of the Sultan and his Emirs in achieving success in abolishing slave-raiding and trade, while allowing domestic slavery to continue for some time. This tolerance of domestic slavery by the colonial government in Sokoto had no doubt played a significant role in maintaining and consolidating relationships between the government and members of the ruling class, the largest slave-holding class in Sokoto. In this perspective, the 1907 Annual Report for Sokoto Province has confirmed that "traffic in slaves has almost ceased and the Sarkin Musulmin has done everything in his power to assist the Resident in carrying out this British policy on slavery".[41] As a matter of fact, what made the ceasure of slave trade possible was the effort made by the Sultan and colonial government to bring an end to slave-raiding which consequently affected the rate of slave trafficking in various parts of Sokoto. This was clearly evident in the 1906 Annual Report in which the Sokoto Resident reported that:

> My orders, strictly enjoined on all by the Sarkin Musulmi, against slave capture appear to have been well observed for some three thousand women and children were handed over to the Sarkin Musulmi for disposal. They were restored to their relatives in the neighbouring villages or where none such existed were given in marriage or into guardianship but as free persons not as slaves.[42]

The efforts of Sultan also manifested in the kinds of

instructions he sent to his subordinate Emirs, District Heads and Village Heads with a view to stopping slave-raiding and general trafficking in slaves in the province as confirmed by the Resident in his annual report that "it is most satisfactory to find that the Sarkin Musulmin on his own initiative has sent word of messages to every town and village in his emirate to inform the people of the whiteman's laws regarding slavery and to use them not to disregard them ..."[43]. A sample of such letters which contain the Sultan's instructions written in Hausa to all District Heads on the subject of abolishing slavery and slaves' inheritance dated 12th October, 1936 is appendixed A.

The roles played by the Sultan in this issue of slavery sometimes were extended beyond giving instructions on paper to his subordinate emirs, for any District Head or Village Head who defaulted slavery instructions was dealt with by the Sultan to the extent of deposition or dismissal from office, as it was evident in the case of Sarkin Yaki of Banga and the Village Head of Kagara Dokan. "The deposition of the headman of Kagara Dokan resulting from the slavery case .... and that of Sarkin Yaki of Banga over the same case is reported for confirmation this month".[45] There was also another case of slave dealing upon which the Sultan acted decisively thus:

> .... the headman of Furifuri has been dealt with by the Sarkin Musulmin, the date at which it occured being apparently prior to the new proclamation (vide Native Court case 187). Only one of the three slaves could be traced and recovered (Nasara, freed slave No.41). In addition to his deposition and removal to Sokoto the offending headman was made to pay over to the former owner the value of the slave.[45]

In addition to the above punitive measures taken against defaulting village and district heads (uwayen kasa) by the Sultan, the Sultan was said to have introduced and encouraged a system of "compulsory manumission"[46] in the emancipation of slaves. The policy was accepted immediately by the colonial government and according to our evidence, it was working well, as it was followed in the Gwandu courts though "in the absence of any enlightened ruler, it is by direct European intervention".[47] It could be recalled that the colonial government had earlier on avoided the issue of 'compulsory manumission' for fear of paying compensation to masters who would lose their slaves but now since the policy has emanated from the Sultan, the colonial administration quickly endorsed it without any hesitation as it was going to cost virtually nothing in terms of finance. It was consequent of the direct intervention in the Native Court proceedings over the cases of compulsory manumission in both Sokoto and Gwandu by the colonialists that the Sokoto Resident decided to approve the policy of compulsory manumission, as he said,

"I therefore gave my full approval to the Sarkin Musulmin of the course that he proposed to adopt in compulsory manumission".[48]

To this extent, the colonialists were satisfied with the performance of the Sultan in the emancipation of slaves, as the Resident personally confessed that:

> I can say with assurance that there is no such thing as a trade in slaves existing anywhere in this province. Isolated cases of private deals undoubtedly occur. But the efficiency of the Sarkin Musulmin's administration as evinced in the report to and by him of a case from such a distant and out of the way place as Kagara Dokan, gives good reason to hope that such cases are few and will cease altogether before long.[49]

By 1923, most of the girls born by slave parents in 1901 or around that time were ripe for marriage. And because of their social background and the sensitivity of their status, the Sultan insisted on "the involvement of Native Courts or involvement of prominent persons"[50] in their marriage so as to avoid converting them into concubines. This attitude exhibited by the Sultan towards the marriage of slave girls born since 1901 was commended by the colonial government. For this sort of measure was undoubtedly socially and legally necessary, because slave children who were born about 1901 were not aware of their status after twenty-three years of colonial rule. And the masters of their parents were also aware of their ignorance over the freedom conferred on them since 1901.

Finally, it has been evidently clear from the above discussion that the significance of the roles played by the Sultan in the eradication of slave-raiding, slave trade, and the consequent general gradual decline of slavery in Sokoto can not be over-emphasized, even though it amounted to serious denial of sources of labour, exchange, income and reproduction to the entire ruling class body.

Apart from the roles played by the Sultan, many slaves were emancipated through the Native Courts. In almost all the annual reports of Sokoto Province, there are figures of slaves who were said to have been emancipated through the Native Courts. In fact, there was no doubt a proliferation of Native Courts throughout the first two decades of colonial rule in Sokoto Province. Initially, the alkalai (judges) were found wanting, because they were collaborating with the Sultan and emirs in dealing with the cases of slavery, particularly cases involving concubines. In this regard, some of the judges were more or less executing the directives they received either from the Sultan or from an emir on cases of slavery, so much so that the Residents had to warn some of the judges so that they should dispense justice, not the wish of the Sultan or any emir, by telling them that both slaves, masters, emirs and everybody were equal before the law. An example of such cases was reported in 1910

biannual reports that:

> In one particular instance, however, connected with the freedom of two slaves from Goronyo district, I regret to say the Alkalin Sokoto, acting under pressure from the Sarkin Musulmi undoubtedly gave a wrong decision. The Sarkin Musulmi sent a message to the Alkalin with reference to the way he should conduct the case. This procedure had the effect of prejudicing the Alkali's judgement and his decision was not in accordance with the law ....[51]

In addition, the Resident had to support his case with the general law of slavery in Ordinance 35 of 1916 which provided that "in the eye of the law, property in persons (as slaves) is not recognised and that a slave is accounted to be personally responsible for his acts, and competent to give evidence in court".[52]

Both native courts and provincial courts were serving as avenues for slave emancipation. However, the slaves usually preferred to realise their freedom through the native alkali courts which granted genuine freedom in the eyes of the society, while freedom realised through the provincial courts was not regarded as proper or genuine freedom in that slaves who were emancipated in the provincial courts were merely regarded as freed by bature - whiteman. And whiteman's freedom was not considered as proper freedom at all. Lugard himself was aware of this problem as he pointed out that "a slave freed by redemption was in native opinion and in his own eyes

truly a free man while one who was arbitrarily emancipated by government or asserted his freedom by desertion, was not".[53] Cases of manumission, self-redemption and slave ill-treatment were all attended to by the native alkali courts. And eventually it was the same native courts that issued certificate of freedom when a slave passed through all the laid down process of emancipation successfully, as mentioned below:

> A slave goes to uban kasa to declare his intention to buy his freedom, uban kasa will tell him to go to Babban Alkali. This Babban Alkali assesses whether the the slave is fit for manumission or not. Babban Alkali would send him to D.O., D.O. either accepts or rejects the 'fansa' of the slave, Alkali will call the slave owner to give him his money - if the money is not complete the Alkali would get the money and give to the master. The slave would be paying the balance for up to three years. Any time he finishes paying, Alkali would give him certificate of his freedom. Alkali would take 10/6d as "ushurin kurdin da Bawa ya biya ga Ubangiji £5.5/-" (the commission of the money paid by the slave to his master, £5.5/-)[54]

These stages which every slave seeking freedom had to pass through were in themselves greater obstacles for emancipation. Perhaps it may explain the reasons as to why there were fewer slaves seeking freedom throughout the first decade of colonial rule in Sokoto. Since the slaves would definitely find it difficult to approach Babban Alkali and colonial D.Os to discuss the possibility of their emancipation. This process has also confirmed

the dependence of Alkali Courts on the colonial administration as it was the District Officer who had the final say in all the processes of emancipation. As a matter of fact, the 10/6d taken as commission by the Babban Alkali was another obstacle which would not allow masters to give their slaves the chance to seek for their freedom in order to avoid the loss of 10/6d to Alkali Court. And in cases where masters demanded higher payment from their slaves, the alkali usually re-examined the case and consequently would reduce the payment to a reasonable amount.

This arbitration of alkali over the payment of redemption money featured in several cases, according to the Colonial Reports of the 1930s.[55] As a result of this development in the Alkali (or what the colonialists called Native) Courts, "freedom by purchase (fansa) is common and the incomplete form of freedom for a small payment (murgu) is still more so. The usual rate of the latter is 5/- per y ar, the theory being that the payer is earning money to pay the complete sum of £5:5/- per the ransom ...."[56]. In order to complete the instalment payment in the case of murgu or even fansa, a certificate known as laya of freedom would be duly issued to such slaves by the Alkali Court. This, however, does not mean that the provincial courts did not play any significant role for they handled the few cases whose

complications were beyond the Alkali Court's jurisdiction. The fundamental issue here is the kind of contempt which the slaves and the so-called natives developed for the provincial courts mainly because of the presence of Europeans.

This brings our discussion to issues relating to the official figures provided in the colonial records of the slaves who were either manumitted, self-redeemed or ransomed from 1903 to 1940. The figures may be symbolic in themselves of colonial expression of facts and figures with a view to showing the extent of the effectiveness of colonial rule towards the emancipation of slaves. This very often leads social historians to get an impression of the performance of colonial rule in many areas. And in matters of social policy, may conclude that the British abolished slavery in some areas. An example of such reports which provided some of the figures and facts was the summary of principal events of Sokoto Province for the year 1910 in which, it was claimed, "1,162 slaves were freed during the year bringing the total number freed in the province since 1903 up to 2,922".[57] There are several examples of this kind of claims by the colonial regime most especially in Sokoto. The statistical information in the following table is a further manifestation of colonialists' claims, which could not in any way be substantiated owing to

Table Showing Figures of Freed Slaves and Court Cases of Slavery, 1903-1936.

Year	Manu-mission	Disputes of Slaves	Self-Redemption	Slavery	Ransom	Ill-Treatment of Slaves	Ransomed Slaves Remaining with Masters	Children	Total
1903									
1904		2						2	
1905		1							
1906	31		2	3	16	1			120
1907	42		20			31			
1908	169		155						
1909	116	6	25			1			789
1910	286		54		200	8	137	485	
1911	2,681		1,172						2,540
1912									
1913			1,097		967				2,064
1914	776								3,038
1915									
1916									

Year	Manu-mission	Disputes of Slaves	Self-Redemption	Slavery	Ransom	Ill-Treatment of Slaves	Ransomed Slaves Remaining with Masters	Children	Total
1917									
1918									
1919									
1920									
1936									

Sources: Sokprof. S.2915, Reports Sokoto Province.
SNP 5005/1908, Freed Slaves Return for 1st July - 31st December 1908.
Sokprof. 581/1914, Annual Report Sokoto-Gwandu-Argungu Divisions.
Sokprof. S.2916, Reports Sokoto Province, 1911.
Sokprof. 135/1909, Report No.2 for Sokoto Division, September 1909.
Sokprof. 2909, Reports Sokoto Province December 1904, No.13.
Sokprof. 765/1911, *Sokoto Province Report*, Annual, 1910.

Notes on Figures: The figures shown above were arrived at after adding together figures of Quarterly Reports for each year shown. The 1908 to 1914 figures were symbolic of colonialist claims. There was no figure for 1936 as it was the year when the last slavery ordinance was passed.

the fact that colonial regime was shirking away from most of its social responsibilities.

Inspite of all these measures taken against slavery, it was only its raiding and trade as earlier emphasized that had disappeared to a certain extent. But its domestic aspects continued to manifest in several forms, as concubines continued to be found even recently in Sokoto. In fact, it was only in 1936, thirty years after the establishment of colonial rule in Sokoto, that reports started confirming the ceasure of the existence of slavery and "that slaves no longer exist since the passing of Ordinance 19 of 1936".[58] It was this nineteenth ordinance of 1936 that made the use of concubines illegal, but the phenomenon did not stop as concubines are commonly found in many aristocratic and well-to-do families in Sokoto. So we can here infer that the slow decline of concubinage in Sokoto had started only after 1936 and consequently, the phenomenon continued throughout colonial period and up to the post-independence era without disappearing in the social structure and family system of Sokoto society. Even after the passing of the 1936 Ordinance, there were few cases of slave-dealing here and there within Sokoto Emirate which the colonial administration had to grapple with without much success. Though the status of slavery was finally abolished by the 1936 Ordinance, the practice did not stop during

the year in question. As some of the social stigma of slavery continued to manifest on the social life of freed slaves throughout a considerable period of their life in freedom and there would be no legal question on this inspite of the fact that status of slavery was theoretically abolished by 1936.

Consequences of Abolishing Slavery.

This sub-theme is going to focus on the social and economic consequences of the decline and abolishing of slavery both during colonial and post-colonial periods. One of the immediate consequences which the colonial government had to face was the question of how to break the realities of social habits between the slaves and their masters who treated them very well. This kind of social relationship was something that could not easily be broken by colonial ordinance, as rightly pointed out by Lady Lugard (Flora Shaw):

> that the abolition of slavery is not a straight forward task of beneficence. It carries with it grave and undeniable disadvantages to the slaves as well as to their owners, and the objections urged against it by the local rulers and employers are not by any means without foundations.[59]

Although it was also argued that "on the other hand, it would be wrong to assume that a person remaining with his or her former owner in a condition of slavery,

however normal, necessarily means that person is in fact content to do so ...."[60]. There were reasons which could make separation of slaves from their masters highly difficult. One of such was the lack of immediate alternative work to do in form of employment for the slaves after separation with their masters upon the realisation of their emancipation. In fact, this situation had made it not only difficult but almost impossible for the slaves to separate.

This problem of separation was further complicated by the colonial land tenure system which consequently made it extremely difficult for the freed slaves to acquire a piece of land necessary for at least their subsistence, as the colonial "government, before granting permission to acquire new land, could require the fugitive to show good cause for deserting his work and in case of necessity could decline to grant".[61] It was this strict control of land, as one of the factors of production for an independent living, by the colonial regime and Sokoto aristocracy, that made life unbearable for the freed slaves. As far as the freed slaves could not have access to one of the available factors of production (land), let alone capital, it was no doubt not going to be easy for them to sustain themselves even at subsistence level. Therefore, they had to inevitably evolve a new form of dependency with their ex-masters, such as tenant farming

or apprenticeship, to earn a living.

Freed slaves' problem was not only confined to the question of land acquisition, for other factors of production like seeds, manure, and agricultural implements were not readily available and accessible to them. They only had their labour at their own disposal, which was not sufficient. In fact, the condition of poverty in which they lived during the active part of their life usually spilled over to the time when they realised their freedom, since to get an initial capital necessary for starting a new and independent life was really difficult.

The colonial administration did not make any provision towards the resettlement of slaves except the establishment of three freed slaves homes in Zungeru, Lokoja and Bornu, which did not function adequately. As part of the contradictions of colonialism, vagrancy laws were enacted with a view to restricting the movement of freed slaves and fugitive slaves. District Officers in townships were instructed to order the arrest and detention of any person found loitering in their areas as vagrants and be immediately prosecuted for vagrancy offence. This meant that slaves could not move into the cities and townships from their rural dwellings in search of employment of any sort. They had to remain in their places, and those who could not remain were

taken to the Freed Slaves Home either in Zungeru or Lokoja. But those who could identify their relatives were allowed to follow them. Some of them who were considered less dangerous were allowed to persue their own inclinations. While others were either enlisted in the Northern Nigerian Regiment or apprenticed or allowed to remain as domestic servants. And in case of women, they were allowed to marry or continued as domestic servants.

Evidence in colonial records shows that a number of slaves were taken from Sokoto to some of the Freed Slaves Homes during early colonial rule, and vice-versa. Thus some freed slaves were brought to Sokoto from some of those homes by the colonial administrators. The purpose of establishing the three Freed Slaves Homes mentioned above was to make the freed slaves "self-supporting and useful members of the society".[62] Unfortunately, this aim was defeated right from the inception as inmates of the homes were only taught orderly behaviour, cleanliness, premature learning of letters and gardening. A commission of inquiry chaired by E.C. Watson, the Acting Chief Justice, found that:

> this training was not adequate for the inmates to make them useful and self-supporting members of the society. They were only prepared for life inside the freed slaves home as this training centred on neither food, nor clothing, nor housing, entirely depends on the activities of the inmates.[63]

Following the continual deterioration of conditions of living in the Freed Slaves Homes, the High Commissioner had to appoint another commission of inquiry mainly to look into the accounts of freed slaves homes. The committee came out with significant revelations on over-payment of staff salaries, double payments of single item, untrustworthy matron, and the problem of inability to keep proper accounts of expenditure. Further investigations into the records of freed slaves homes showed that a freed slave's food did not usually exceed 2d per meal and meat was only given once in a month. It was only those inmates who were placed on meat by a doctor on medical grounds that would be given pieces of meat daily. Milk was also provided only upon the recommendation of the home's doctor. This implies that diet was only used for curative purposes not for preventive or enjoyment purpose. The statistical figures of sick cases among the inmates in the Freed Slaves Homes shows that in "September there were over ninety sick cases, in November there were 103 sick cases, and in December there were thirty-one cases".[64] And very often, "There were cases of collapse among the inmates during early morning hours when they woke up."[65]

This situation in which the freed slaves found themselves, a situation characterised by diseases, hunger, poverty, ill-health and restricted movement,

was undoubtedly worse than the situation in which they lived during their bondage. As a matter of fact, it was in view of these inhuman and deplorable conditions of living in the Freed Slaves Homes that one of the colonial residents suggested the entrustment or custody of freed slaves to their former masters or some individuals rather than keeping them in freed slaves houses as sub-human beings, not even as slaves. It was Major Burdon, a one-time Sokoto Resident, who as a result of the pathetic situation he saw in the Freed Slaves Homes, suggested that:

> looking to the provinces of which I have been Resident, Nupe and Sokoto, I have no hesitation in recommending that as far as they are concerned, the home may be abolished, and that any slaves freed may be safely entrusted to selected natives in the provinces.[66]

It was perhaps consequent upon this suggestion that the number of freed slaves from Sokoto continued to decrease in the Freed Slaves Homes. The situation has become so bad that some of the freed slaves in the homes escaped in order to be on t eir own in distant places.

Another crucial problem which came up from the freed slaves homes was the question of how to dispose the inmates after staying in the homes for a certain period of time, as the colonial administration was not ready to offer them job or any assistance in the colonial civil service. This became a plight to both slaves and the

government, more so when most of the inmates were found to have an unknown origin. Consequently, many of them were given to educational institutions and Christian missionary bodies. The latter became the first agent of proselytization of Christianity in the country. This was evident in 1908 when "17 slave girls from Zungeru were sent to Calabar United Free Church of Scotland ...."[67]. Other older girls and women learnt lady work and most of the females were taught sewing. As earlier pointed out, some individuals were given the custody of some of the inmates from the Freed Slaves Homes as domestic servants. One of such beneficiaries was the Resident of Sokoto Province who was given one inmate called 'Bamaiyi' from Lokoja home. Bamaiyi died in Sokoto in 1905 and none of his near relations were known or could be traced in Lokoja or anywhere. Consequent upon this,

> the Resident sent a cheque to the cantonment magistrate in Zungeru of £2:5:0 balance of pay due to this slave (deceased) and £1:18:0 being the amount which his effects realised on sale by auction.[68]

With regards to the custody of inmates from the Freed Slaves Homes, it was made a condition that anybody who took them as domestic servants, he or she is "required to feed and cloth the children and give them three or four shillings a month besides".[69] Inspite of allowing individuals to take the custody of the inmates on the

above condition, the plight of both the inmates and government did not just stop there because Mr. Willoughby Osborne, the Chief Justice of Southern Nigeria and later Attorney-General of the Gold Coast, had applied for two inmate girls and got them from Lokoja home for his wife as her domestic servants. And consequently in 1906, he relinguished the guardianship of these two freed slaves in Gold Coast - Faliki and Asna (Sophy) who were aged nine and twelve years respectively. Both of them were finally returned to Northern Nigeria and His Excellency the Colonial Governor said:

> I presume that as these girls came from the freed slaves 'home' they have no known connections in Northern Nigeria and if this is the case I would make no objection .... for their guardianship to be undertaken by some trustworthy person or educational or religious body.[70]

The colonial government had eventually realised that inmates' custody was only safe either in educational or religious institutions where they would be better trained.

Looking critically at the package of British emancipation policy, one can easily understand the bunch of contradictions which manifested in every aspect of the emancipation policy, for slavery was systematically substituted by what the colonialists described as 'servants' which was no doubt another form of servitude in a colonial context, encouraged by the British political

officers. In fact, most of the freed slaves ended serving as domestic servants, gardeners and labourers on a very meagre amount of money as their wages. The worst aspect of this emancipation was its racial undertone in which European administrators, European missions and European traders were the only people allowed to take the custody of inmates from any of the three Freed Slaves Homes as their domestic servants. The colonial administration was quite categorical as to who and who should be given the custody of inmates. Natives, irrespective of their position in the colonial service, were not allowed to take custody of inmates of the Freed Slaves Homes.

FOOTNOTES.

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13. F.D. Lugard, Political Memoranda, pp.217ff.

14. M.M. Tukur, op.cit., p.821.

15. F.D. Lugard, Political Memoranda, p.217f.

16. M.M. Tukur, op.cit., p.825.

17. NAK, Sokprof., C.33, Slavery, 1936, p.9.

18. F.D. Lugard, Political Memoranda, pp.217ff.

19. NAK, Sokprof., C.33, Slavery, 1936, p.11.

20. NAK, Sokprof., Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria, 1900-1911, No.191.

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22. NAK, Sokprof., C.33, Slavery, 1936, pp.1-8.

23. ibid., pp.7-9.

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25. P.E. Lovejoy, "Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate", J.A.H., XIX:3, 1978, p.368 (pp.341-368).

26. M. Mason, "Captive and Client Labour and the Economy of the Bida Emirate, 1857-1901", J.A.H., XIV:3, 1973, p.470.

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62. ibid.

63. NAK, SNP.2823/1907, Report by Committee Appointed to Investigate Matters Connected with Freed Slaves Home.

64. NAK, SNP.6, 68/1904, Commission of Enquiry into Accounts of Freed Slaves Home.

65. ibid.

66. NAK, SNP.2823, Burdon 24/8/07, Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru, p.1.

67. NAK, SNP.718, 2314/1907, Freed Slaves in the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru, Guardianship.

68. NAK, SNP.716, 1760/1905, Estate of Freed Slave Bamaiyi, Deceased - May 1905.

69. NAK, SNP.718, 2314/1907, p.1.

70. NAK, SNP.716, 3263/1906, Freed Slave Girls for his Wife as Domestic Servants, Application for Two, Note No.6.

CONCLUSION.

In this study, an attempt has been made to examine and show the nature, as well as the significance of slavery and its role in the overall historical development of Sokoto - 'Birnin Shehu', which served as the administrative, political and spiritual centre of the whole Caliphate from 1809 to 15th March, 1903. It has however been argued that the phenomenon of slavery was one of the socio-economic legacies of the kingdoms which had existed in the Rima Basin area before the 1804 jihad bequeathed to the Caliphate.

A brief historical background and some definitions of concepts which are necessary to our understanding of the study of slavery have also been explained within the cultural context of the historical development of Central Sokoto as defined in this study. Concepts such as 'bauta', which Bargery sees as synonymous with slavery and 'bawa' (slave), to mention a few, meaning a person who is legally owned in law by another and who as property is a c vert or overt capital (jari) have been discussed. In the conceptual analysis, we have argued that a slave-owning mode of production was one of the pre-capitalist modes of production identified in the nineteenth century Sokoto. And we have highlighted the significant factors which sustained the slave-owning mode of production in Sokoto

such as, among others, availability of land and sustained sources of supply of slaves.

What we have so far established on the linkage between slavery, the means of production and the relations of production, shows that slaves were to a very large extent involved in production, distribution and consumption of goods and services and in administration and politics in Sokoto. But labour has obviously been central to our discussion of the slave-owning mode of production in Sokoto.

We have also examined Islam and slavery in relation to Sokoto during the nineteenth century. And our argument in this perspective was that slavery was a pre-Islamic phenomenon which Islamic forces could not easily do away with in the emerging Muslim societies. In our attempt to find out the extent to which Islamic theories on slavery were applied in Sokoto, we have established that its application was not really possible mainly because the attitudes and desires of the jihad soldiers as well as some of their leaders, made such application in the jihad warfare and in sharing of booty (slaves) very much difficult, if not impossible.

Determining the statistics of slaves in this historical context was one of the methodological issues which complicated the thorough analysis in this study since

and organisations of production as well as the size of land and slave population between the New World plantations and the Sokoto agricultural estates.

The study has focused on the historical growth, significance and survival of concubinage and discovered that its practice persists up to the present decade of the twentieth century and has thus attributed it to the collaboration between the traditional rulers and the colonial administration. The social, economic and moral consequences of the practice and persistence of concubinage have also been examined in the study. The study has refuted the claim that slavery was abolished by the British in Sokoto and established that British colonialism in itself was another form of slavery imposed on the colonised society. The only fact which has not been refuted in the study is the fact that capture of slaves and slave trade were to a large extent abolished and gradually disappeared. Thus most of the colonial laws on slavery, as argued in the study, were mor or less a formalisation of the Caliphate's system of domestic slavery and were only to become relevant and effective to the future generations of the slaves.

And it was also established in the study that the conditions laid down for the so-called liberated slaves by the colonial administration were the very factors which made the slaves to prefer staying with their

masters either under guardianship or in a new form of dependency. This was evident in the colonial laws on land, vagrancy, robbery, which the colonialists enacted to forestall the movement and the proliferation of freed slaves to the cities and townships. And the role played by the colonial and traditional authorities, native and provincial courts, towards the decline and abolishing of slavery as well as the consequences of the decline, were also examined and analysed up to the year 1936 when the final colonial legislation on the status of slavery was passed.

It is finally hoped that this study would provide stimulus to similar historical investigations on domestic slavery in the emirates where such areas of research have not already been given due attention, in order to fill the gap which has been manifesting in the historiography of slavery between the centre and the periphery of the Caliphate within the context of their social and economic relationships. Forced labour (or political labour) and paid labour were the two kinds of labour which replaced slave labour after 1936. It is therefore suggested here that independent historical investigations be undertaken with a view to showing the extent to which they replaced slave labour in Sokoto. It is also hoped that authorities in Sokoto should take immediate measures to do away with all the remnants of slavery, most especially the concubinage aspect of it.

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7/8 1743/1907 - Freed Slave Girl 'Amina' as to Whereabouts of Freed Slaves Leaving Their Guardians, Ruling as to Recapture of.

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9/10 3013/1923 - Marriage of Slave Girls Born (since 1901), Sultan's Attitude.

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10 134P/1913 - Kano Province Report (Annual) 1912, Resident W.F. Gowers, Appendix 7 to Annual Report No.45.

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Manuscripts in Sokoto State History Bureau (S.S.H.B.).

I. A collection of correspondence in form of letters written in Arabic was also used in writing this thesis. This collection is available in S.S.H.B., Sokoto. There were 58 correspondences in the collection from various Emirs in the Caliphate to the Sultan. Most or all of them carry the official seals of the Emirate where they were sent from. The reference of this collection is AMSS, 2/49/758. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Sambo Junaidu, Acting Head of Arabic Department, University of Sokoto, for translating and comparing some of these correspondence with those in the custody of Wazir Alhaji Junaid.

II. My appreciation also goes to Malam Isa Usman Junaid, a staff of S.S.H.B., for translating and explaining the contents of some Arabic documents kept in the S.S.H.B. Malam Aliyu Abdullahi Maradun has also assisted me in many ways during my research work in S.S.H.B.; he is a member of their staff.

III. Annual Report, Northern Nigeria 1900-1911. This is a collection which collates annual, biannual and quarterly reports of the colonial government on various aspects of Sokoto and other Emirates' history, deposited in S.S.H.B., Sokoto.

IV. Gazetteers of Northern Provinces.

V. The manuscripts listed below were also found to be useful. The authors of some of them were anonymous.
(i) Idah Zad al-Ma'ad bi Muraqabat, Kad/A/AR/5:40.
(ii) Judat al-Sa'adah, 1224 A.H./1809 A.D., M.B.D.

(iii) Abdullah bn Fodio, Khulasat al-Usul, 1227 A.H./ 1812 A.D., Jos M.S.885.

See GWandu, A.A., Abdullahi b. Fodio as a Muslim Jurist, Ph.D., Durham, 1977, p.216, No.41, 42, and many other notes on various manuscripts related to Abdullahi Fodio's views as a jurist.

Oral Sources.

Below is the list of informants, their ages, occupations, dates and places of interviews. Some of the interviews were conducted in groups, and a few of them were conducted in an informal way; the information obtained informally has been very useful during the fieldwork. Other informants have requested their names not to be mentioned. They have therefore been part of the anonymous sources of this research

List of Informants.

S/No.	NAMES	AGE	OCCUPATION	DATE(S)	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1.	M. Balarabe Junaidu	48 yrs.	Farming and Palace Attendant	6-9/3/86	Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto.
2.	Malam Dauda	37 yrs.	Political Client	23-25/2/ 1986	Kofar Bai, Sultan's Palace.
3.	M. Ibrahim Barade	47 yrs.	Village Head	4-6/2/86	Bado village.
4.	M. Musa Dambara	85 yrs.	Village Head	1-2/3/86	Dambara village.
*5.	Magajin Sambo	-	Village Head	-	Tsamiyan Yero.
6.	M. Sambo Wali	55 yrs.	Research & Teaching	May 1987	Centre for Islamic Studies, University of Sokoto.
7.	M. Isa U. Junaid	40 yrs.	Research & Translation	12/3/86	Sokoto State History Bureau.
8.	M. Shehu Maikasuwa	81 yrs.	Trader	2-3/2/86	Badon Waziri.
9.	Ige Yarmana	70 yrs.	Liwalliya	26-27/3/ 1986	Gidadawa Ward, Kofar Bai and Gidan Haki.
10.	Zaratu 'Yabbuga	71 yrs.	Liwalliya	28/3/86	Gidan Haki, Sokoto.
11.	Kulu Buzuwa	20 yrs.	Slave Girl for Sale	27/3/86	Kofar Bai and Gidan Haki.
12.	M. Garba Buzu	60 yrs.	Farmer	27/3/86	Gidan Haki Ward, Sokoto.
*13.	Magajin Gidan Yero, M. Balarabe	82 yrs.	Village Head	-	Runjin Sambo.
14.	Malam Ahmadu	68 yrs.	Dyeing and Trading	17/2/86	Marinar Tsamiya, Sokoto.
15.	M. Shehu Hakimi	67 yrs.	Retired Village Head	10-15/3/ 1986	Runjin Sarki.
16.	M. Muhammad Liman	65 yrs.	Village Imam	-ditto-	Near Gidan Salihu.
17.	M. Mamman Sani	80 yrs.	Farmer	-ditto-	-ditto-
18.	M. Bawa Maitarihi	46 yrs.	Dyeing and Farming	18/2/86	Marinar Gangu, Sokoto.

*These interviews were conducted by S.U. Lawal of the Department of History, University of Sokoto, between 1981 and 1982, for a research on the economic use of slaves in Runjin Sambo financed by the Faculty Research and Publications fund. The specific dates of the interviews are not available, but the cassettes are available. I am indebted to him for using the cassettes.

The following places and villages were visited during the fieldwork in and around Sokoto City:-

1. Sultan's Palacé, Kofar Bai, Sokoto.
2. Waziri's House, Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto.
3. Garkan Sarkin Musulmi, Sokoto.
4. Badon Sarki, Sokoto.
5. Badon Waziri, Sokoto.
6. Dambara Village, Sokoto.
7. Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto.
8. Gidan Haki Ward, Sokoto.
9. Runjin Sambo, Sokoto.
10. Runjin Yero, Sokoto.
11. Runjin Sarki, Sokoto.
12. Gidan Fadama, Sokoto.
13. Gidan Salihu, Sokoto.
14. Gidan Igwai, Sokoto.
15. Marinar Tsamiya, Sokoto.
16. Marinar Gangu, Sokoto.
17. Majema, Sokoto.

D.O. - pp. 19 + 20.

£ 13/10.

Slavery file - A

S.N.No.....

12th, October, 1936.

LADA SARKIN MUSULMI ALHAJI ALIYU SOKOTO.

ZUWA GA UWAYE KAGA DUKA.

BAYANAN BAWA.

Bayan haka a sanasheku jawabi ya tafo daga Babban Gomna daga y.r 10/10/36 yaganar Bawa ta kare, da manda anka haifa ... har mai sheka 100 in akwai shi duka Diyana, in ko ya mutu y. har wani abu, kuma ya bar diya sai a raba musu gado kamar kowa, in ko bashi da diya dukiya tai sai a kawota Baitalmalin Sokoto.

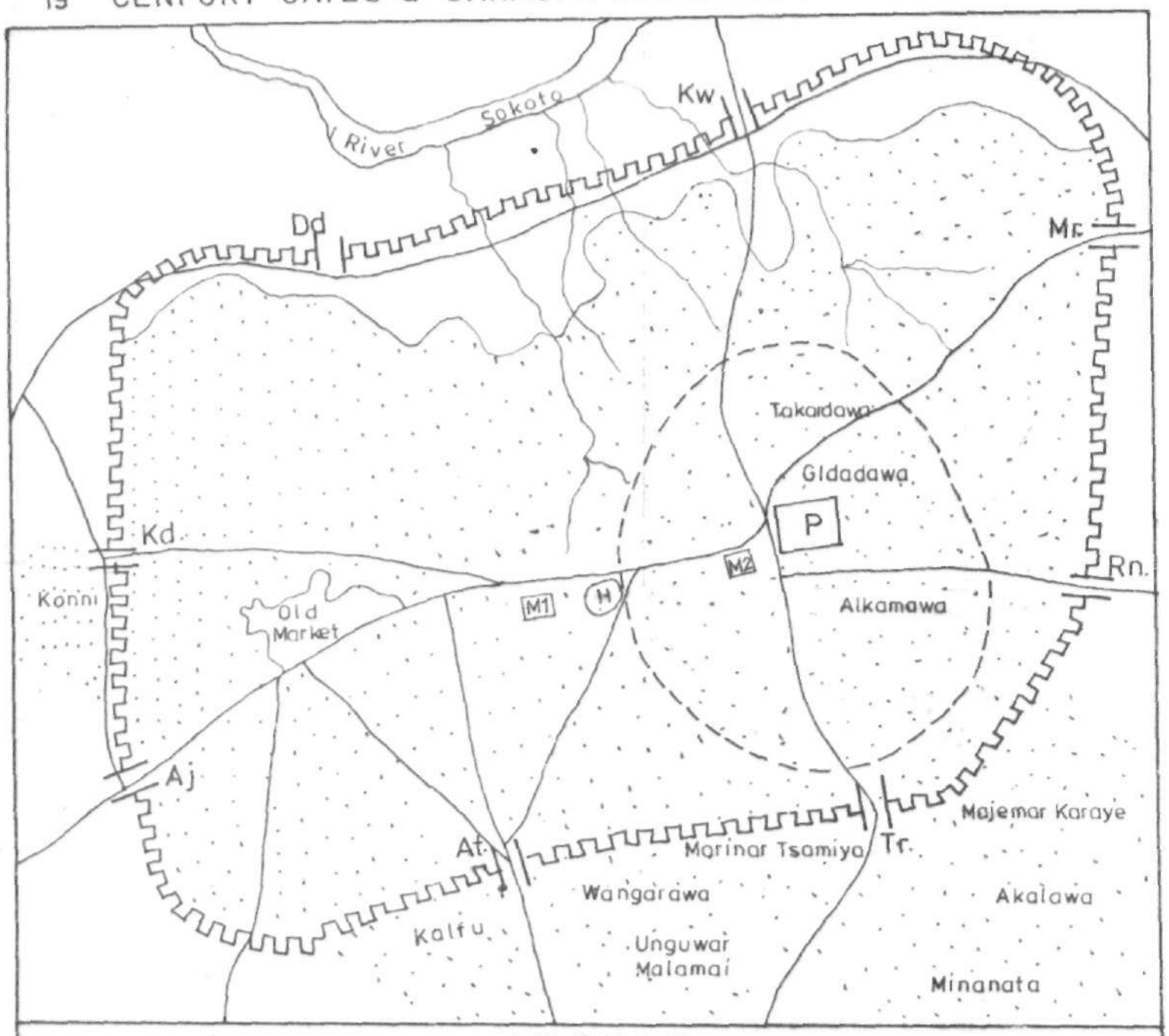
Haza wassalamu.

-3C.

Allen 14.10.36
Fld 14/10/36

Appendix 'B'

19th CENTURY GATES & SARAUTA SETTLEMENTS IN SOKOTO CITY

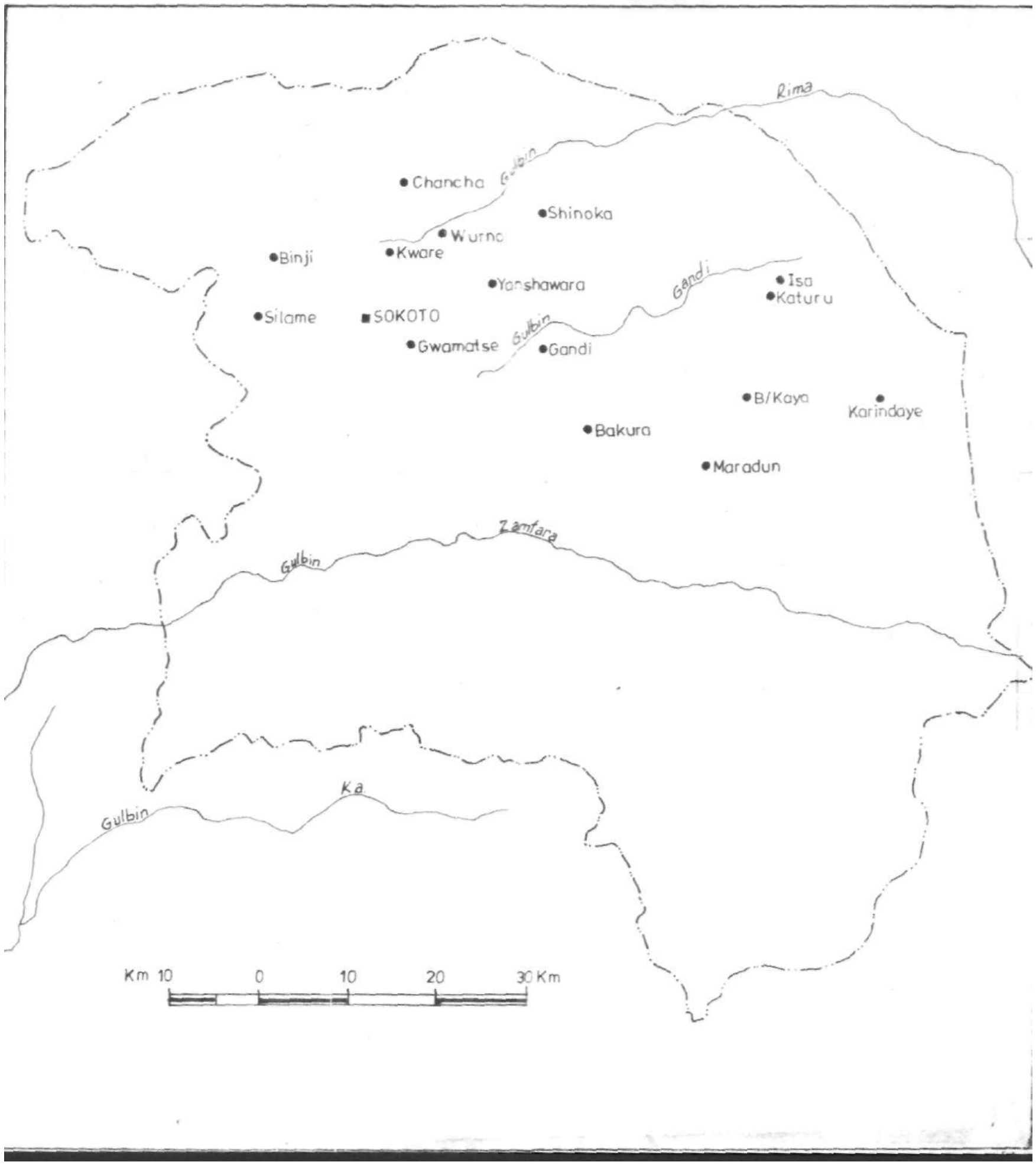


SOURCE:- Adapted from 'Planned Urban Landscapes' by Urquhart, A.W.(1977) p.71

S.A.Y.

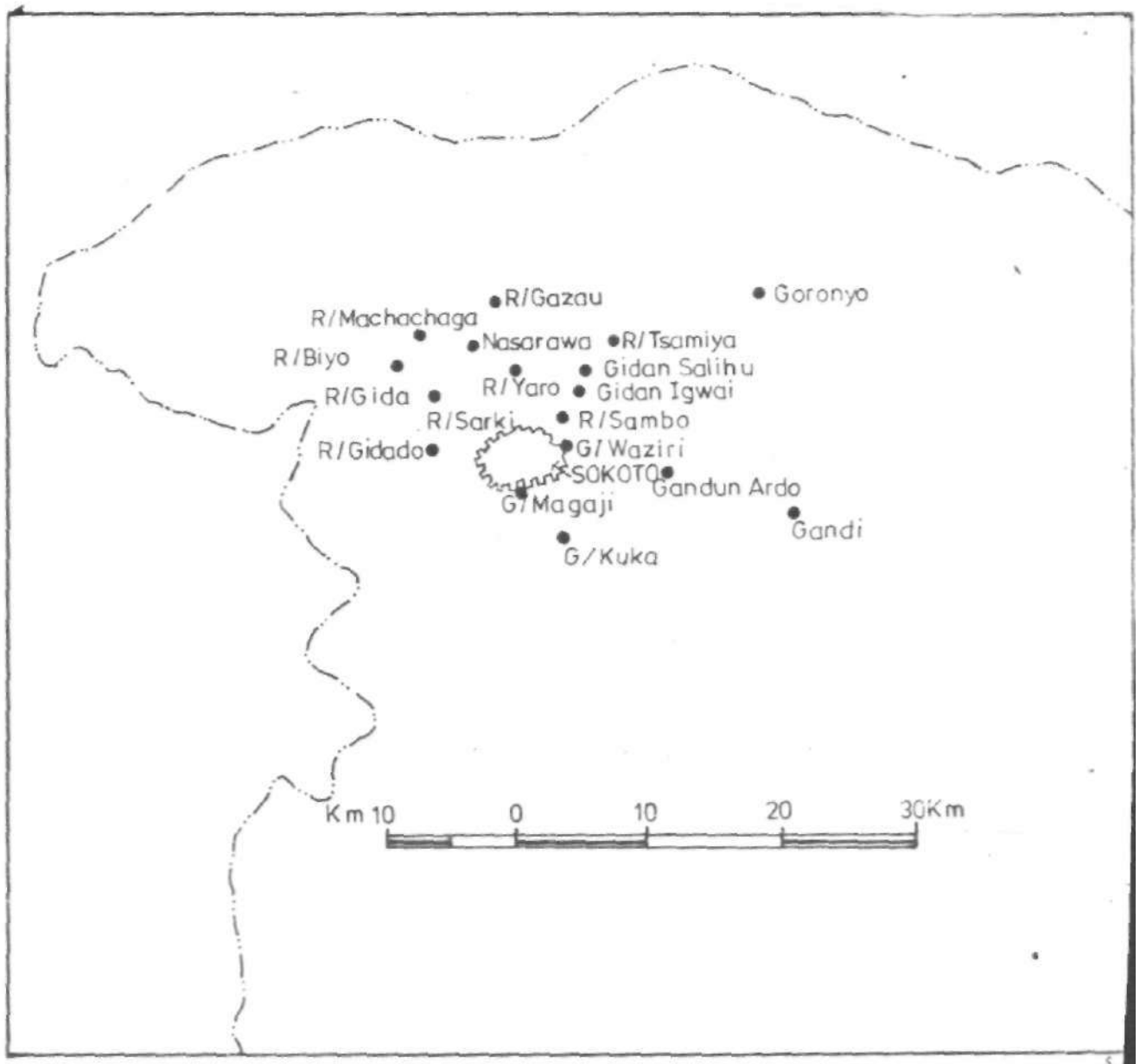
Appendix C

19th CENTURY RIBAT SETTLEMENTS AROUND SOKOTO EMIRATE



Appendix D.

SOME PROMINENT GANDU OR RUNJI SETTLEMENTS AROUND SOKOTO EMIRATE IN THE 19th CENTURY



SOURCE:- Drawn from Cadastral and Topographical maps of Nigeria