LERE VASSAL STATE OF ZAZZAU EMIRATE, CIRCA 1804-1903

BY

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LERE VASSAL STATE OF ZAZZAU EMIRATE
CIRCA 1804-1903

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CERTIFICATION

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

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is written by me from the result of my own research. The thesis has not been presented to any university for higher degree. All sources have been fully acknowledged by footnotes and references.



October. 2012. Fatimah Dembo Bello

DEDICATION

To my late father, Justice Bello Dembo for laying the solid foundation and who made all forms of sacrifices to make us what we are today. May the Almighty Allah continue to have mercy on him and grant him *Jannatul Firdausi*; and my Mother - Hajiya Rahmatu for her spiritual guidance and continuous prayers.

To my husband, Lawal Yahaya (A.K.A Maikudi) for the patience, understanding, unceasing support, continuous encouragement and prayers and acting as a true companion throughout the period of this study. Also, to our children – Abdul-Fattah, Abdul-Haleem and Abdur-Raheem who had to bear with my absence when they most needed me.

ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the establishment, growth and development of I.ere vassal Male of Zazzau emirate in the nineteenth century. The area consists of the polities of the Kurama. Gure, Kahugu, Amo, Sheni, as well as the Pulani and Hausa. The stud) traces the foundation of the Lere vassal slate as well as analyzed the political, social, economic and cultural history of the people or polities from the period before **the** 1804 or Sokoto jihad to the period of colonial conquest. The jihad led by Shehu Uthman Danfodio no doubt, profoundly affected the development of the state. As such, changes in the political, social cultural and economic organization of the polities are discussed and analyzed. I bus. ii is our contention that rather than seeing the economic, social and political relations thai existed among the people of *kasar* Lere as savagery and barbaric, it should be seen in terms of a societ) that was managing iis environment based on the needs of the people and even in situations of wars, this was done with organized **and** systematic administration of **justice and it** never resulted in situation of disharmonv as the colonial records seem to perpetrate / reveal.

B) and large, these changes in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres that led to the development *of* inter group relations among the polities and between them and their neighbours is the main thrust of this thesis, fherefore, a wide range of sources such as extensive oral accounts, archival as well as published materials were full) utilized in the reconstruction of the history of the Lere vassal stale of Zazzau emirate.

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PREFACE

This study examines the background events and processes that led to the foundation and establishment of Lere which was subsequent to the 1804 jihad. It should be noted that physical geography, socio - economic and political factors have contributed immensely to the process of establishing a political entity in eastern Zazzau. These and many other factors have created a sense of unity among the diverse groups that make up the area on one hand and the ruling class on the other. Also, the constant immigration of people of different political ideas, trades and social orientation contributed to the establishment of Lere.

The first chapter therefore, analyses the land and people of *kasar* Lere (the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate). It shows the role played by geographical features in shaping the historical process of the people of the area. The second chapter discusses the general settlement pattern as well as the early settlements found in the area before and after the jihad. It also shows how these have influenced the type of political system that existed in the area. The chapter also highlights the factors that led to the movement of different groups of diverse ethnic identity into the area. The early settlements discussed in the chapter include those within the plains as well as those on the hills. These include Dan Alhaji, Lere, Sugau, Garu, Kahugu, and Gure among others. The study also demonstrated that one important dimension of the pre - colonial policies were that they were aimed at providing a sound economic base on which the survival of the Caliphate depends.

The third chapter discusses the state of the economy and society of the area under study prior to the jihad. The relationship so established stimulated the economic ties relevant to the socio - economic and political developments in the area. The fourth chapter highlights the socio - political conditions of the area before the jihad where it is demonstrated that the people both at

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the level of the family or clan and at village level co - existed harmoniously. And that the social relation in production made them to come together and select an occupational head or recognized whosoever was appointed as occupational head of a specific craft by the *Maigari*.

The fifth chapter examines and analyses the 1804 jihad. It highlights the causes of the jihad in general and then relates it to our study area. The sixth chapter on the other hand, highlights on and extensively analyses the impact of the jihad on the socio – economic, political, religious and cultural aspects of the people's life in Zazzau emirate and by extension on our area of study where we demonstrate that, one of the resultant effect of the jihad on the area was that *amana* relations were established between the emirate administration and the diverse groups (whom are non - Muslims) of the eastern Zazzau i.e. where our study area is located. The result of this relationship was that these areas adopted titles (Hausa or Fulani) in their political set - up.

Finally, the seventh chapter concludes the whole work and give an over view of colonial conquest of Zazzau and by extension our area of study. However, we did not go beyond that because full colonialism has not fully taken place and so we suggested that detailed study on that should serve as a topic to other researchers.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U	Ahmadu Bello. University.
A.D	After Death.
A.H	After Hijrah of the prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).
B.U.K	Bayero University. Kano.
BSOAS	Bulletin for the School of Oriental and African Studies.
J.A.H	Journal of African History.
J.H.S.N	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.
N.A.K	National Archives Kaduna.
N.H.R.S	Northern History Research Scheme.
NO.	Number.
P.	Page.
PP.	Pages.
Sing.	Singular
Vol.	Volume
ZARPROF.	Zaria Provincial File.

GLOSSSARY

Amana	Non - aggression pact between a Muslim state / leadership and Non - Muslim communities under that state.
Amir al - Mu'uminin	Commander of the Faithful
Bayi	Slaves
Barori	Servants
Bid' a	*Innovations*
Birni	City
Bori	Traditional worship of the spirits by the Hausa / spirit possession
Ci rani	To move to somewhere or another area in order to spend the Hot season in pursuance of a certain trade/occupation.
Damina	Rainy season.
Dagatai	Village heads
Dankali	Sweet potatoes
Daji	Forest
Dillalai	Middlemen
Fadama	Marshy land/ swampy areas
Fatake	Merchants
Fatauci	Trading caravan
Fatwa	Legal opinion in Islam
Fiqh	Islamic jurisprudence
Gandu	*Family farmland*
Garu / Ganuwa	City wall / fence

Giya / Burkutu	Local bear
Gyada	Ground nut
Gwaza	Cocoyam
Habe	Term used by the Fulani to describe the non - Fulani people
Hakimai	Districts head
Hijrah	Migration
Jakada	Emissary / messenger
Jama'a	Community
Jangali	Cattle tax
Jihad	Holy war
Jizya	Poll tax
Kaba	Dum – palm, from the fronds are made strings, baskets, mats e.t.c.
Ka'aba	The house of Allah and direction faced by Muslims during prayer
Kurmi	Forested area / wooded ravine
Karmami	Stalks of harvested crops which animals feed on (in the farm)
Karofi	Where dye – pits are located especially in the outskirts of the town
Liman / Imam	A ruler or someone who lead people in the daily prayers
Maigari	A ruler / leader that is not up to the status of a king
Ma'aji	Treasure (r)
Ma'auni	Grain seller / scale
Mahauta	Butchers (or where meat is sold)
Marina	Dyers or sometimes where dyeing takes place
Masu Unguwanni	Ward heads

Maguzawa	Non – Muslim Hausas
Mallam	An Islamic Scholar and preacher
Mujaddid	An Islamic reviver
Mujahidun	Members of a Jihad movement
Muruchi	The shoot of the deleb palm nut
Rinji / Rumada	Slave settlement
Rini	Dyeing
Rizga	Coleus potato
Rogo	Cassava
Sarki	A king / chief / ruler
Sarkin Fawa	Head of butchers
Sarkin Makera	Head of the blacksmiths
Sarkin Noma	Head of farmers
Sarkin Baka	Head of hunters
Sarkin Fulani / Ardo	Head of the Fulani
Sarkin Tsafi	Head of the groove worship
Shari'a	Islamic Law / Jurisprudence
Tafsir	Qur'anic exegeses
Talakawa	Those that do not belong to the ruling class / commoners
Tama	Iron ore out of which farm and war implements were made
Tsamiya	The tamarind tree
Tsafi	Fetishism / ritual
Tuwo	A staple of Hausaland made from maize, millet, guinea corn

	Powder or rice
Zango	Resting place for trading caravan

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NOTES ON SOURCES

In an effort to reconstruct the history of Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate, a wide range of sources were consulted. This included primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are materials found in the archives which include both colonial records and Arabic / Ajami manuscripts especially the writings of the Sokoto jihad leaders.

1 - PRIMARY SOURCES

This ranges from colonial records, Arabic / Ajami Manuscripts as well as oral information.

(i) - Colonial Records:

It is important to note that the presence of archival materials arose out of the need to keep records for administrative purposes by the colonialists, to acquire basic local histories that could assist colonial administrative officers posted to new areas to have proper knowledge and understanding of the local communities they were posted to and to acquire up to date summary of the current political and economic situation of the provinces and divisions which was necessary for maximum exploitation of the areas. In addition, these records provide an in - depth analysis on the information they are carrying since in most cases the provision of statistical data sometimes in a tabular form to illustrate important points. But we generally made use of the earlier reports that are useful to our area of study, this include assessment reports, annual reports and anthropological study.

However, this source has some fundamental limitations, which is based on the fact that most of the colonial administrators who produced them did not have a good understanding of the language, culture and tradition of the local people. The reverse is also the case i.e. the local people that served as interpreters to the colonial officers did not have a proper understanding of the English language. This is clearly demonstrated by conceptual and grammatical errors that characterized most of the records. Similarly, most of the information collected by the colonial officers reflects issues that were of primary concern for the colonial government to the neglect of those that concern the interest of the local people. In spite of these limitations however, the other vital accounts that touch on the period which cover our period were an invaluable source for our study because they contain anthropological, ethnographical, geographical and historical information about the people they studied. The archival sources therefore provided us with useful information that is used in the reconstruction of the history of *kasar* Lere.

(ii) - Arabic Manuscripts / Jihad Literatures:

This generally consists of the writings of the jihad leaders and other scholars in Hausa land. The Jihadists were leading participants or observers in the events they wrote about. The writings of the Sokoto jihad leaders especially Sheikh Uthman Danfodio, his brother Abdullah and his son Muhammad Bello are very useful to this research especially chapters five and six where we discussed the jihad and its impact on the society of Lere in general. We have also found useful information in the writings of the chroniclers of Lere which were mostly written in Ajami. One of such chroniclers was the late *Limamin* Lere Mallam Muhammad Sani.

The champions of the jihad have excelled not only in their writings but also in the way they mapped out strategies on how to administer and consolidate the states under the caliphate. This could be seen in some of their works as will be seen below:

- **AH 12/6 , *Kitabu Hukmu Juhhalu Biladi* Hausa (The Book for the Judgment of the Condition of Hausa land) by Sheikh Uthman Ibn Fodio (d.1817)**

The manuscript is handwritten in the normal Arabic writings of Hausa land and consists of only four pages. If focused on two areas of Hausa land which relates to the behaviors of jihad in 1804. And although the MSS does not specifically mention the names of specific places in this region, but the literature is explicit about where and how it (the jihad) started as well as where it finally ends. It also touched on its consequences, especially the period of consolidation.

- **NAK. A/AR26U, *Kitabu Masa'il al - Muhimmah*, (The Book of the Important Points) by Sheikh Uthman Ibn Fodio**

It is one of the earliest works in which the theme of the jihad was discussed. In the book, the Sheikh gave answers to various questions which he states were relevant to the Sudan and other states in which similar conditions prevailed. These were questions which his followers would have asked on the eve of the jihad. It contains fourteen points which explicitly states whom the Muslim should wage their jihad on, as well as how to share the *ganimah* (booty) according to the principles of Islam. The book was written exactly a year before the *Hijrah* (migration) to Gudu.

- **NAK. A/AR20, *Ihya' us Sunnah wa Ikmalul Bid' a*, (The Upliftment of Prophetic Tradition and Removal of Innovations) by Sheikh Uthman Ibn Fodio (d.1817)**

It was also one of the earliest works written by the jihad leader. It examines and analyses the various forms of syncretism of the rulers and followers in Hausa land. The book also mentioned almost if not all the traditional practices that prevailed in the Hausa communities our area of study inclusive.

- **A.H.3/1, *Tazyin al - Waraqat*, (The Glittering Decorated Papers) by Sheikh Muhammad Bello (d.1837)**

This is an important literature as far as the jihad of 1804 in Hausa land is concerned. It is a narration of how the 1804 jihad took place and of the relationship of the Shehu and his subjects both in terms of scholarship and socio - political life.

- **A.H.5/30 *Usul Al - Siyasat*, (Principles of Politics) by Sheikh Muhammad Bello (d.1837)**

This book basically talks about the consolidation of the emirates after the jihad. All the leaders / emirs were said to have adopted the laid down principles as a step forward and also in keeping the people together. This was achieved by attracting different skillful personalities to the emirates. It was in this respect that Muhammad Bello in this book pointed out that: "the Imam, the Amir or the Wali should provide work for the people of his state for their temporal and religious benefit. For this purpose, he shall foster the artisans, and be concerned with tradesmen who are indispensable to the people. They include farmers, smiths, tailors, dyers, physicians, butchers, grocers, carpenters and others, which contribute to stabilize the proper order of this world. The ruler must set up these tradesmen in every village and locality. He should urge his subjects to produce food stuff and store it for future use. He must

keep villages and country sides peopled, construct fortresses, bridges, maintain markets, roads and realize for them all what are of public interest so that the proper order of this world is maintained".

The above is one of the strategies adopted by Muhammad Bello in the period of consolidation. As such, all the emirates and sub - emirates followed similar strategy in their effort to continue to keep the people together as well as to develop the central capital.

(iii) - Accounts of the 19th Century Travellers:

Several colonialists travelled across Hausa land in the 19th century. In the course of their journeys, they made appropriate observations on the geography, vegetations, society and economy of the areas they visited or passed through. As such, this provided us with first hand information on our area of study.

Such experiences and observations of the colonial travellers were documented in book form such as Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, Journal of Expedition 1849 - 1855 by Heinrich Barth. Although he never visited Zaria or our area of study (which formed a part of Zaria), he visited Kano and Katsina. His routes took him through the well - settled areas of the central plains and his observations on the rural and urban environment were very useful to the general understanding of *kasar* Hausa or what later came to be known as Northern Nigeria. His information on the economy seem largely derived from the North African and Azbin traders whose company he kept.

Another book which is also relevant to this study is Paul Staudinger's In the Heart of the Hausa States. It is essentially a traveller's account of a journey through the Sokoto Caliphate (including Zaria which formed a part of the caliphate) from 1885 - 1886. The value of the book

lies in the fact that it deals with every aspect of the life of the Hausa and Fulani such as their history, environment, flora and fauna, economy, culture and social structure. The observation made by the travellers particularly on the area of study is very important because it contains more information on the Sokoto Caliphate in the mid 1880's than any European traveller's account. The original manuscript was written in German but was translated to English by Johanna E. Moody who was based in Kano, Nigeria for a number of years. However, in spite of the value of the book for this write - up, one has to be careful because like most European traveller's accounts, the book is susceptible to errors arising from the lack of the traveller's familiarity with the cultures and customs of the country, problem of translating one language to another and a lot more.

Another invaluable material - Journal of a Second Expedition into the interior parts of Africa: from the Bight of Benin to Soccattou by Hugh Clapperton, also proved useful to this study. He was one of the earliest travellers to Zaria. He passed through Zaria on his way to Kano in 1824. His information on the economy was clearly derived from the North African traders whose company he kept while he was in Katsina.

(iv) - Oral Sources:

This study is mostly tied to oral sources because there are scanty or no written sources directly on the area under the period of study. As such, they are very useful especially in places where other sources are scanty or non - existing. The use of oral sources is significant in the sense that in addition to filling the vacuum created by written sources, it also corroborates or checks other vital information. Information is transmitted from generation to generation and elders of communities are mostly the custodians of oral information. This is because they are

assumed to have experience and know the traditions and customs of their people which was handed to them by their ancestors.

Most of the informants interviewed for the study resided both within and outside the area under study. The criteria for the selection of informants were based on their vast experiences in the history and culture of the area as well as age. In the process, we discovered that certain information becomes irretrievable either as a result of refusal of the informants to talk for fear of the unknown or those who knew the history are fast becoming few around the area. However, those interviewed apart from the aged included the young, the *masu sarauta*, the *talakawa*, *'yan kasuwa* and *masu sana'o'i*. Similarly, the interview has cut across all the language groups within *kasar* Lere. We travelled throughout the nooks and crannies of the region to obtain information.

In conducting oral interview, permission was sought from respondents and once information was granted, it was recorded and documented in Hausa since it is the lingua – Franca of the area. However, we will only give brief biographical account of some of the informants.

1. Alhaji Umaru Muhammad, *Sarkin* Lere 23/04/2010.

The interview was conducted at the residence of the informant located in the premises of the palace. The 76 year old is the eldest son of the late *Sarki*. He is an heir to rich historical documents in addition to oral traditions on Lere bequeathed to him by his father. He spent his childhood in Lere and as an adult; he used to accompany his father to neighbouring areas when he toured the entire land and assisted in the palace as well as assisted in the day – to - day running of the emirate. The elder statesman was among the first set of people to acquire western education and worked with the colonial government. He followed all the necessary steps as well as fulfilled the conditions of becoming a *Sarki* i.e. he was a village head, a district head which

owed him the love of his people and finally became the *Sarki* when his father died. As such, his experience and knowledge on the entire area is invaluable.

2. Mr. Maidodo Maisamari, Dogarin *Sarkin* Gure, 29/04/2009.

The interview took place at the office of *Sarkin* Gure i.e. at the office of Piriga Chiefdom based in Kahugu. The chiefdom today, comprises of Kahugu, Gure, Amawa, Kurama, Piti and Janji. He was born 70 years ago and brought up in the area. He was only able to acquire primary education. He lived all his years as a farmer and only leaves Kahugu on market days of neighbouring villages for the sale of his farm produce. Being one of the eldest in the area, he was appointed a senior *Dogari* of the *Sarki* with the formation of the chiefdom in recent years. Thus, his vast knowledge and experience on the history of Kahugu, Gure, Kurama and Piti has proved invaluable.

3. Mr. Peter Gimba, *Wazirin* Piriga Chiefdom and Retired Teacher, 29/04/2009.

He was interviewed at his residence in Gure. The 80 year old was born and brought up in Gure. He acquired his primary education in Lere and his secondary education in Zaria. He obtained his NCE and became a qualified teacher - a profession he has been in until his retirement. He assisted in supplying me with the necessary information I required and also linked me up with some of his palace scribes who also took me to some other people in the town. This, to a greater extent has helped the researcher to corroborate the information obtained in the secondary sources.

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4. **Mallam Alhassan Adamu, *Sarkin Arewa Na* Sugau and a cloth dyer, 30/04/2009.**

The interview took place at his house in Sugau. Aged 70, his family came to Lere as '*yan ci rani* from Kano when he was about 15 years. His family specialized in *rini* (dyeing) and on knowing this, the then *Sarki* allocated a piece of land to his father (Mallam Adamu) in Sugau where he built his house as well as set aside a place at the backyard for his occupation. Their family became popular to the extent that they were given the title of *Sarkin Marinan* Lere. As such, his knowledge on the area and experience as a result of interaction with the diverse people that make up *kasar* Lere and that of his occupation has contributed immensely to the writing of this thesis.

5. **Mr. Gwonyo Garba (a.k.a *Baba Kofur*), elder and retired Police officer, 30/04/2009.**

He was interviewed in his sitting room (at his residence in *Unguwan* Mission) in Garun Kurama. The 89 year old was born and brought up in Garun Kurama and is one of the eldest people in the town and a retired civil servant. Although he is not a title holder, he is however influential in the town and decisions concerning the town are mostly taken after due consultation with him. He interacts with the members of other groups peacefully and played an interesting role in settling disputes within the area. He was thus, an invaluable informant on the general history of the Kurama and their relation with their neighbours.

6. Malama Kande Garba, House – wife, 30/04/2009.

Wife to Mr. Gwonyo Garba; is 70 years. They were interviewed together. She indeed supplied the researcher with invaluable information especially on the culture of the Kurama and the role of women in their days.

7. Mr. Dantani Yani, a School Teacher, 30/04/2009.

He was also interviewed with Mr. Gwonyo Garba at his residence. He (58 years), supported Mr. Gwonyo Garba and reminded him of some vital information which might have escaped his memory due to old age. Therefore, his knowledge and experience as well as presence at the interview proved useful.

8. Mallam Sale Bako, fisherman, 30/04/2009.

The interview was conducted at his residence in *unguwan sarki*, Garun Kurama. He is 65 years and although is a *Bakabe*, but he grew up in *kasar* Lere because his parents and grandparents migrated and settled in different places within *kasar* Lere such as Dan Alhaji, Lere itself and finally Garun Kurama. They came to Lere when he was a young boy. Their expertise in fishing made it possible for them to acquire the title of *Sarkin Ruwa*. Being the eldest son, he is now the holder of the title since their parents are dead. His experience and knowledge of the area as a result of their interaction with the diverse groups of people in *kasar* Lere as well as on their occupation therefore, proved very useful.

9. Mallam Auwal Hassan, fisherman, 30/04/2009

He is a brother to Mallam Sale Bako and the interview was conducted at the same time in the same place. He (45 years) was born and brought up in Garun Kurama and participate actively in the occupation of his forefathers and earn a living from it.

10. Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango, Farmer, 01/05/2009.

The interview took place at the entrance of his house. The 75 year old has been a farmer throughout. He was born and brought up in Dan Alhaji. He supplied me with all the information I required concerning farming activities as well as how farmers relate with other social groups in *kasar* Lere in general before and after colonial conquest. Thus, his knowledge and experience was quite useful to the writing of this thesis.

11. Mallam Musa Sambo, Hunter 01/05/2009.

The interview was conducted in his personal room. Born and brought up in *unguwan* Mato; he is the head of hunters of *kasar* Lere, a title he inherited from his senior brother. He has tremendous knowledge on hunting generally and has a lot of experience being a hunter himself. He (55 years) therefore is a reservoir of knowledge and supplied me with a lot of information especially on his occupation.

12. Mallam Shu'aibu Ali *Baduku*, A.K.A *Alkali*, 02/05/09.

He was interviewed in the entrance hall of his house which he also uses as his workshop. He is 73 years old. He proyided useful information on the nature of relationship

between young girls and boys in their time where he served as the judge of the court constituted purposely to oversee any misconduct or misunderstanding between a girl and a boy (*saurayi da budurwa*). He also is a reservoir of knowledge on his occupation. The information he gave was quite invaluable.

13. Mallam Dabo Yaro, *Magini*, 02/05/2009.

The interview took place in the premises of his house which also served as his workshop. He (68 years) was born and brought up in Lere although his parents were from Kano. His knowledge and experience on pottery was quite useful to the writing of this thesis.

14. Mallam Abdullah Umaru (A.K.A *Dan Baba*), *Sarkin Makera* 02/05/2009

The interview was conducted in his personal room. Born and brought up in Lere 60 years ago, he did not have the privilege of acquiring western education; he learnt the occupation of his parents and grandparents at a tender age and became a professional. He trained a lot of people among who were his son and younger brother. He became the *Sarkin Makera* after the death of his father. Thus, his knowledge and tremendous experience proved useful.

15. Mallam Danladi, *Makeri*. 02/05/2009

The interview took place in the smithing workshop at the entrance of the *Sarkin Makera's* house. He (57 years) is a junior brother to *Sarkin Makera*. He provided me with the necessary information I required on smithing and how they relate with other groups especially the farmers.

16. Mallam Umar (A.K.A *Talle*), 02/05/2009

He was interviewed at the workshop. He is 37 years and the eldest son of the *Sarkin Makera*. He provided information on smithing activities and how they train apprentices as well as how they relate with them especially those that do not belong to the *Sarkin Makera's* family.

17. Mallam Boyi, Farmer, 03/05/2009

The interview was conducted in his personal room. He (74 years) has been a farmer all through and a Qur'anic Mallam who keeps and train *almajirai* that came from different places. He therefore supplied me with all the information I required on the general history of Lere and on farming activities as well as how they relate with people outside their occupation before and after colonial conquest.

18. Mallam Danlami, *Ma'auni* 03/05/2009.

The interview took place in the market premises where he sells commodities like maize, guinea corn, millet, finger millet e.t.c. He is 65 years and has a great knowledge of the surrounding environment / markets because he goes to such villages on their market days as well as on the best specie of any of the crops and how a good yield could be gotten. Thus, his knowledge and experience was quite useful towards the writing of this thesis.

19. Mallam Mairuga, *Sarkin* Fulani, 03/05/2009

The interview was held in the entrance hall of his house (*zaure*). Aged 70, his parents were among the early settlers in Lere. As a Fulani, he has knowledge and experience on the rearing of animals generally and cattle / sheep in particular, the best grasses to feed them on,

their diseases and the signs and symptoms they manifest when they are infested with such diseases. Thus, he provided me with the information I required.

20. Hajiya Rakiya Yunusa, (A.K.A *Gwamma*) 03/05/2009

The interview was conducted in her personal room. She (70 years) is a relative of the present *Limamin* Lere. Born and brought up in Lere, she has experience and knowledge especially on issues concerning women and the culture of the people this thesis was quite invaluable.

21. Hajiya Jummai, 03/05/2009.

The interview was conducted in her room. She (56 years) makes *kunun tsamiya* (pap made from tamarind) and moi - moi for sale which is consumed by majority of the populace. She provided me with the necessary information especially on the nature of market of the commodities she needed for her business.

22. Sama'ila Umaru Lere, 07/03/2009

The interview took place at Kashim Ibrahim Road, *Unguwan* Rimi, Kaduna residence of the junior brother of sarkin Lere. He (45 years) is the son of the *Sarki* and is a reservoir of oral traditions on Lere, its past rulers and the relationship between Lere and her neighbours. He is a co - author of the Lere chronicle (though not yet published).

2. SECONDARY SOURCES (PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED)

A wide range of secondary materials in the form of published and unpublished works was used for the reconstruction of the history of *kasar* Lere. Although most of the materials were of little specific relevance to the work due to their wide coverage, some of them helped in no small measure in providing the theoretical frame work on which the write - up was largely anchored. A few of these would be mentioned.

(a) Published Works:

Government in Zazzau by M.G. Smith[1] is one of the major works that was used for this study. The work is concerned with the history of Government in Zazzau centered in Zaria in the 19th century. The work perceived Zazzau as a tribal society where all socio - political activity took place on tribal basis between two opposing groups i.e. Habe and Fulani. This explained all the mistakes and misrepresentation of facts as explained by Y.B. Uthman.[2] Similarly, the book only demonstrated governance at the centre i.e. Zaria itself ignoring other towns and villages under the jurisdiction of Zazzau such as our area of study. However, in spite of all these, the book was found to be useful for it provided us with a picture of the system of administration in Zazzau Emirate which extends to other parts of the emirate. It also clearly demonstrated the jihad in Zaria and the establishment of Fulani rule as well as colonial conquest of Zaria.

The book *Dynastic Chronology* of Fulani Zaria by H. F. C. Smith is also relevant to our study area. The work is fundamentally an attempt to draw attention to some of the defects associated with the dynastic chronology of the 19th century rulers of Zaria as suggested by M. G.

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[1] M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau 1800 - 1960, Oxford University Press, London, 1960.
[2] Y. B. Usman; "The Problems of Ethnic Categories in the Study of the Historical Development of the Central Sudan, A Critique of M. G. Smith and others" pp 1 - 10.

Smith.[3] The author argued that the error arose as a result of over reliance on sources that were defective. He further pointed out that such errors in dating were capable of jeopardizing the whole thesis with regards to the reasons why political events took place. He added that one of the tasks of the historian is to establish a sound chronology by all means possible or to admit the limitations of his reconstruction.[4] Thus, the strength of the article lies in its ability to direct our attention to the issue of the dynastic chronology as well as the need to establish a reliable dynastic chronology for 19th century Zaria. Similarly, it allows us relate or establish during whose reign Lere was founded. However, its limitation lies in its inability to provide us with a solution to the problem in question.

Furthermore, the article "*Solution to the Problems of Dynastic Chronology in the 19th century Zaria and Kano*" by D. M. Last[5] has also been found to be useful to this study. The book is a response to the question of Dynastic Chronology in 19th century Zaria by H. F. C. Smith. It started with an over view of the jihad in Zaria and Kano that led to the establishment of the two emirates. It then argued that it is imperative in order to understand the Zaria jihad in its new perspective, to view it in relation to the campaigns in the neighbouring states of Kano and Katsina as well as with the main campaigns of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio and his *Jama'a*. The strength of the article lies in its ability to reconstruct the dynastic chronology of Zaria and Kano using primary sources such as *Infaq al – Maysur* by Muhammad Bello. And although the article basically looks at the issue of chronology, it failed to give a detailed and comprehensive study on the jihad in *Birnin Z*aria.

Similarly, the book *The Sokoto Caliphate* by D. M. Last and *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria* by R. A. Adeleye were found to be very useful. The chronology and the

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[3] M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau ...
[4] H. F. C. Smith; The Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria, J.H.S.N, II, No. 2, 1961.
[5] D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate, London, 1967.

commentary on how the various emirates were established by the Jihad leaders as well as how they were later conquered by the British colonialists highlighted in these books were quite invaluable. However, the literatures failed to treat the separate areas (since each has its own peculiarities) that made up what later became Northern Nigeria but rather made generalizations.

(b) Unpublished Works:

A number of unpublished works were also used in this study. This is made up of theses and seminar / conference papers organized in academic tertiary institutions, research centres and other educational institutions.

The project *A History of Lere Town since C.1800* is a B. A. Dissertation by Bello Sani. Although an undergraduate work, it dealt with issues relating to the geographical location of Lere, the land and natural resources, the tradition of origin of the people, their political organization as well as social and economic activities of the people. In addition, the write – up looked at Lere during the colonial period and in addition, both Islamic and western types of education were examined. And finally, the writer discussed the political activities in Lere town in 1960 to the attainment of local government status in 1989.

The work is relevant because it shaded light on who the Lere people are but did not go beyond that. The periodisation of the write – up i.e. 'since c. 1800' is too broad and vague; there is the need for a terminating period to allow for critical analysis. There is no any statistical table or data to prove what the writer was saying most importantly in the economic aspect since he even touched the colonial period. The statistical table or data would go a long way in providing sufficient proof and enhance our understanding of the exploitative nature of the colonial economy in Lere. In addition, the write – up has no organization because there are no subtitles to

indicate that the writer was discussing this or that. The writer equally failed to highlight the relationship between the *masu sarauta* and *talakawa* whether there was any tax imposed on them and what it was used for as well as its implication on the payers.

Also, the project *Historical Development of Market System in Lere in the 20th Century* by J. S. Jatau proved very useful in the writing of this thesis. The project attempted at examining the geography of Lere as well as the tradition of origin of the people. The writer also viewed the marketing system in Lere in the 19th century and the pre – colonial economic activities of Lere people which encouraged the development of local trade and its incorporation into regional trade. Trading items, medium of exchange, nature and direction of trade routes and means of transportation (in relation to the trading activities) were surveyed. The writer further examined the consolidation of colonial rule and economic changes brought about especially by the introduction of taxation and colonial currency. In addition, he discussed the rapid growth in trade and marketing in Lere after the colonial period, the 'development of infrastructures' which increased the usage of automobiles, imported and locally produced items and the rise of prosperous traders. The write – up is quite an interesting attempt by the author especially since he tried to highlight the nature and relationship established by trade between Lere and her neighbours (both distant and near) as well as establishing the fact that trade is one of the most important aspect of a people's life since they acquire what they do not have. However, the fact that he used much of the above literature (by Bello Sani), he fell into the same track of ambiguous statements especially concerning the origin of the people. In other words, he has no better explanation on the people's origin. And this in no small measure has hindered our understanding of the people.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1- Introduction:

History is the reconstruction of the past of a community irrespective of its stage of development. In other words, history studies the society as it existed in the past in all aspect of human endeavours. It deals with the pursuit of what happened with particular reference to the past of human beings and their different institutions which includes individual's range of experience and promotes understanding of the dynamic character of human activities and inter relationship. As such, history is neither fiction nor is it the imagination of the individual historian, but rather facts that represents an objective reality about the experiences that man has undergone. Thus, the distinctive thing about history is the past that leads to the present which is as a result of some changes, because the knowledge of the past is something progressive and that is constantly transforming and perfecting itself. Therefore, knowledge of history makes people aware that human obligation in and by which we live, binds us not only with those events and people who went before us and with those that will come thereafter, but even with our contemporaries. The enterprise of re – uniting the past with the present as we intend to achieve by this study, is again meant to provide or pave our understanding and approach to the future. This is because of the belief that it is the past that made the present, and certainly it is the present alone that can help make the future. We therefore cannot understand our Nigeria of today in general and our area of study in particular without any knowledge of its past. The farther we delve into history, the deeper and broader will be our correct understanding of the present, with an insight into the future with its varying choice of alternative courses of action. It is therefore in

this context of our understanding of history, that this study is going to look at the history of the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate circa 1804 – 1903; a period which marked important landmark in the history of the area. This will be achieved by examining the land and its physical features such as the climate, the hydrology and the vegetation (flora and fauna) of *kasar* Lere. The study of the environment becomes crucial since the life of human beings which the historian studies cannot be understood outside the context of nature. This is on the conviction that, the environment determines to a greater extent what people do as well as what could be obtained within that specific environment. In other words, the climate of an area has the tendency of either attracting or repelling human action.

1.2 - Significance of the study:

Generally speaking, this research is concerned with the History of Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate within a time frame. As broad as the topic seems to be, the study seeks to achieve certain identified objectives: Firstly, to look at the emergence and establishment of Lere; secondly, to analyse the socio – economic and political condition of Lere prior to the 1804 Jihad; thirdly, to examine the nature of relationship amongst the people of the area who even though do not have the same culture, religion or traditional beliefs, but have remained peaceful over the years; fourthly, to give an overview of the 1804 Jihad and analyse the Jihad in Lere in relation to *Kasar* Bauchi and *Kasar* Zazzau; fifthly, to look at the impact of the Jihad and the Caliphal administration on Lere in relation to *Kasar* Zazzau (this is because the jihad rapidly transformed all sectors of the society especially since economic production went beyond the level of subsistence) as well as the role Lere played in the consolidation of some of the non – Muslim areas of south – eastern Zazzau; and finally, give an overview of the reasons for colonial

conquest of the Caliphate and by extension, the emirate of Zazzau under whose jurisdiction our area of study is. As such, the history of the area becomes relevant as it will bring to limelight a people who have not been studied before especially during the period assigned to the study.

Thus, this study is significant in that it set to reconstruct an unresearched area (in the period assigned to the study). This is because there is no detailed and encompassing work on *Kasar* Lere as a whole at advanced level, the existing works which were few, were conducted at undergraduate level and thus, studied the area on the surface. Similarly, there are no works that critically analyse the period before and the role of the Jihad in transforming northern Nigeria and by extension, our area of study probably because of paucity of sources. Therefore, using historical perspective on this important entity of the emirate of Zazzau, this research will provide a reference material to the academic world and the general public. In this capacity also, the emirate of Zazzau and the people of Lere stand to benefit from the outcome of this research. This is set to explore and critically examine all the available written and oral sources related to the proposed topic.

1.3 - Scope of the Study:

This research is on the History of Lere and thus, the scope could be looked at in terms of the period assigned to the study, the territorial boundary the study intends to cover, and then the subjects / topics to be treated. Thus, the period assigned to this study is 1804 -1903, i.e. a period of about a century. The date 1804 is significant because it marked the period when Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio launched his Jihad and which covered the entire northern region our area of study inclusive. This led to the subsequent establishment of Lere which was necessitated by the conquest of Bauchi by Mallam Yakubu - Danfodio's flag bearer. As such, since the jihad brought

about remarkable transformations not only to our area of study but to the whole of Hausa land and even beyond, we intend to examine the existing political, economic and social structures in place prior to the jihad as well as during the Caliphal administration. This will enable us to analyse the changes brought about by the jihad at the same time, shading light on the impact of the jihad on the area. The study will be terminated at 1903 which is also significant because it marked the period when the Sokoto Caliphate and by extension, Zazzau emirate was conquered. This will be done superficially since full colonialism and exploitation has not yet gained ground. As such, that should best be taken up as a topic of its own by other researchers. And the territorial extent which our study intends to cover is *Kasar* Lere (Lere region) and later Lere district. The study will therefore, attempt to analyse both economic, political, socio - cultural and religious aspect of the people's life since they are what constitute a society and people cannot live independent of them.

1.4 - Literature Review:

Review of secondary materials relevant to the subject is a task that must be accomplished, because it is by so doing that one will be able to identify after thorough research, areas of strengths and weaknesses of each of the existing literatures and provide possible ways of filling the gaps created by the available source materials. As such, books, journals, seminar papers and even unpublished sources relevant to the research topic will be perused and critically assessed. These materials could be classified into the following:

a. Published works this include secondary sources such as books, journals, newspapers / magazines e.t.c.

b. Unpublished works which include seminar / conference papers, projects and theses.

c. Unpublished primary source materials found in the archives and they include: colonial written records and Ajami / Arabic manuscripts. However, as mentioned earlier, the aim here is to review previous works relevant to the subject matter (i.e. Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate c. 1804 - 1903) in order to acknowledge their contributions and hope to point their strengths and weaknesses.

(a)- Published Works:

The book *Government in Zazzau 1800 - 1950* by M. G. Smith[1] is widely held as pioneering and a master piece on the history of Zazzau from the pre – jihad period through to the establishment of an emirate government and to the imposition and consolidation of colonial rule to 1950. The book traces the history of Zazzau from its establishment, the location of its capitals up to the present site at Zaria city, its relations with other Hausa states, Bornu and other powerful kingdoms. It covers the coming of various Fulani lineages and their roles in the 1804 jihad that saw the overthrow of the last Hausa king of Zazzau, Jatau. Smith discusses at length the period of the jihadists and the emirate type of government they founded, first under Mallam Musa (1804 – 1821) down to the 13th emir, Kwasau (1897 – 1903), whom the British met and conquered. The book also provides narrations on the consolidation of British colonial rule and the division of the emirate into 32 districts in 1907. He also discusses the establishment of Native Courts and the deployment of district heads (*Hakimai*) to their various districts. This continued with the whole activities of the Zaria Native Authority up to the 1950s, a period characterized with changes in the political landscape of the country as a whole.

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[1] M.G. Smith; Government in Zazzau 1800 – 1950, London, Oxford University Press, 1960.

However, Smith an anthropologist by profession tends to delimit the history of Zazzau to sociological interpretation. The book overemphasized the dynastic struggle and competition between the four ruling houses of Zazzau (*Bornawa, Mallawa, Katsinawa* and *Sullubawa*). He also devoted a large percentage of the work drawing parallel and divergence lines between what he referred to as the pre – jihad Hausa and post - jihad emirate governments of Zazzau.

The book *Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria* by H. F. C. Smith[2] is also relevant to our study area. The work is fundamentally an attempt to draw attention to some of the defects associated with the dynastic chronology of the 19th century rulers of Zaria as suggested by M. G. Smith.[3] The author argued that the error arose as a result of over reliance on sources that were defective. He further pointed out that such errors in dating were capable of jeopardizing the whole thesis with regards to the reasons why political events took place. He added that one of the tasks of the historian is to establish a sound chronology by all means possible or to admit the limitations of his reconstruction.[4] Thus, the strength of the article lies in its ability to direct our attention to the issue of the dynastic chronology as well as the need to establish a reliable dynastic chronology for 19th century Zaria. Similarly, it allows us relate or establish during whose reign Lere was founded. However, its limitation lies in its inability to provide us with a solution to the problem in question.

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[2] H. F. C. Smith; "The Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria", J.H.S.N, II, No. 2, 1961.
[3] M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau.
[4] H. F. C. Smith; op. cit.
[5] D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate, London, 1967.

the two emirates. It then argued that it is imperative in order to understand the jihad in Zaria in its new perspective, to view it in relation to the campaigns in the neighbouring states of Kano and Katsina as well as with the main campaigns of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio and his *Jama'a*. The strength of the article lies in its ability to reconstruct the dynastic chronology of Zaria and Kano using primary sources such as *Infaq al – Maysur* by Muhammad Bello. And although the article basically looks at the issue of chronology, it failed to give a detailed and comprehensive study on the jihad in *Birnin* Zaria.

Similarly, the book *The Sokoto Caliphate*[6] by D. M. Last and *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*[7] by R. A. Adeleye were found to be very useful. The chronology and the commentary on how the various emirates were established by the Jihad leaders as well as how they were later conquered by the British colonialists highlighted in these books were quite invaluable. However, the literatures failed to treat the separate areas (since each has its own peculiarities) that made up what later became Northern Nigeria but rather made generalizations.

Zaria and its Region[8] edited by M. J. Mortimore is a collection of articles that discusses the geographical setting, ecology and geology of Zaria region and is thus, found to be very useful to this study. The book provides ample geographical notes on Zaria but it contains very little of its history. The article by Abdullahi Smith "Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings" provides an understanding of the earlier history of Zazzau and its kings or rulers. The book also proves relevant to this research in terms of understanding the geography and earliest history of Zazzau which in turn shapes or adds to our knowledge of the study area.

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Adeleye, R. A. (1971), Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906, Oxford University Press, Ibadan.
[8] Mortimore, M. J. (1970), Zaria and its Region, Department of Geography, A.B.U Zaria.

In addition, the book *Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Ruler of Zazzau*[9] by Usman Dalhatu which is a biography of one of the famous emirs of Zazzau, Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku (1937 – 1959) added to our knowledge of Zazzau under whose jurisdiction was our area of study. The book covered significant aspects of the historical evolution of Zazzau from the earliest times to the end of the ruler ship of the biographee. As typical of most biographies of monarchs, the book mainly focuses on the political career of Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku. The historical analysis offered in the book as related to the lifetime of the emir is relevant to this study.

(b)- Unpublished Works:

M. M. Tukur *The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897 – 1914.*[10] This is one of the important works that provides an extensive background study of the British colonial conquest of Northern Nigeria. The work explicitly discusses the establishment of British rule in Northern Nigeria and the changes it brought on traditional political institutions especially on the emirates of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate and Borno. The author demonstrated the aim of the British of having a few people to hold responsible for administration of law and order in the rural areas and through whom to collect taxes. The relevance of the work lies in the fact that it serves as a rich material which provides an insight into the intense activities of the British in northern Nigeria and its subsequent conquest.

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[9] U. Dalhatu (2002), Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau, Woodpecker Communications, Zaria.
[10] M. M. Tukur; The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897 – 1914, A Re – *interpretation of Colonial Sources*, PhD Thesis, A. B. U, Zaria, 1979.

I. A. Abba's *Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe C. 1804 – 1960*[11] is a detailed work on the evolution of the district head system in northern Nigeria with reference to Gombe emirate. The author examines the pattern of the pre – colonial system of administration in Gombe and how it was transformed during the colonial period. His major finding is that in the pre - colonial period, loyalty to the traditional authority was often personal and either to a family head, clan head or an individual. This pre – colonial clientage was opposed to British territorial based authority. The aim of the British was to create a single tax gathering authority in each given area. He disputed the perceived claim that the district head system was traditional in nature. The duties and functions of the District Heads which were basically the collection of taxes, mobilization of forced labour and the maintenance of law and order were also examined in the work. This work has no doubt expand our horizon on the activities of the British on the eve of colonial conquest as well as shaped our understanding of such events.

Abdulkadir Adamu, "*British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902 - 1945: A Case Study of Soba District.*"[12] The thesis clearly exposes how forcefully colonial policies on land, labour, production, transportation and taxation were instituted in order to re-orient the peasants towards production of exportable crops. This was planned to sustain British colonial economy as well as to entrench global capitalist network. The submission made as regards the various colonial agricultural policies particularly on the economy and society of Soba District was found to be adversely negative according to the author. The work was found to be very useful to the study of our area because it enumerated the situation prior to colonialism and

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[11] Abba, I. A, Changing Pattern of Local Authority and the Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 - 1960. PhD Thesis, B. U. K. 1985.

[12] Adamu, A. British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Nigeria, C. 1902-1945: A case study of Soba District, M. A. Thesis, Department of History, A. B. U, Zaria, 1992.

which was not so different from that of our study area. As such, it served as a guide to the area under study.

Bello Sani, "*A History of Lere Town since c. 1800*".[13] The write - up although An undergraduate project, dealt with issues relating to the geographical location of Lere, the land and natural resources, the tradition of origin of the people, their political organization as well as the social and economic activities of the people. In addition, the write - up looked at Lere town during the colonial period. Similarly, both Islamic and western types of education were examined. And finally, the writer discussed the political activities in Lere town from independence in 1960 to the attainment of local government status in 1989. This work is relevant because it shaded light on who the Lere people are, but did not go beyond that. Thus, the following points have been observed:

- The periodisation of the write - up i.e. "since c. 1800" is too broad and vague there is the need for a terminating period to allow for critical assessment.
- There is no any statistical table or data to prove what the writer was saying most importantly in the economic aspect especially since he touched the colonial period. The statistical table or data would go a long way in providing sufficient proof and enhance our understanding of the exploitative nature of the colonial economy in Lere.
- There are a lot of vague or unclarified statements and too many generalizations. For example where the writer discussed the occupation of the people, he stated that the population of the area comprise of Hausa/Fulani, Kurama and other tribes and that all of them engaged in different occupations such as *kira* (smithing), *wanzanci* (traditional barbing), *kasuwanci*

[13]Bello S; A History of Lere Town since C.1800, B. A History Dissertation, B.U.K, 1995.

(trading) e.t.c but he failed to specify which group practiced what or predominate in what which would gives us a picture of who did what and probably why.

- Concerning the tradition of origin of the people, the writer only succeeded in giving vague statements and failed to link up the steps of the history with the people. In short, his write - up did not give us a picture of who really the Lere people are.
- The writer is not gender sensitive. Women as members of the society were neglected: no mention was made of their roles.
- The write - up has no organization because there are no subtitles to indicate that the writer was discussing this or that.
- The writer equally failed to highlight the relationship between the *masu sarauta* and *talakawa* whether there was any tax imposed on them and what it was used for as well as its implication on the payers.
- Likewise, he stated that the coming of the Europeans and the conquest of Nigeria changed Lere's economy from subsistence to cash crop production, but he did not indicate which of the cash crop was mostly produce and in what quantity. Similarly, he failed to demonstrate the exploitative nature of the production which would have shown us its implication on the people.

Jatau, S. Joseph, "*Historical Development of Market System in Lere in the 20th Century.*"[14] This project attempted at examining the geography of Lere as well as the tradition of origin of the people. The writer also viewed the Marketing system in Lere in the 19th century and the pre - colonial economic activities of Lere people which encouraged the development of local trade and its incorporation into regional trade. Trading items, medium of exchange, nature and

[14] Jatau, S. Joseph, Historical Development of Market System in Lere in the 20th Century, B.A History Dissertation, B.U.K, 1998.

direction of trade routes and means of transportation (in relation to the trading activities) were surveyed. The writer further examined the consolidation of colonial rule and economic changes brought about especially by the introduction of taxation as well as colonial currency. In addition, he discussed the rapid growth in trade and marketing in Lere after the colonial period, the "development of infrastructures" which increased the usage of automobiles, imported and locally produced items and the rise of prosperous traders.

The write - up is quite an interesting attempt by the author especially since he tried to highlight the nature and relationship established by trade between Lere and her neighbours (both near and distant) as well as establishing the fact that trade is one of the most important aspect of a people's life since they acquire what they don't have. However, the following observations have been made:

- The fact that he used much of the above literature (by Bello, S.), he fell into the same track of ambiguous statements especially concerning the origin of the people. In other words, he has no better explanation on the people's origin. And this in no small measure has hindered our understanding of the people. And if we don't understand who they are, how could we grasp other activities of theirs? Or of their contributions to the economy of Zazzau?
- The writer made mention of a wall being built round the town (Leren Masheringi) but it was not clear if it was the same Lere or not and whether the wall was of any significance. For this would enable us to know the extent to which the wall served its purpose.
- Further, the writer here and there talked on the collection of taxes (especially during the colonial era) but he never stated what they were used for or who failed to pay as well as

the punishment for that. In other words, the writer failed to state the mode of collection of the taxes and its implication on the people.

- It is also surprising that the writer referred to the Lere area as not knowing Islam around the 20th century. This is because from what we have gathered so far, *kasar* Lere was carved out as a result of Danfodio's Jihad and as a result of that, a lot of the people especially the Kurama accepted Islam.
- Similarly, the writer did not sufficiently discuss the colonial economy - there were neither tables nor graphs to illustrate vividly what he was saying. On a general note, the work is quite informing and offers or serves as a guide in the study of the area.

G. J. Iliya, "*The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Kauru-Lere Division, 1902-1960.*"[15]

The writer tried in highlighting the diverse language groups found within the two areas of his study (i.e. Kauru and Lere), the nature of the geography of the areas and the opportunities the land provides for the inhabitants. As such, the writer highlighted the economic activities of the people, the administrative institutions where he explained the nature and dynamics of the two areas i.e. he categorized them into Muslim and non - Muslim communities explaining clearly how the areas are administered. Therefore, the project is quite informing and serves as a guide in the study of Lere. However, we observed the following:

- He talked of continuous wars and slave raids in the 19th century and that this made cattle rearing difficult and even impossible in some of the areas. The questions that one may ask are; did slavery exist at the period of his study? In what from? To what extent has it hindered the development of the areas in question?

[15] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Kauru-Lere Division, 1902-1960, B.A History project A.B.U, Zaria, 1975.

- Similarly, he mentioned that the non - Muslim groups received order for mass hunting and fishing from the village priest who claims knowing when the gods were ready to bless the people with abundant fishes and prey. The questions that arise here are does the priest do the same when the activities were to be over? And was this done generally throughout the non-Muslim villages in the two areas or it differed? And what about during other activities such as farming, hunting e.t.c.? If he had done this i.e. if he had taken the activities one after the other, we would have had a better picture of the cultural practices of the people which would further enhance our understanding of the people.
- The writer added that an Assistant Resident who studied the tribes in these areas in 1929 said that all the names of god by other tribes are derived from that of the Kurama's because they are by far the most numerous pagan tribe in the area, as such they must have at sometimes exercised a considerable religious influence over others. The questions that one may be tempted to ask is has he confirmed this from the other tribes apart from the Gure? And what was the name of the Assistant Resident?

Muhammad, Y. L., *"The Study of Lere Channel as a Morphological System."*[16] The writer attempted a study of the channel of Lere River in Kaduna state as a Morphological system. He adopted the systems approached to land form studies to identify the channel Morphological components and how they are internally structured in a system. The writer equally treated some aspects of the area under study such as the location, climate, vegetation, relief and soil types e.t.c. And finally, he made some recommendations for further research especially on how to control channel widening and other associated changes such as flooding. Similarly, at the period of his research the government was proposing the construction of a dam across the Lere River

[16] Muhammad, Y. L; The Study of Lere Channel as a Morphological System, B.Sc Geography Dissertation, B.U.K, 1987.

channel about 10 kilometers of the upstream reach. As such, he felt that an investigation into the changes that the construction could bring and the possible effect it would have on the lives of the people should be carried out.

The write - up is quite a nice piece that really brought out the form and structure of the Lere River - being an important source of water for the people. Likewise, there were quite a number of tables and graphs illustrating what he discussed. However, the major thing that is observed is that although a geographical study, the writer failed to mention the economic importance of the river. This is because we all know that rivers play a role in the historical evolution of settlements. And I do not think that the Lere region is an exception.

Therefore, we intend in this write - up to fill the gaps / loopholes created by these literatures through the study of various literatures as well as conducting oral interviews to corroborate the information gotten from the various sources, such that critical analysis would be attempted at especially concerning the peoples' legend of origin, political, economic, social and cultural aspect of their lives since they are what constitute a society the people live in, and are inseparable. This I believe, would go a long way in letting us know about Lere as one of the important settlements / towns in Zazzau Emirate and later Zaria Province as well as the transformations it went through during the stated periods.

1.5 - Theoretical Framework:

Theory in the real sense enlightens. A theory could be said here to mean a set or body of related propositions that help to explain why events occur the way they do and not the other way round. It is an abstract, conjectural or speculative representation of reality. Therefore, in this research, to theorize is to speculate with the aim to understanding or explaining the emergence,

establishment and development of Lere formerly under Bauchi Emirate and later under Zazzau Emirate. Similarly, the growth and development of human societies has been reviewed and studied from political, economic, social, philosophical and historical dimensions. This study however, is essentially a historical process. The historical study of any given area falls into two broad competing theoretical paradigms. These are the theory of modernization (also known as evolutionist, functionalist or positivist) and the political economy (materialist conception) theoretical paradigms. The evolutionists maintains that, societies or social institutions change or move from traditional or less developed to those that characterize the developed ones[17] and that social formation is produced without break due to duplication of the elements of the preceding social formation. It emphasizes the inevitabilities of progress and an implicit cultural and ideological bias.

The political economy on the other hand as a means of conceptualizing human society in terms of origin, evolution, dynamics, transformation and development, involves complex processes of change in institutions and societies for the betterment of the citizens, without necessarily treating modernity and tradition as polar opposites.[18] It emphasizes structural change and liberation of men from exploitation and oppression perpetrated by international capitalist forces and their internal agents. While the materialists are of the view that real development involves structural transformation of the economy, polity, society and culture of African societies in order to permit self generating and self – perpetuating use and development of people's potential. Those who employ the theory of political economy have as their clue concepts such as; 'dependency', 'imperialism', 'oppression', 'exploitation' and 'capitalism'. In the light of this, we shall adopt the materialist conception or the political economy paradigm of history. This would

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[17] E. M. Rogers; Modernization and Peasants, Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc, New York, 1969.
[18] D. Offiong; Imperialism and Dependency, Fourth Dimension, Enugu, 1980.

provide us with a suitable tool to analyse the data collected because it situates the development of all historical phenomena in the context of man and his subsequent relations with nature. The relationship produces man's needs which are essential for the sustenance and reproduction of life. It is such relationship that distinguishes one society from another.

1.6 - Major Theoretical Issues:

The relationship that exists between nature and man and or the society will not be viewed from the deterministic perspective in which man passively responds to the dictates of the environment. In other words, things have already been determined and so men only succumb to the wishes of the environment. We shall rather in this study, look at man in constant dialectical relation with nature, i.e. there is a kind of inter - relationship that exist between man and nature i.e. that of nature providing opportunities for man and man making the best use of nature for his own benefit and in the process, impacting on nature and nature impacting on him. This ranges from food production, provision of shelter, and all sorts of other human activities (both physical and mental). This view is emphasized by Karl Marx where he said that:

> Man confronts the material of nature as one of
> His own forces. He sets in motion arms, head,
> Legs and hands, the natural forces of his body
> In order to appropriate the material of nature
> In a form suitable for his own needs. By thus acting
> Through this motion on the nature which is outside
> And changing it, he at the same time changes his
> His own nature.[19]

Nature provides opportunities for man. For instance, if we take land as a gift of nature, man utilizes land for so many things such as farming. In order to farm, man uses his head or

[19] K. Marx; Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, P.175.

intelligence to think of the kind of crop to cultivate depending on the nature of the soil, methods of tilling the land, the best implements and equipments or tools to use as well as what to apply in order to have good yield. He uses both his hands and arms all through the cultivation process until he finally carries the harvest home.

It is also the shared understanding here that before making history, man must obviously eat, drink and clothe himself[20] which is an historical act, and a fundamental condition of all history, which today, as thousands of years ago, must daily and hourly be fulfilled merely in order to sustain human life.[21] It is obvious that man, right from the beginning of time, has been struggling to meet up with the conditions of nature and at the same time, satisfy his needs. This view is also supported by Hopkins giving emphasis to the place of environment in historical process. He noted that:

> Any attempt to discuss a facet of human society,
> The relationship between the natural environments
> And man's activities are worth understanding.
> Geographical and Geomorphologic information such
> As the soil type, climatic changes, amount of rainfall
> And relief contribute to the understanding of the
> Occupation of any place. Knowledge about these
> Physical features would assist us in understanding how
> A process of human development has been going on in
> Any given area. Such human activities are Process of
> Urbanization, nature of settlements, agricultural
> Production, techniques and forms of land use. Others
> Are types of Crops grown, animals kept and tools used
> In production and Reproduction process.[22]

Therefore, for a historian to reconstruct the history of a particular area (any area), he or she must look at the two together i.e. environment and man since each influences the other and their roles are inter - twined as E. H. Carr puts forward that, 'Society and the individual are

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[20] C. Carlyle (Ed); Civilization and the Historical Process, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1983, P.117
[21] K. Marx and F. Engels; The German Ideology, pp.41-42
[22] A. G. Hopkins; An Economic History of West Africa, Longman, London, 1973, pp.11-12

inseparable."[23] As such, the study of such natural factors and their influence as well as inter-relationship makes such human activities as migration and settlement patterns, culture, and exchange (trade) e.t.c. possible. It is also a fact that the physical feature of any society has the tendency of either attracting or repelling human action which is part of history.

It is therefore our belief that man and nature do have a relationship that co - exist in a dialectical manner and this relationship is dynamic resulting in peculiar cultural, political and socio - economic development. Having taken this position therefore, we shall look at the environment of Lere under its climate, hydrology, vegetation and the tradition of origin of the people.

1.7 - Location of Lere:

Lere, also known as Leren Zazzau, is located between latitude 10^0 24' North and longitude 8^0 23' East. Its northern limit lies at 10^0 25', while the southern limit lies at 9^0 24'. The western limit lies at 8^0.08'.[24] From the onset, Lere's territory as carved out after the 1804 jihad covered a vast area of approximately 500sq miles which incorporated areas in Bauchi and Plateau. To the east, it stretched up to a place called Inkil (in Bauchi) and River Dilimi and Hwol (later with colonial conquest *farar gada* in Jos) to the south. While to the north, it stretched up to Ririwai in Kano. The western boundary was the Lere River, widely known as *Kogi Karami*.[25]

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[23] E. H. Carr; What is History?, Penguin Books, England, 1961, p.31.

[24] Y. L. Muhammad; The Study of Lere Channel as a Morphological System, B.Sc. Geography,B.U.K,1987, P. 10. Also G. J. Iliya; Impact of British Colonial Rule on Kauru - Lere Division 1902 - 1960,B.A History Project, A. B.U, Zaria, 1975, p.2.

[25] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle (unpublished book) by A. A. Doki and I. U. Lere. See also G. J. Iliya, Impact of ... NAK/ZARPROF/907.

In addition, the Lere district of Zaria division lies on the eastern boundary of the Emirate. To the north, the district was bordered by the Kudaru district and a part of the Zaria - Kano provincial boundary. To the east, it was bordered by the Bauchi - Zaria and Plateau - Zaria provincial boundaries. To the south, lies the Garu district, which till lately remains part of Lere; and to the west lay the districts of Kauru and Kudaru.[26] Similarly, the area lies between the Bauchi hills on the east and Kauru hills on the west, and thus, forms a well watered and fertile basin, comprising much rich farm and grazing land for cattle. Streams and rivers abound, of the latter *kogin Maya* or *kuramin Kogi* and the Galma were most prominent.[27]

The area presently occupies the south - eastern part of Kaduna state. It shares boundaries with Bauchi, Plateau and Kano states; and with the present Ikara and Kauru local government areas of Kaduna state.[28] As such, the location of the area under study is not without its significance; for it means a well watered and fertile land for both agricultural and livestock production. This provided ample opportunities to the inhabitants as well as attracted other people from both far and near to settle in the area, which explained the meaning of the name 'Saminaka' (literally - get your own); the present headquarters of Lere. Mr. Spurway also remarked that the area is extremely fertile and well watered and is second to few districts in the Zaria Emirate.[29]

1.8 - The Land:

Lere belongs to a region that consists of plains developed on the basement complex rock of Pre - Cambrian origin. This region consist of metamorphic and igneous type of rocks of

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[26] NAK/ZARPROF/907.
[27] Y. L. Muhammad; The Study of Lere Channel..., NAK/ZARPROF/393.
[28] I. O. King; National Encyclopedia of Local Government Areas, Vol.III, 1994, P.70
[29] NAK/ZARPROF/907.Mr.Spurway was the Acting A.D.O (Lere) and he made the remarks in 1932 when he toured the area.

undulated laterite to residual hills and the dome inselbergs to the deep Basement complex high plains. Similarly, the area has two striking ranges of hills rising to cover four thousand feet (4,000ft) generally described as the Gure - Surubu hills. These ranges of hills stand out in the plain not far from the Bauchi Plateaux[33] escarpment which is the south - eastern boundary of Zaria Emirate.

On the other hand, the granite rocks of the Basement complex weathered deeply in this area. This was because of the relatively high rainfall which produced deep layers of fine textured soils that becomes waterlogged when it rains. Indeed it dried out and cracked in the dry season. Thus, the role of parent material is very great in the formation of soil in this region, which combines with the climatic factor to give a zonal stamp. These soils are mostly lithosols (*rairayi*) (in the upland) matured of ferruginous type. They are leached, acidic and slightly low in organic matter which is either clay loam or sandy loam.[34]

However, hydromophic soils are found around the channel complexes of the Lere River (*kogi Karami*).On the other hand, regosal (sandy waste),noted to be poorly developed soil, is found in the active channel of the river. The hydromophic soils are dark grey in colour and have high clay content. The matured lithosols are well drained and are brown to dark - brown in colour. They are deep except where iron concentration is exposed.[35]

In general, the soils in some areas around Lere have low quantity of nutrients required by crops because of the low clay and organic matter content. This has a negative effect on the yield especially towards the end of the farming season. The most important soil nutrients in this area

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[33] Ibid; also NAK/ZARPROF/378
[34] Y. L. Muhammad; The Study of Lere Channel...
[35] Ibid p.14 and G. J. Iliya; Impact of British Colonial...

are nitrogen and phosphorous. Farmers in this region have for long been having good yield, because of the use of local manure in addition to the availability of fertile soil type in most of the area.

The productivity of the land is variable such that it supports the cultivation of both cash and food crops. Amongst the crops found in this area includes cotton (*auduga)*, groundnut (*gyada*), a variety of bulrush millet (*maiwa*), millet (*gero*), guinea corn (*dawa)*, and maize (*masara*). There are swamps (*fadamu*) also which are of special importance. They are fairly rich in nutrients and have a good and excessive water supply which persists in the dry season. As such, the *fadamu* are used for the cultivation of sugarcane (*rake*) in high quantity as well as dry season farming (*noman rani*) where vegetables, cocoyam (*gwaza*), cassava (*rogo*), rice (*shinkafa*) and a small edible tuber like cassava (*risga)* are cultivated. Indeed, the swamps (*fadamu*) played an important role in the economic life of the people, especially the nomadic Fulani who reared their cattle around the area.[36] With colonial influence, other crops such as spinach (*alayyaho*), mango (*mangwaro*), paw-paw (*gwanda*) e.t.c. were introduced.

1.9 - The Climate:

One of the most important determinants of the geography of any area is its climatic condition, which in turn affects the vegetation and indeed the people's way of life as well as their economic activities.[37] As such, the climate of the Lere region needs to be studied closely in order to understand the relationship that exists between the climate and the people.

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[36] Ibid.
[37] R. K. Udo; 'Environment and People's of Nigeria,' in O. Ikime, (Ed), Groundwork of Nigerian History, Heinmann Educational Books, Ibadan, 1980, p. 10.

The climate of our study area falls within the tropical continental climate characterized by wet and dry seasons. The wet or rainy season begins in April and ends in October except in certain cases where rain may cease to fall due to unreliability of the movement of the Inter Tropical Discontinuity (I.T.D). On the other hand, the dry season starts early in November and ends in early April.[38] Rainy season reaches its peak between July and August with heavy rainfall throughout the day. The minimum rainfall is about 1.27mm and as heavy as 1250mm annually. For the dry season, the period between November and February used to be its peak, when it used to be cold and dusty with the north - east harmattan wind blowing.[39]

The climate of Lere is that of the Plateau and northern Guinea Savanna. The area is influenced by the two main movements of air masses that bring about the rainy and dry seasons. One of them is the North - East Tropical Continental air mass which comes from the Sahara desert between November and March and its dusty dry wind brings about the dry season. While the other air mass is the South - West Tropical Maritime,[40] which comes across the Atlantic and brings with it rains.

The above climatic conditions influenced the people of Lere and determine their daily lives. They divided the year into seasons and the two dominant seasons, i.e. wet and dry influenced to a greater extent both economic and social activities of the people. The dry season is the time for the clearing of farmlands (in preparation for farming activities), preparation of seedlings, hunting, fishing, trading expeditions, marriage celebrations, building of new huts e.t.c. Indeed, whatever involves expenses is taken care of within this period, since the moment the

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[38] Y. L. Muhammad; The Study of Lere Channel.....
[39] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of Market System in Lere in the 20th century, B. A. History Dissertation, B. U. K, 1998, P.5
[40] P.N. Hore; "Weather and Climate" in M.J. Motimore (Ed), Zaria and its Region, Department of Geography, A.B.U., Zaria, 1970, p.41

rainy season sets in, all that the people have will be used on the farm.[41] While the wet season is always the busiest period of the year mainly because farming has been the major pre - occupation of the people. Therefore, in studying the climatic condition of the Lere region, four principal categorization remained relevant i.e. the *Damina*, *Marka*, *Kaka* and *Bazara* are worth being considered.

1.9.1 - *Damina*:

The wet/rainy season (*Damina*) in Lere usually commences in late April to early May i.e. first rains (*ruwan farko*). This is usually characterized by thunderous and sometimes destructive storms as well as strong dusty winds. However, by the middle of the rainy season (June - August), the rainfall changes to light and sometimes heavy showers that lasts for several hours. This is sometimes repeated twice or even three times in a day. This is the period that records the highest rainfall (*Marka)*.

After the first rains (*ruwan farko*), the farmer begins preparation in earnest by clearing the farmlands using cutlasses, hoes, axes e.t.c. This is followed by the burning of the residues on lands and the spreading of local manure.[42] Planting commences especially of cereals like maize (*masara*), millet (*gero*), and guinea corn (*dawa*). Shortly after, crops like groundnut (*gyada*), rice (*shinkafa*) e.t.c. are planted. The process involves the first weeding (*noman fari* or *ciro*) where the farmer reduces the shoots to two or three pairs each. This is to improve the quality of the yield. Fertilizer or manure (animal dung) is applied to increase the nutrient content of the soil in order to have a good yield. There were two methods of procuring and applying this animal dung

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[41] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi, farmer, aged 74, at his residence in *Unguwan Malamai*, Lere, on 21/02/09.
[42] Ibid. Also oral interview with Mallam Danlami *Ma'auni* (grain seller), aged 65, at his residence in *Unguwan Makera*, Lere, on 22/02/09.

viz: the first was through arrangement with the Fulani whereby the farmers after harvest, leave the by - products (*kurmami*) on the farm for the farmers to feed their cattle on. The Fulani and their cattle would remain on the farmland for some months before the farming season and leave when the farming season is about to set in. After the first rains (*ruwan farko*), the farmer formed the ridges and plant his crops. The second method has to do with the setting aside of the dung of those animals that were kept in the pen houses or corrals. Domestic animals were used to transport the dung to the farmland where the farmer deposit it at specific points after which he spread it throughout the farm. In a situation whereby a farmer has more land to till and less manure, he extends his hand to other households to seek for more. Due to the friendly nature of the people during this period, they give it out freely or at other times, the farmer in turn gave out part of his harvest. It should be noted however, that this first application of the manure was enough for the crops and only in few cases (especially if the farmer did not have enough from the beginning) would he need to apply the manure for the second time. This is done after two or three weeks of planting. As such, it was not difficult to get the manure to apply on the farms since every household tendered animals.

On the other hand, the second process after the planting, takes place four to five weeks after the first process. This is tagged *naimai* and it involves repeating the same process as the first. This enables the crop to grow allowing it to get all the necessary nutrients in their required quantity. It should be noted however, that from the time that the rain commences, it increases in each successive month until August which is the wettest month (the people mostly do not conduct any social activity in this month).The *damina* is thus, the busiest moment of the farming

season involving activities like weeding which is predominantly done by men and then the sowing and planting is mostly done by women and children.[43]

1.9.2 - *Marka:*

This is considered by the people as the peak of the *Damina* i.e. period of continuous rainfall. It is characterized by very low temperature and the frequency of heavy and plenty rainfall that is sometimes non - stop. This lasts between the months of July throughout August and sometimes to mid September. This sometimes leads to lost of crops due to flooding. Real farming activities cease at this period because most crops were either at the ripening stage or ready for harvest. As such, the main agricultural activities at this stage include the harvesting of early crops (that have been planted) such as millet (*gero*), groundnut (*gyada*), e.t.c and the planting of late crops like beans (*wake*) and potatoes (*dankali*). Similarly, this is the period that tomatoes and other perishable goods were scarce because they do not need much water i.e. they require limited water and so they are better cultivated during the dry season where the water supply is controlled. It is also a period that the rapidly growing grass along the river (*kogi Karami*) attracted Fulani with their cattle for grazing.[44] It should however be noted, that there was no any serious cases of conflict or misunderstanding between the farmers and the Fulani because the Fulani tried as much as they could not to enter into any farm and tampered with the crops. Meanwhile, if there was anything of such nature, the *Maigari* (*Sarkin* Lere) resolved it.

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[43] Oral interview with Mallam Danladi, farmer, aged 58, at his residence in *Bakin Kasuwa*, Lere, on 07/03/09.
[44] Ibid.

1.9.3 - *Kaka:*

This is the period during which the rains are beginning to go i.e. late September before it finally ceases in October. The dry season (*kaka*) usually lasts between September and November. While sometimes, it begins earlier and exceeds its normal time. This hastens the ripening process of crops which is followed by its harvest and storage. At this stage of the farming activity, children and women participate actively in the harvesting especially separating the crop from its tree (*kuya*), processing (*Bambara* - separating the seeds from the corn cob) and storage of the crops. The crop by – products were usually left on the farmland for the Fulani who go round with their cattle to various farmlands in search of food (*kurmami*) or at other times, an arrangement was made between them and the farmers so that they settled in a particular farmland and provide the farm with animal dung for the next farming season.[45] The storage facilities were normally granary (*rumbu*), gourd (a container made from calabash) and much later sacks. As discussed earlier, the period after all crops might have been harvested and properly stored or sold, was usually a period of intense developmental and socio - cultural activities such as weddings, building of new huts or replacement of damaged roofs (*soro / rufi*) (houses), thanks giving ceremonies e.t.c. The people here eagerly wait for this period usually saying I'll do this or that if I sold my harvest (*inna saida amfanin gonata zanyi*……).

In addition, this is also the period of dry season farming (*noman rani*) along the *fadaman Kogin* Lere and other *fadamu* as well. Those who engaged in this type of farming are usually full time farmers since during the rainy season they are upland cultivators. Dry season farming (*noman rani*) is mainly commercial and generates a lot of revenue for the people that practiced it.

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[45] Oral interview with Mallam Mairuga, a nomad, aged 70, at his residence in *Unguwan Kanawa*, Lere.

Hand tools such as hand rake, hoes e.t.c. made by blacksmiths usually in exchange for the produce as well as local manure were mostly used. The manure was transported to the farms either using beasts of burden or it was carried on the head. The crops cultivated in this type of farming are mainly tomatoes (*tumatur*), hot pepper (*tarugu*), sweet pepper (*tashi*),onions (*albasa*), spinach (*alayyaho*), lettuce (*latas*) cocoyam (*gwaza*), garden eggs (*gauta / yalo*) e.t.c.[46]

1.9.4 - *Bazara*: (Dry Season)

This is the period of transition between the dry and rainy seasons. It is a period of intense heat and discomfort which lasts until the new rains sets in and cools down the earth once more. The *bazara* commences in March and reaches its peak in April. It is characterized by the rise in temperature and low level of relative humidity. It should be noted here that some parents under an arrangement with the local Mallam at this period do send their children on *almajiranci* but were to return when the rainy season was about to set in. This is because the more children one had at that period, the more productive he was.[47]

1.10 - Hydrology:

The topography and climate of the region have significant impact on the hydrology and the amount of water that is available at any given time within the year. Both surface and underground water are available in the hydrological zone. However, the most prominent rivers are the *Kogi Karami* (River Karami) and the Galma River, *Taugan Yaku* e.t.c.[48] These rivers emptied their waters in river Kaduna. Similarly, within the region, there are streams which flow

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[46] Oral interview with Mallam Isa Dembo, *manomin rani* (dry season farmer), aged 59, at his residence in *Unguwan Makera*, Lere, on 28/12/08.
[47] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi ... *Almajiranci* in this case refers to taking children under the guidance of a teacher to a farther place in search of additional Islamic knowledge.
[48] NAK/ZARPROF/907.

into these rivers although they are subject to great seasonal fluctuations in water level.[49] In the dry season, the rivers tend to have little or no water in them. However, they usually get flooded during the rainy season. The seasonally flooded lands (*fadamu)* were very important as agricultural lands for dry season farming (*noman rani*) where crops like sugar cane, rice, onions and vegetables were cultivated.[50]

These rivers also served or provided alternative source of protein to the people through fishing. A considerable amount of fishing was done especially when the rain is at its peak (in August). The fish available included such species as common African fish (*tarwada)*, Cichlid Perch /Tilapia Nilotica (*karfasa)* and Tiger Fish (*tsage)*. The method used in fishing was by the use of net of varying shapes and sizes ranging from *koma* - a bell - shaped net and a square shaped one that two or more people would hold and enter the river with it standing at a specific point identified as where the fishes could be found, and hooks (what is otherwise known as *kugiya*) and sometimes even baskets were used. These (the mentioned tools or instruments) were produced by the various artisans in *kasar* Lere and environs mostly in exchange for other commodities including the fishes.

The significance of these rivers to the pattern of the historical evolution of these rivers is that they encouraged the settlement of people in the community.[51] This was because, the rivers not only provided source of water for the people and their livestock, but also was a source of clay for making pots, good *fadama* land for both rainy and dry season farming and for fishing. The fishing activity in addition, encouraged crafts work in the area due to the growing need for

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[49] Y. L. Muhammad; The Study of Lere Channel ... p. 21.
[50] Oral interview with Mallam Isa Dembo
[51] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad, aged 76, at his residence in *Kofar Fada*, Lere, on 14/02/09.

instruments and tools used by fishermen. This also encouraged trading activities, social relationship and the gradual growth and development of the area.[52]

1.11 - Vegetation:

A strong relationship exists between climate and vegetation. Soil, relief and man influenced the vegetation of any area. Our study area lies within the Northern Guinea Savannah region or what is otherwise known as the northern savannah woodland, a designation which implies woodland vegetation.[53] The vegetation of the area was characterized by tall grass scattered within the area. Over the years as a result of man's ability not only to adapt himself to the natural environment, but also to transform it to satisfy his needs, the vegetation of the area was greatly modified by human activities.[54] The products of the vegetation and other natural resources were both locally utilized and exported to other areas. Thus, the vegetation on the basis of such human activities can be divided into two major parts: The vegetation or farms surrounding the settlements (*karkara*) and the forest (*daji*)

1.11.1- *Karkara*:

Karkara is a Hausa term used to refer to the vegetation zone surrounding the settlements within the immediate vicinity of the region under study. The area or Lere region is an area of permanent cultivation and full of economic trees. Over fifty per cent of the land in Lere was covered by the *karkara*.[55]

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[52] Ibid, also interview with Mallam Boyi.
[53] G. Jackson; "Vegetation around the City and nearby Villages of Zaria" in M.J. Motimore(Ed), Zaria and its Region, P. 61.
[54] N. P. Iloeje; A New Geography of Nigeria, Longman Nigeria Limited, 1965, p.71.
[55] Y. L.. Muhammad; The Study of Lere Channel ...p.16

The most common trees found in the area are the locust bean tree or pakia filicridea otherwise known as (*dorawa* or *kalwa*), ficus thoninga (*chediya*),tamarindus indica (*tsamiya*), adonsonia digitata (*kuka*), vitex donniana (*dinya*) and Borassus flabely or deleb palm (*giginya*).[56] It should be noted however that the presence of these trees is usually identified with early settlements. Similarly, their presence could be attributed to their economic value for the people. For instance, the leaves of the ficus thoninga (*chediya)* are used to feed animals especially during the dry season when grasses were scarce, and the stem is used as medication for the cure of different diseases such as yellow fever (*shawara).*[57] On the other hand, the seeds of pakia filicridea (*dorawa* or *kalwa)* when fermented are used in preparing a local food seasoning in the form of cakes called *daddawa* used for flavouring soups which the people believed to be a substitute for meat or fish. It also enhances the taste of the soup as well as formed an important trade commodity most especially within Lere and environs. The husk of its fruit (*dorawa*) is used in the plastering of mud buildings (*dabe*) to protect the dwellers from cold while the yellowish pulp was eaten directly after opening the pod of the fruit.[58] The ash from the wood is used for tanning (*jima*) due to its acidity which helps in removing the hairs of an animal skin.[59] The leaves of the baobab tree (*kuka*) were used both in its raw form or when dried in the preparation of a nutritious soup popularly known as *miyar kuka* that is served with *tuwo* either made of maize or guinea corn flour (a staple food in most parts of Hausa land) and one of the major

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[56] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British… and J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of Market…

[57] Oral interview with Mallam Mato *wanzami* (traditional barber), aged 65, at his residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 10/01/09.

[58] Oral interview with Hajiya Gwamma, maker of *daddawa*, aged 70, at her residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 02/05/09.

[59] Oral interview with Mallam Shu'aibu Ali *Baduku/Majemi* (tanner) aged 73, at his residence in *Bakin Kasuwa*, Lere, on 02/05/09.

features of the tree is its ability to withstand two major natural hazards i.e. drought and fire.[60] Similarly, the wood is used as seats in the *makarantun allo* and at the same time, they are burnt to provide light and give warmth to the pupils during cold weather. The charcoal on the other hand, is used by blacksmiths for their smithing work. [61]

The Borassus flabely or deleb palm (*giginya)* which was another important economic tree has so long been useful to the people. A product or a section of a split deleb palm (otherwise known as *azara*) was used in the roofing of houses and huts as well as storey buildings (*soro, bene*) and pit latrine (*masai / salga*) because of its durability and resistance to ants and termites(*gara* and *sari*) respectively. This *azara* formed a trading item between the people of this area and their neighbours. Similarly, *giginya* is also leaked and is sweet and the seeds were planted to get a cassava - shaped crop called *muruchi* which formed part of the people's diet and the people believed it cures pile (*basir*) and yellow fever (*shawara*) among other things. The fronds were used in making baskets and ropes. All these formed trading items of the people.[62]

In addition, the vitexdonaiana or African ebony tree (*dinya*) fruit is eaten like that or could be used to make a sweet drink made from its juice (otherwise known as *madi*) and local sweet (*alewa*). The tree was useful for keeping beehives while its leaves were used for making local ink (*tawada*). The wood is also useful in making agricultural and household implements such as hoe (*fartanya*), axe (*gatari / magirbi*), mortar (*turmi*), pestle (*tabarya*) and stools (*kujera)*. The fruits of Tamarindus Indica (*tsamiya*) on the other hand, have many uses and are also medicinal. A pleasant drink known as *kunun tsamiya* is made from it and millet powder. The

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[60] J. Owen; "A Contribution of the Ecology of the African Baobab" in Savannah, A Journal of the Environmental Sciences, A.B.U Zaria, Vol. III, No. 21, June 1974, Pp. 1-12.
[61] Oral interview with Mallam Mato *wanzami*
[62] Ibid

wood was also important in the making of household implements as well as in roofing. It has also been a trading item. Likewise, sheanut (*tabo / kadanya*) has been of immense economic importance to the people. Its fruits are eaten and the seeds / nuts are used in making shea butter (*mankade*) which is used as diet added to food such as *miyar kuka*, as well as for making soaps. It is also used as ointment (believed to cure cold and make the skin healthier) as well as oil for lamp (otherwise known as *aci bal bal).* Both the seeds and its product (the *mankade*) were traded in. Other economic trees raised by the inhabitants of the Lere region include mango, guava (in abundance) and oranges. The leaves of these trees and the bark of the mango tree were medicinal and used to cure diseases such as malaria (*masassara / zazzabi*) and yellow fever (*shawara).*[63]

It should be noted however, that the baobab (*kuka*) and Tamarindus Indica (*tsamiya*) trees occupied a significant place in the religious belief of the people in the Lere region. This is because they were believed to be the habitat of spirits (*iskoki*) and people especially the young were always warned against going closer to the trees most especially around noon time and at night. Similarly, nobody goes near the trees in the name of felling them.[64]

On the other hand, the fact that farming formed the major occupation of the people since the early period, they cultivated various crops. These include guinea - corn, which formed a staple food for the people i.e. it was grinded into powder to make *tuwo;* maize and millet were also used in making *tuwo* as well as pap (*kamu*) used throughout Lere region for breakfast. Also a popular porridge known as *fate* was made out of maize. The stands of the millet are shorter than those of the guinea - corn and for that reason farmers used their hands in breaking the spikes of the millet. Each handful is tied into a small bundle and three bundles are further tied together.

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[63] Ibid.
[64] Oral interview with Mallam Audu, farmer, aged 60, at his residence in *Unguwan Mato*, Lere, on 11/01/09.

Part of it is carefully preserved as seeds for the next farming season. All formed exchange items.[65]

In addition, groundnuts (*gyada)* are cultivated in a relatively large quantity by the people of Lere region. This was also of greater economic value to the people because it was used in different forms. It is removed in its raw form to be cooked and eaten, in its dry form; it was fried and also eaten as *amotsa* or *soyayyiyar gyada*. It is also used in making groundnut cake (*kuli-kuli*) which was either eaten like that or grinded to be eaten with other foods like cooked cassava, sweet potatoes, cocoyam or *gari*. It is also a source of good vegetable oil that was used both locally and for commercial purposes.[66] Likewise, a small edible tuber like cassava (*risga)*, cassava (*roga*), cocoyam (*gwaza*), sweet potatoes (*dankali*) and okro (*kubewa*) were all cultivated in large quantity both for consumption and commercial purposes. However, the cultivation of all the above mentioned crops was carried out by either individual or communal labour (*gandu*) and at other times neighbours assist each other. The person on whose farm the work was to be carried out provides food for the workers as a mark of appreciation. Sometimes a food prepared from millet in form of balls (*fura*) and cow milk (*nono)* is served instead.[67] As such, we could say that the nature of the vegetation of the Lere region supported the establishment and evolution of settlements in the area.

1.11.2 - *Daji* (Forest):

The *Daji* is used to refer to an area that is bushy and that is far removed from a permanent settlement. This usually harbours games and spirits (*iskoki*). Important economic trees

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Oral interview with Malama Lami *Mai Kuli* aged 62, at her residence in *Kofar Fada*, Lere, on 26/12/08.
[67] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi.....

sometimes as prayer mats by the Muslims. While their bones were incinerated to produce chalk (*alli*) which was used for spinning of cotton and facial decorations mostly by women.[72]

On the other hand, wild animals such as lion (*zaki* /pathera leo), giraffe (*rakumin dawa* / giraffe canelopardalin), antelope (*gwanki* /hippotragus Ezuinus), gazelle Raffi froms (*barewa*), elephant (laxodoute Africa /*giwa*) and leopard (pathera pardus / *damisa*) were all found in the area. Most of these animals are presently extinct due to heavy exploitation and urbanization. Similarly, ground squirrel (Anomokus / *kurege*) and hedge hogs catueix abirenhide (*bushiya*) were found in the area (of the Lere region).[73]

In addition, Hyenas (*Kura / Kure*) were equally found in the Lere area but in a smaller number. Some of the people used them although with a covering on their mouths for display. The material used in covering the mouth is called *takunkumi* usually made of materials that are used in making ropes or baskets (*kaba* / Dum palm). This display usually takes place in market places or such areas where people are easily drawn. They play with them and sometimes even put young children on the backs of these animals and get some token as a reward for their braveness. The animals used were either too old or very young and in some cases their teethes were removed, quite a few number of hunters were able to hunt these animals using effective traps.[74] The skin of animals like that of lions and leopards were medicinal and so the people value them a lot. The horns of some of the animals were also medicinal i.e. used for cupping by traditional barbers (*wanzamai*).[75]

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Oral interview with Mallam Mato *wanzami*....

Another feature of the area was the presence of a variety of lizards such as Agama (*kutu*), and this occupied special place most especially among the Gure who used them as bride price. Chameleon (*hawainiya*) as well as snakes (*macizai*) was equally found in the area and sometimes even in the people's dwellings. Of these snakes also, different variety exists ranging from puff adder (*kasa*), cobra (*gausheka*) - whose venom attack the nervous system and cause paralysis. The other type available was the carpet viper (*kububuwa*) - this also injects venom that attacks the blood cells and body tissues which causes internal bleeding.[76] Some people also, used the different variety of these snakes for display putting them in covered baskets and pretending to be selling something. Once somebody calls them, he must give them money. Or sometimes they display these snakes by putting them round their necks or body. This served as a source of income for them.

Similarly, the area was blessed with a number of birds of different species. Some of them are seen throughout the year with many local and long distance migrants at particular seasons. However, the commonest of these birds were; vultures (*angulu*), hawks (*shirwa*) - which eats fowls wherever it finds them, so at a certain time of the year (during the dry season / *kaka*) when this bird is commonly available, the movement of fowls were restricted because once it came into contact with them, it does not spare them. Others were the cattle egret (*balbela*), owl (*mujiya*), eagle (*mikiya*), parrots (*aku*) - which the people domesticate and train to produce some signs whenever something was about to happen, and weaver birds (*kanari*).

The nature of the environment within the Lere region also harbours other small creatures such as insects. Commonest of them was butterflies (*malam bude mana littafi*) that were rather harmless. Also, grasshoppers (*fari* sing. *fara*) were common although a few of them were

[76] Oral interview with Mallam Safe *Maharbi*....

harmful to plants. Some of the people used them as food because they contain protein. Tsetse flies (*kudan tsando*) were also found in the area though in a relatively small number. Other pests such as ants and termites (*gara / sari*) that are destructive to stored grains and household implements (that are made of wood) were also common in the area. The commonest way of controlling them however, was that the people normally rubbed the items with palm oil and dried them in the sun for a certain period of time while for grains like guinea corn and millet, they are left as they are brought from the farm and only separated from the cob when the women want to prepare food. Similarly, cockroaches (*kyańkyasai* sing. *kyankyaso*), common flies (*kuda*), beetle (*gungura kashi*) and mosquitoes (*sauro*) that are hazardous were very common in the area. Likewise, spiders (*gizo gizo*) and scorpions (*kunamu* sing. *kunama*) were also common in the area. While spiders' causes skin disease, scorpion's bite sometimes leads to death. There were bees also (although not common) that provided honey which the people used for medicinal purposes.

Thus, the availability of all these (fauna) provided not only a source of both vitamins and protein but also hunting as an occupation through which the people earn income by exchanging or selling some of the games. The fauna also was important in understanding the cosmology, religion and other social practices of the people. For example, myths and proverbs were developed around the behaviour of some of the animals, which were interpreted in terms of human emotions such as joy, beauty, goodness, greed, trust, mischief and mockery. For instance, hyena was considered dirty, elephant was portrayed as fat glutton and stupid, antelopes embodied beauty, grace, swiftness and the epitome of a beautiful woman. Lions were regarded as strong, majestic and brave while the baboon was perceived as childish, ugly, forceful and initiative. As such, these featured prominently in the myths and tales of the people within Lere.

1.13 - Tradition of Origin:

To be able to understand the origin of the people of *kasar* Lere, one would have to look at the different groups as well as how they came to occupy the areas they are today. The distinct groups that make up the area include; the Hausa, Fulani, Gure, Kahugu, Kurama, Amo, Sheni, Piti, which constituted the major groups while Janji, Dingi, Rumaya, Ruruma, Kitimi, Chokobo and Lemoro the minor groups. Our concern in this study however, would be to reconstruct the history of some of the groups since the study is not basically on that but rather to take us through the transformations brought about by the 1804 jihad. The Hausa and Fulani whom were termed to be one, (probably because the founders of Lere whom were Fulani, were at Maru and Zaria in the first place and might have learnt and adopted Hausa) were mostly found in Dan Alhaji, Jurawa, Lere, Gasakora, Jama'an Iya, Kayarda and later Saminaka.

Thus, the name 'Lere' was coined from the Fulbe word '*Lai ye - rai*' translated to mean a marshy area suitable for a permanent place of encampment or station (for the Fulani who have a nomadic life).[77] As such going by the nature of the geography of Lere, it became a permanent abode for the founders of Lere. Another version however, maintains that '*Lai ye - rai*' was the name of a daughter of Muhammad Dabo Titi, the founder of Lere.[78] But we think that the first meaning could be more acceptable because of the fact that (since it is obvious from) history has established the wandering nature of the Fulani and that, they only settle temporarily in places most suitable for their animals. For instance, J. G. Nengel argued that the Fulani (whom he referred to as *Bororo*) moved into the Jos - Plateau because the ecology of the area was

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[77] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad, conducted by the *Nagarta Radio* in the programme '*Mu Leka Fada*', in February, 2009.
[78] Ibid.

conducive for the breeding of cattle and relatively healthier than the surrounding lowlands which had tsetse flies. He added that, others moved into the area from other parts of Hausa land on account of the heavy cattle tax (*jangali*) exacted on them by the Hausa rulers.[79] As such, because they wanted to avoid that, they left such areas for the Jos - Plateau that has the advantage of being a non - Hausa or non - Muslim community and had nothing to do with the *jangali*. Although A.Y. Abubakar[80] had equally established that even in some non - Muslim communities around the Bauchi and the Jos - Plateau in the pre - jihad period, the Fulani were taxed both on grazing land and when such communities had festivities or needed to make sacrifices to the gods. All assertions could be true since in our study of the climate of *kasar* Lere, we established the fact that it is that of the Plateau and the offering of sacrifices were the order of the day even after the jihad or when Islam had been established. We shall in our subsequent discussion however, see how Nengel's argument could be applied going by what transpired between the founders of Lere and emir Yakubu of Bauchi as a result of the confiscation of their cattle as tax.

Historically however, the origin of the founders of Lere could be traced to the Takrur region of present day Mauritania and Senegambia, where a kingdom once thrived under the Fulbe or Fulani to whom they claimed their ancestry where they developed a strong presence around the Senegal River valley in the 5th century. The complex history of the Fulbe coupled with their diversity as a result of migration and intermarriages with other races such as the Berbers, Arabs, Tuaregs and the Mandingos, have generated several theories as regards to their origin. But the founders of Lere, nevertheless, traced their ancestry to a proto - Fulani clan of the

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[79] J. G. Nengel; "Echoes of the Sokoto Jihad and its Legacies on the Societies of the Jos - Plateau," in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu (Eds), The Sokoto Caliphate - History and Legacies, 1804 – 2004 (Bicentenary of the Sokoto Caliphate), Vol. II, P.185.

[80] A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi 1805-1905, PhD Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1974, Pp.351-52.

Torodbe (*Toronkawa*) stock. This clan intermarried with the Sanhaja Arabs from Massufa in the Western Sahara who founded the Almoravid or al - Murabitun movement in the 11th century. From the Takrur, this Fulani clan migrated east into Western Sudan settling in places like Kunta, Timbuktu and Konne. In Timbuktu, they played a significant role in the emergence of Askia Muhammad as emperor of Songhai after the fall of Mali Empire in the 15th century. After Askia Muhammad defeated Sonni Barou at the battle of Anfao in April 1493 which ended the reign of Za dynasty in Songhai, he re - organized the Songhai Empire and appointed Umar bin Muhammad Naddi, who was a Sanhaja Arab as governor of Timbuktu with a drum as sign of authority. Later the title of Timbuktu - koi or governor of Timbuktu was taken over by the famous Aqit family, a Torodbe - Sanhaja. The family produced several Qadis or governors until it reached Umar Ibn Muhammad Aqit, who lost it to the Moroccan Sa'dis following the fall of Songhai Empire in the 16th century after the Moroccan invasion. The Aqit family were said to have been dispersed by the Moroccans who spread violence, cruelty and destruction upon the cities of Timbuktu, Jenne and Gao.[81] Some members of the Aqit family together with their Torodbe cousins found their way across the Niger Bend in to Agades and Adrar in the Niger republic in the early 17th century. In their possession were these drums carted away from the ruins of their places in Timbuktu. These drums were part of the insignia of office for the governor of Timbuktu province in Songhai Empire. From the Niger territory, probably because of insufficient grazing land and other related factors, they drifted south into present day northern Nigeria and settled in a place known as *Tsohon Banaga* near Maru in present day Zamfara. This Fulani clan was later identified as Fulanin *dawaki*, as they were excellent horse - breeders. But they split into several sub - groups, mainly due to their huge population and large number of

[81] D. J. Stenning; Savannah Nomads, London, 1959, p. 75, Lere Chronicle (unpublished book) by A. A Doki and I. U. Lere.

cattle, camels, goats and horses. Mallam Muhammad Dadi established himself in Maru and when Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio flagged off the jihad in 1804, he assisted the Shehu.[82] Meanwhile, due to the nomadic life of the Fulani, Muhammad Dadi's other brothers, Muhammad Sambo, Muhammad Dabo (Titi), Yunusa and few others travelled southward to Zaria before the outbreak of the jihad. Muhammad Sambo left his two younger brothers in Zaria and moved to Kachia country along with a very large contingent all in search of a more convenient grazing land and sufficient water for their animals. Some of his offspring remained in sparse camps in Kangimi area and later Kawo and Tudun Wada in Kaduna metropolis. Muhammad Dabo (Titi) left his brother, Yunusa in Zaria and travelled to the south - eastern part of Zazzau to a place near present day Dan Alhaji where he built his camp.[83] On his arrival, he met people there as will be seen in the subsequent chapters. Muhammad Dabo was nicknamed *Titi* a shortened Fulbe word for *Titiye* meaning 'the nomad'. While still there (in Dan Alhaji), a group under Usman Biri, (his cousin) apparently tired of roaming around, broke up from the camp and travelled to the southern part of Bauchi territory. They fought, defeated and subjugated the *sayawa* near present day Tafawa Balewa, and built a walled town, naming it Lere in the late part of the 18th century.[84] Nonetheless, the people of Lere paid allegiance to the *habe* ruler of Bauchi and it remained so until after the jihad in Bauchi when Mallam Yakubu, the first Emir of Bauchi and Dabo Titi had a misunderstanding and so the area was later transferred to Zaria which led to its renaming as Leren Zazzau.[85] Meanwhile, Muhammad Dabo (Titi) retained his pastoral lifestyle and moved from the Dan Alhaji area probably because the area was already inhabited by non - Fulani or non - Hausa to the precincts of Zaranda hills, where he met a Fulani confederacy. Later he dropped

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[82] B. Greatbatch: History of Maru, Sokoto-Nigeria, 1959, p. 9.
[83] Related by several chroniclers including late *Limamin* Lere, Alhaji Muhammadu Sani in a recorded interview conducted in 1991 at Lere.
[84] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle….
[85] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad….

his nomadic way of life and embedded with Fulanin Wunti, who incidentally earned their name from the volcanic mountains that surrounded the region.[86] Muhammad Dabo (Titi) later assumed the leadership of the Fulanin Wunti clan, which had several branches. He later move to Toro and founded his home in a place called Gyamzo. While in Toro, the Islamic jihad broke out in 1804 and Shehu Uthman dan Fodio offered Mallam Yakubu, one of his students, the flag to wage the holy war in Bauchi with the instruction that he sought the support and assistance of four Fulani groups in the region, namely, Ganjuwa, Yuli, Gok and Wunti, which he did and succeeded in defeating the hearthen groups of the region.[87] Mallam Yakubu thus, conquered and established the Bauchi emirate in about 1807 to 1814 and he offered traditional titles to leaders of the four Fulani clans that assisted him in the jihad. Muhammad Dabo (Titi) was given the title of *Sarkin Yaki* as head of Fulanin Wunti but later relinquished it to his in - law Muhammadu Kusu.[88] Their deseendants still hold the title of *Sarkin Yaki* in addition to the district leadership of Toro and Lame.

Shortly after, a huge disagreement ensued between Mallam Yakubu and Fulanin Wunti under Muhammad Dabo (Titi) owing to the confiscation of one thousand (1,000) cattle by Yakubu as *Zakkat*.[89] Tension mounted and it became a very sensitive issue requiring the

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle..... While according to A.Y. Abubakar, it was Yakubu who went and met the leaders of the mentioned Fulani groups and sought for their support who in turn accompanied him to the Shehu who was then at Gwandu to pay allegiance. For detail, see A.Y. Abubakar pp. 368-72.

[88] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development... p. 3, also oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

[89] *Zakkat*, the fourth pillar of Islam, is a fiscal worship which Islam requires the well to - do in any Muslim community to give out of their wealth in order to take care of the needs of the poor and to pay subsidy to maintain public benefits such as educational institutions, defense force, hospitals and the like. It is the best means of promoting the welfare of people and spreading throughout the people a feeling of love and co - operation. *Zakkat* therefore, could be paid on the following possession provided that it reaches one year in the hands of the owner. Such things include; gold, silver (but exempted from *Zakkat* if used by women in the shape of jewelry or as ornamentation), farm produce and fruits (of which are to be given out at the time of harvest), animals – such as cows, sheep, e. t. c. But then, all must reach a certain quantity or the amount payable as *Zakkat* (*Nisab*). For money, it has three rules viz: it has to be one year old in the custody of the owner, the owner must own it alone and it also has to reach the *Nisab*; and for farm produce, it is one out of every ten heaps (*dammai*). Therefore, it is the duty of

intervention of a superior arbiter. However, Dabo Titi viewed the confiscation of the cattle on the pretext of taxation not only as illegal but tantamount to an act of transgression which he vehemently opposed and was willing to fight Mallam Yakubu. The case was referred to Sokoto, and after a careful study of the matter, the Shehu or his successor directed that Mallam Yakubu return the cattle back to Fulanin Wunti with instructions that they should thereafter give the *Zakkat*.[90] Dabo Titi however, expressed his fear that return of the cattle would create misunderstanding between Mallam Yakubu and himself. It was in this respect that he transferred his allegiance to his teacher, Mallam Musa of Zazzau.[91]

Shehu Uthman Danfodio or his successor granted Dabo Titi's request for transfer of allegiance, but suggested that Dabo Titi relocate to Bukuru, near present day Jos, where he would be made a flag bearer. Dabo Titi however, chose to stay under Mallam Musa and remain in his Toro country home to pursue pastoral pre - occupation.[92] Shehu Danfodio or his successor was surprised and sought to know why he (Dabo Titi) preferred to stay under Mallam Musa. Dabo Titi replied that he opted to remain with his teacher so that he would continue to learn from him and live a simple, nomadic life.[93] The result was that parts of Bauchi and Zazzau emirates

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the state or any recognized Islamic institution to collect the *Zakkat* and enforce it upon all who have to render it. For instance, Abubakar the first Caliph of Islam issued orders to fight some people when they refused to pay the *Zakkat* after the prophet's death until they did so. It is also the duty of such state or institution to utilize the *Zakkat* according to the needs of the beneficiaries.

[90] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle... Also oral interview with Alhaji Aliyu *Sana'a*, retired farmer, aged 72, at his residence in *Kofar Fada*, Lere, on 01/05/09 and NAK/ZARPROF/907.

[91] Ibid. Also, A. Adamu, 'The Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and its Impact on Society and Economy: The Case of Zazzau in the 19th Century' in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu... vol. I, p. 99 and M.G. Smith; Government in Zazzau 1800-1950, Oxford University Press,1960,P.138. Where they all demonstrated that Mallam Musa Bamalle - the flag bearer of Zazzau has been to Zaria years before the Jihad where he learnt and taught Islamic Education.

[92] Ibid. Mallam Musa Bamalle was a personal friend and teacher to Muhammadu Dabo (Titi) and his brother Mallam Sambo where history records that Mallam Musa used to frequent Dabo Titi's camp while they were in Zaria before leaving for the Dan Alhaji area and later *Kasar* Bauchi i.e. in the pre - jihad period.

[93] The Lere Chronicle records that the Shehu told Dabo Titi point black that 'this leadership that you decline to accept would in years to come be a source of conflict between your descendants and those of Mallam Musa.' This, the people (of Lere) interpreted to mean the deliberate relegation in sovereignty and status of Lere at the beginning of the 20th century i.e. after colonial conquest of Zazzau by the Zazzau emirate.

were carved out and incorporated into the new Lere vassal state; marking the creation of Lere towards the end of the first half of the 19th century. As such, Lere covered a vast area of approximately 500sq miles within the present Bauchi and Plateau states. To the east, it stretched up to a place called Inkil, which incidentally served as headquarters of Bauchi emirate before Mallam Yakubu established emirate leadership in Bauchi around 1814.[94] Also it extended to River Dilimi and Hwol (later Farar Gada) in Jos to the south, while to the north it stretched to Ririwai in Kano (within this geographical boundary were such groups as Lemoro, Chokobo, Buji, Sheni, Kurama, Gure, Kahugu, Piti). The western boundary was the Lere River, widely known as River *Karami.*[95] The Shehu or his successor however, allowed Dabo Titi to remain in Toro, which did not go down well with Mallam Yakubu and so he asked Dabo Titi to move out of the area, when he refused, Yakubu marched his forces to Ribina, west of Toro, and made it part of his territory. Ribina was earlier under the ruler ship of Dabo Titi.[96] Dabo Titi reported the matter to Mallam Musa, the emir of Zazzau, and sought his permission to fight Mallam Yakubu so as to reclaim his territory, but Mallam Musa urged him to move southwest of Toro and avoid armed conflict, which the Shehu has forbidden among his followers.[97] Dabo Titi moved his headquarters to a place called Kunka, then inhabited by a group called Lemoro and consolidated his country and subject as vassal of Zazzau. To pacify Mallam Yakubu, Lafia, which was earlier a vassal of Zazzau, was ceded to Bauchi as its vassal in about the last quarter of the first half of the 19th century in return for Lere.[98] This came to represent one of the landmark boundary

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[94] A.Y. Abubakar; The Establishment of... p. 382.
[95] J. S. Jatau... p. 2, G.J. Iliya... and NAK/ZARPROF/393.
[96] For detail and a better understanding , see appendix
[97] A. Junaidu; *Tarihin Fulani*, Zaria, 1957, p.15.
[98] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle op.cit see also M.G. Smith Government in Zazzau....p.77. However, A.Y. Abubakar... p. 390, maintained that there is no evidence either in Bauchi or Lafia to support M. G. Smith's assertion that Lafia had been a vassal of Zazzau until 1812 when it was transferred to Bauchi in place of Lere. J.G. Nengel, in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu ... shares the same view with Abubakar. It should be noted that all available evidence

adjustments of the emerging caliphate, done through the political wisdom of Shehu Danfodio or his successor, which achieved settlement of both the internal conflict in Bauchi emirate as well as the potential dispute over Lafia between Zazzau and Bauchi.[99] This exchange resulted in Zazzau emirate having ten vassal states namely Lere, Keffi, Nasarawa, Doma, Jema'a, Lapai, Kajuru, Kauru, Fatika and Durum. Among all these vassal states, however, only Lere was given the mandate to keep up to a dozen royal drums (*tambura*), which indicated the pre - eminence of Lere above the other vassal states.[100] Meanwhile, despite the relative harmony provided by the vast south - eastern Zazzau, Dabo Titi and his people found it difficult to settle in one place because of their large number of herds and followers. As a result, they broke up into smaller settlements within the territory they controlled and occupied. Idrisu, Dabo Titi's second son, led a group to establish a settlement near the rocks of Gurba, whose site is to be found today north - east of Fedare near Saminaka. It was then inhabited by the Sheni and Ziriya groups. He named the settlement after the rock. However, the Ziriya group moved away further south into the present day Plateau state while the Sheni people remained.[101] Mamman, another son of Dabo Titi, led another group that moved to a place east of Domawa, north - east of present Saminaka and settled there. He named the settlement Liyanga. The two settlements were built in true Fulani mould. Later at the wake of the first succession crisis, Muhammad Dankaka, a grandson of Dabo Titi, established the town of Masheringi (Marmara), also east of present Saminaka in about 1857. Remarkably, all the three settlements were close to each other and clustered within fifteen square

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indicated the vassalage status of both Lafia and Lere both in the pre- jihad and post jihad era whether under Bauchi or Zaria. With colonial conquest, boundary adjustments were made and each took the position it occupy today.

[99] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad... and M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau...

[100] M.G. Smith... p. 79. Although only six of the *tambura* could be found today as the remaining were borrowed to Jema'a and they got burnt in an inferno that occurred at the onset of colonial conquest as explained by the present *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad in an interview conducted on 23/04/10.

[101] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

miles.[102] Now all the three settlements no longer exist. There is however still traces and signs that Masheringi had once been a prosperous and fortified settlement. Remnants of the defense wall (*ganuwa*) that encircled the town are still there in the periphery of the expansive farmlands and cornfield that was Muhammad Dankaka's flourishing capital city.[103] Interestingly, each of the three different settlements served as headquarters of Lere, as it was moved repeatedly from one place to another until 1870, when Muhammad Dankaka established present Lere town following the Ningi raids of 1867 that destroyed Masheringi.[104] Under Dabo Titi's suzerainty at inception of Lere vassal state were ten distinct communities, namely, Lemoro, Chokobo, Buji, Sheni, Fadar Sanga, Babban Gura, Saya, Rukuba and Taura. Both Dan Alhaji and Lazuru are Hausa and Fulani villages respectively which took the number of Lere's fiefs to twelve at inception.[105] These fiefs and their inherent territories formed a segment of the hierarchical society constituted by Titi along with other Fulani communities, who occupied a large strip of land. Titi, who ruled peacefully between 1811 and 1830 received a flag from Mallam Musa, the emir of Zazzau and was given the right to possess twelve royal drums as his official insignia. Dabo Titi added nine other drums to the three he inherited from his forefathers, who were governors of Timbuktu during the Songhai era. Thus, as *Sarkin* Lere, he was the head of administration. He established a traditional council with three kingmakers namely *Madaki, Sa'i* and *Liman*, though two to three elders were also incorporated in the selection of a new *Sarki*. It was the fifth *Sarkin* Lere, Muhammad Dankaka, a grandson to Titi, who elevated the hereditary office of *Barde* into the kingmakers fold. Among other offices created were *Chiroma, Magajin*

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[102] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle...
[103] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere where he explained that they still have some of their cattle under the care of *Sarkin Fulanin* Masheringi.
[104] Ibid. See also NAK/ZARPROF/907, M.G. Smith; Government in Zazzau ...p. 170 and J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu..., p. 186. The Ningi forces were under Hamza and Danmaje respectively.
[105] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

Gari and *Galadima*. However, it should be noted that different Fulani groups later joined the founders of Lere and constituted the people of the area. For instance, a Fulani group from Daura held the title of *Limaman* Lere (around the time of inception), Fulani Bebeji and Shanono held the title of *Iya*, Fulani 'Yandoto held the title of *Barde*, while Fulani Misau held the titles of *Garkuwa* and *Sa'i*. The descendants of these Fulani groups still hold these offices.[106]

The following were the rulers of Lere in the period assigned to this study:

- Muhammad Dabo (Titi) 1811-1830.
- Idrisu 1830 -1847.
- Aliyu I, 1847-1850.
- Mamman 1850 -1856.
- Muhammadu Dan kaka 1857-1905.[107]

From the foregoing discussion therefore, one could surmise that it is probable that the founder of Lere had an intellectual background when he expressed his intention to Dan Fodio to transfer his allegiance and continue learning from the flag bearer of Zazzau. This is because Smith[108], Dalhatu[109] and Adamu[110] all demonstrated that Mallam Musa Bamalle i.e. the flag bearer of Zazzau had earlier been in Zaria years before the jihad where he studied and taught Islamic knowledge at Zaria city and had travelled as far south as Igabi.

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[106] Oral interview with Sama'ila Umaru Lere (a son of the *Sarki*), civil servant, aged 43, at Kashim Ibrahim Road, *Ungwan Rimi*, Kaduna, on 07/03/09. See also M.G. Smith… p. 80.
[107] NAK/ZARPROF/C.32,907 and also oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad….
[108] M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau… p. 138.
[109] U. Dalhatu; Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku - The Great Emir of Zazzau. A. B. U. Press, Zaria, 2002. p. 48.
[110] A. Adamu in H. Bobboyi and A.M. Yakubu … p. 99.

In addition, it is also probable that the founder of Lere and the flag bearer of Zazzau (i.e. Muhammad Dabo Titi and Mallam Musa Bamalle) knew each other even before this period (i.e. their meeting at Zaria). Since Smith and Dalhatu explained that Mallam Musa was a Fulani from Malle (hence the name Musa Bamalle), an ancient town in the region of Timbuktu and was well known to Dan Fodio and other Toronkawa Fulani.[111] And studies have also shown that the founders of Lere were also from there.

Similarly, the fact that the founders of Lere were at *kasar* Bauchi before the founding and subsequent establishment of Lere appears to be true because their descendants could still be found in today's Leren Bauchi and Gumau areas of present Bauchi.[112] This has no doubt shown the importance of the ancient city of Lere both in terms of socio - economic and political relevance as other places like Bauchi and the oldest city of Zazzau competed and struggled for the control of the town.

However, one major issue worthy of mentioning is the neglect of History to give a detail account of the legend of origin of other groups of people whom the founders of Lere met around the area. For instance, the groups which the founder of Lere met at Dan Alhaji (such as Uzu and Watara) before proceeding to *kasar* Bauchi and when finally Lere was established, Dan Alhaji became a vassal of Lere. Similarly, nothing much is known about other groups such as Lemoro and Ziriya or what became of them apart from mere mentioning. As such, one could surmise that the pre - eminence of Lere over the other groups was probably because the founders were Fulani

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[111] U. Dalhatu... and M.G. Smith...

[112] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad ... and Hajiya Kilishi a daughter to the junior brother of *Sarkin* Lere who happened to be primary school mate of the researcher and who is married to their relative in Gumau (today's Bauchi). This has also been established by A.Y. Abubakar.

and its foundation was linked to the jihad of Shehu Uthman dan Fodio. The tradition of origin of other groups that formed *kasar* Lere shall be looked at in the subsequent chapters.

1.9 - Political Organization:

The political set up of the people in *kasar* Lere before the jihad was similar to that of other places in Hausaland, i.e. from the beginning, there were only family groups and each family was headed by the *Maigida*. In other words, political authority was vested in the hands of family heads (in cases of extended families, the eldest person usually served as the head) who supervised the activities of their family members especially concerning agricultural production which served as the only means of subsistence. With time however, most especially with increase in population, family groups clustered into hamlets and this led to the formation of *Unguwanni* (wards) such as *Ka-durum, Kaluri,* e.t.c or *Kauyuka* (small villages) such as *Karimbo, Ligani, Chiroma, Dokan Sati* e.t.c. At this stage and because of the pursuit of agriculture as mentioned earlier, political authority was in the hands of *Sarkin noma* (the king of farmers), *Uban farauta* (head of hunters) e.t.c. This was what was obtained in the non - Muslim communities as well. Similarly, the concentration of population either as a result of trade or industrial development through cloth - making or iron - working, led to the clustering of such *unguwanni* or *kauyaka* to form smaller *garuruwa* (towns) where political authority was vested in the hands of the *Maigari* (king)[113] with the occupational heads answerable to him.

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[113] A. Smith: 'Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausa land' in A Little New Light, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1987, p.62.

As such, with the founding of Lere by the Fulani in the first half of the 19th century and after the 1804 jihad, Lere was given the status of a vassal state under Zazzau Emirate.[114] Lere and other vassal states although were semi - independent sub - states that operated hereditary leadership from within their existing ruling houses, but they were under the charge of state officials known as *Hakimai* who resided at the capital, Zazzau and owed their offices to the Emir. Lere fief was usually called after the names of its *Hakimai* (who held the title of *Makama Karami*) which means once a *Hakimi* dies the name changes. Each *Hakimi* thus, supervised his fief through a *Jakada* whose major function was the transmission of information concerning the village as well as that of the appointment of a new *Maigari* to the fief holder (*Hakimi – Jakada – Maigari* i.e. Emir's representative - Intermediary - Village Head).[115] It should be noted however, that the consent of the *Jakada* will have to be sought before any appointment was made in the respective villages. It therefore became clear that any *Maigari* that discharged his duties effectively including the provision of *gaisuwa* (gifts) to the *Jakada* himself for onward transmission to the fief - holder and the collection of taxes, was fully supported and protected by the *Jakada*.[116]

Thus, the Lere political organization stretched from Lere to the Bauchi boundary thereby, dividing the region as follows; Lere central under *Maigarin* Lere, Lere east under Domawa, Lere south - east under Sheni and Lere north - east under Kayarda.[117] The *Maigari* (village head in Lere) was the head of the polity and the highest authority within the state. His court was therefore, the highest court of appeal and the final arbitrator especially on such cases concerning

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[114] M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau... p. 78

[115] *Hakimi* was a title holder in Zaria and resides there, the *Jakada* was the messenger and carried information from the *Hakimi* to the *Maigari* i.e. the village head (of Lere)

[116] G.J. Iliya; Impact of British...p.12, see also M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau... p. 97.

[117] B. Sani; History of Lere Town... p. 5, also J.S. Jatau, Historical Development of.... p.17 and oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

land disputes. However, the *Maigairi's* court cannot handle such cases as mutilation e.t.c. without the consent of *Sarkin* Zazzau. He (the village head) was in theory, the commander – in - chief of the army but in practice, the power was delegated to the *Madaki* (head of the army). Similarly, he was the religious leader but most of the religious functions were carried out by the *Liman* and chief priests respectively.

In addition, the following *Masu Sarauta* (title holders) were said to have assisted the *Maigari* in running the affairs of the state. They include the *Fagaci* (king's representative) who was solely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and cases beyond his competence were forwarded to *Maigari*, the *Liman* who carried out religious functions on behalf of the *Maigari* especially on matters of justice that required religious interpretations (although every *Maigari* was expected to be knowledgeable) and then, the *Sa'i* (tax collector). Others were the *Magajin Gari* (heir apparent), *Yarima* (prince) and *Chiroma* (king's messenger). These, with the *Madaki* could contest for the position of the *Maigari* after the death of the incumbent *Maigari*.[118] However, the *Maigari* reserved the right to appoint his political advisers (*Masu ba sarki shawara*) who either reside in the same village with him or in neighbouring villages under his jurisdiction. Their appointment is however, not hereditary since a new *Maigari* could appoint those that he felt would serve him better. These political advisers (*masu ba sarki shawara)* include such title holders as the *Liman, Fagaci, Waziri, Galadima* and *Madaki.* The appointment of other occupational heads such as *Sarkin Kogi* (king of the waters or River), *Sarkin Noma* (king of farmers), and *Uban Farauta* (head of hunters) e.t.c. also came from the *Maigari*.[119]

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[118] J.S. Jatau; Historical Development of… G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British… and oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad…

[119] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British… and oral interview with Alhaji Aliyu *Sana'a*…

Thus, the turbaning ceremony of a new *Maigari* was marked for seven to fourteen days. And the appointment of a new *Maigari* could be announced in public by the king - makers usually headed by the *Waziri*. This, they did by advising and warning him on matters affecting the lives of his people. Similarly, they narrate to him the history of his predecessors and enjoin him to be brave, honest and persevering, and at the end, he is presented with the holy book for guidance during his tenure. And afterwards, the king - makers pay allegiance to the new *Maigari* immediately after he is turbaned. This was to indicate their loyalty to him as well as their approval to his enthronement. After then, other title holders and the rest of the subjects pay their own homage to him.[120]

It should be noted however, that the need for political advisers (***masu ba sarki shawara***) (even though the *Sarauta* system is hereditary) arose because in some cases, the incumbent *Maigari* might not have an elderly son that could be enthroned, or they will have to look at who best fits the position among the heirs i.e. the one that possesses such qualities as patience, humility, honesty, transparency, the love for his people e.t.c.

It should also be clear that the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate is occupied by both Muslim and non - Muslim groups. As such, the above explanations only applied to the Muslim areas under Lere and such were Lere itself, Lazuru, Gasakora, Kayarda, Dan Alhaji and Tudai. While the non - Muslim areas (whose legend of origin and other details shall be looked at in the next chapter) that were important administrative centres such as Garun Kurama, Gure, Kahugu e.t.c; the *Maigari* appointed his representatives (whom were people from those areas). They were responsible to the *Maigari* and performed such functions as settling disputes within their areas of jurisdiction in accordance with their customs and tradition; collection of taxes and presentation

[120] Recorded interview with late *Limamin* Lere Alhaji Muhammadu Sani...

of gifts (*gaisuwa*) to the *Maigari* . As such, one could say that the relationship between the Muslim and non - Muslim areas within Lere was amicable. This became evident, when later these non - Muslim areas adopted Hausa titles. For instance, in Kahugu the traditional council consisted of the *Sarkin Fada*, *Galadima*, *Makama*, *Madaki*, *Turaki* and *Barde*. While in Gure, the traditional council consisted of the *Galadima*, *Chiroma*, *Madaki*, *Jakada*, *Turaki*, *Sarkin Fada* and *Abokin Sarki*. They assisted the *Maigari* in the dispensation of justice.[121]

In addition, within the Lere political organization were the independent villages of Juran-Kari, Rahama, and Saminaka. Thus, *Maigarin* Lere had no right in appointing their village heads as they had their council of king - makers but he could recommend whoever was appointed to the Emir of Zazzau for turbaning.[122] However, with the conquest of Zazzau by the British in the first half of the 20th century, Lere was made a district with its headquarters in Lere and this greatly altered the previous pre - colonial arrangement or system of administration.

1.10 - Conclusion:

From the foregoing, it became obvious that the nature of the environment in the Lere region played a central role in the historical development of the people of Lere. It was clear also that the skills the people have, made them to effectively exploit the environment in order to meet their economic needs. This also had a greater impact on the socio - economic and political relations that existed among the people whom were of diverse origin. As such, it became a matter of necessity for us to take a closer look at such geographical features in order to understand the history of this settlement. Therefore, in the course of our analysis, we closely examined that the location of the town, the land, the climate and its implication on the people's life, the soil, the

[121] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British... pp10-12
[122] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

vegetation as well as their political organization greatly shaped the people's life. Thus, it is clear that the wealth the people have was largely produced from the available natural and human resources of the environment. Good climatic conditions and the availability of fertile land for farming and grazing of animals attracted other people to settle in the area. Similarly, the physical and human geography of the area has strongly influenced human interaction both within the area and with neighbouring communities (which will be closely examined in subsequent chapters). The result of human interaction with the physical environment in terms of agriculture, crafts, hunting and irrigation led to increase in population which provided platforms for socio - economic and political relations, which are the basis for unity among the people.

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CHAPTER TWO

SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN LERE

2.1- Introduction:

The previous chapter discusses the influence of the environment on the lives of the people of *kasar* Lere. It shows that the favourable environmental conditions brought people of diverse cultural and religious groups together in the Lere vassal state. Equally, the environmental conditions played a major role in determining the history and culture of the people of the area as well as the proper utilization of human skills which in turn shaped the kind of society that emerged in the area. In addition, the environmental factors among other things influenced the socio - economic and political developments in the area. This chapter sets out the pattern of settlement in the Lere vassal state with a view to reconstructing the history of the evolution and pattern of the establishment of the settlements. In doing this, historical source materials were used as expertly suggested by Ibn Khaldun and C.G. Crump.[1]

> The writing of history requires numerous sources
> And greatly varied knowledge. It also requires a
> Good speculative mind and thoroughness. Possession
> Of these two qualities leads the historian to the truth
> And keeps him from slips and errors.

2.2 - Factors Influencing Settlement in Lere:

From the foregoing therefore, one could attribute the evolution of settlements in *kasar* Lere to several factors ranging from environmental, socio – economic, political to cultural. *Kasar* Lere is located in the Northern Guinea Savannah of the Nigerian area which is noted for the

[1] C. G. Crump; History and Historical Research, Burt Franklin, New York, 1974, p. 67. And Ibn Khaldun, *Al Muqaddimah*, Translated to English by Frantz Rosenthal, Lahore, 1941, vol. 1, p. 15.

provision of favourable weather condition for human habitation.[2] As such, the area attracted the earliest community of people into its fold because it was naturally ideal for human habitation. For instance, it offered security for the communities who occupied the hill areas as explained by an informant that their parents on sighting enemies, used to take protection in the caves or climb the hills.[3] Secondly, the area is blessed with fertile soil and adequate water supply provided by the many streams and rivers in the area.[4] And since water is essential for both domestic and agricultural activities, it played an important role in the evolution of settlements in *kasar* Lere.

Thus, a major attraction to this area by the founders of the settlements was certainly economic as much as by security considerations. This is evidenced by the good soil which supports large and variety of food production. This is in addition to its strategic location as a link between the people of *kasar* Lere and their neighbours especially the *Kanawa* and *Zazzagawa* who constituted occupational groups within the territory.

However, it should not be assumed that the environment is perfect for the evolution of human settlement in the area without its shortcomings as has been assumed by R. K. Udo. According to him, the major determinants for the evolution of socio - economic and political communities were geographical factors. Although Y. B Usman[5] viewed the evolution of settlements in the same way with Udo, he however did not agree with the explanation of urbanization process in the savannah on a single factor i.e. based on its proximity to North Africa, the open nature of the savannah or the inherent farming and trading skills of its

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[2] J. Woodford; "Pattern of Settlement in Southern Zaria" in Savannah, Journal of Environmental Studies, A. B. U Zaria, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1974, pp. 43 – 60.
[3] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari, *Dogarin Sarkin* Gure and Farmer, aged 70, at the Chiefdom's office in Kahugu, on 29 / 04 / 09.
[4] NAK / ZARPROF / 907, also Lere Chronicle…
[5] Y. B. Usman; The Transformation of Katsina 1400 – 1883; The Emergence of and Overthrow of the *Sarauta* System and the Establishment of the Emirate, A. B. U Press, 1981, p. 22.

inhabitants. He believes that skills are the outcome of relations between man and his environment without which the settlement would not have emerged. He equally emphasized the fact that availability of water as well as the distribution of economic resources are the major factors for the evolution of settlements.

Similarly, Sa'ad sees forest and availability of water as the major factors for the formation of settlements in the Guinea Savannah area sighting example with the *Jakara* River that provided adequate water for both domestic use and irrigation farming in the dry season for the Dala hill dwellers.[6] While according to Ucko,[7] fertile land is not the only factor that determines the establishment of settlements, it is the environmentalists that seem to emphasize this idea, seeing other factors as secondary. He stated that settlement distribution had to respond to other major pressures besides the need to promote the efficient utilization of land. For example, the provision of security and defense for the inhabitants like the hill areas provided. This automatically means that if security of life and properties were absent, the settlements would not have emerged despite the availability of natural resources. This is because they may not be so well established to attract immigrants. As such in an attempt to state the reasons for the establishment of settlement pattern in a given area, effort must be made to bring all the factors that play crucial role towards that since land alone, as a geographical factor cannot produce settlements. It was rather a combination of so many factors as demonstrated below.

The significance of the plains of the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate towards the development and evolution of settlements in the area cannot be under estimated. The climate and soil of the area is good for human habitation and conducive for the cultivation of food crops such

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[6] T. Sa'ad; 'Continuity and Change in Kano Traditional Architecture' in B. M. Barkindo (Ed), Kano and Some of Her Neighbours, A.B.U Press, 1989, p.60.
[7] P. J. Ucko (Ed), Man, Settlement and Urbanism, England, 1972, p.3.

as maize, guinea corn, sweet potatoes, millet and cocoyam e.t.c. The streams and rivers also provide a means of irrigation or dry season farming *(noman rani)* as well as fishing all of which served as important economic activities as well as a source of water for both the inhabitants and animals. The soil of the area is also good for the cultivation of cash crops such as sugar cane, ground nuts and cotton e.t.c. Thus, this formed part of the independent relationships of the communities in and around Lere.

Lere vassal state even long before its establishment has been a place where different language groups converged. These language groups occupied different locations based on the dialects spoken. Although it is difficult for us to say the exact number of each group during the period of study, probably because as mentioned earlier, some of the villages sometimes, had mixed population of Hausa and non - Hausa or Fulani and non - Fulani. However, one of the major problems of determining the population of the people is migration which has been so common; as such, the people in *kasar* Lere excluding the Hausa and the Fulani were classified under the Benue - Congo sub - group of the Niger Congo family.[8] These language groups included the Kurama, Piti, Amo, Rukuba, Janji, Gure, Kahugu, Sheni and Atsam among others which were further sub - divided under the western plateau.[9] Although Amo and Rukuba strongly resisted the jihad and were not part of the *amana* societies with the Lere vassal state as would be highlighted in subsequent chapters.

Apart from the similarities in the dialects spoken by the different language groups and the fact that some of them understood each other's language, the Hausa and the Fulani also share certain things in common amongst them. The result of this is that the Fulani have almost lost

[8] H. D. Gunn; Pagans People of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria, International African Institute, London, 1956, p.89; J. G. Nengel et.al; History of the Chawai of North Central Nigeria to 1932, A.B.U Press, 2002, pp.18-19.
[9] Ibid.

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their identity since they could no longer speak their own language and have also left their tradition and customs and have thus, become Fulani *Gida*. Beside this, the fact that all the different groups do not have what they needed, it became necessary for them to relate and become so much integrated. In other words, one group cannot live in isolation without the support of the other. For instance, if a particular group were farmers, they needed the support of the blacksmith in order to get the required farming implements. In the same way, the farmer, blacksmith, weaver e.t.c. needed traders to be able to exchange / sell their goods for other necessities.[10]

Similarly, it is difficult to say the exact dates when each of the group settled in their present location mainly as a result of insufficient source materials, although each group according to oral sources has its own notion concerning its tradition of origin, migration and settlement. The information obtained during field work indicates that most of the groups migrated from one direction or the other to their present location. For example, the Kurama claimed to have migrated from Madinah in Saudi Arabia and first settled in Borno and after a long time, they proceeded to Kano where they occupied the *Dala* area or *Kurmi* market and from there to the Kudaru area in the Kauru hills (around Lere). From there, they splitted - some remained in Kudaru while others moved to Dan Alhaji and then to Garu area.[11] The Kahugu on

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[10] Ibid, also oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu, *Sarkin Arewa* na Sugau, *Tsohon Marini*, aged 70, at his residence in Sugau, on 29/04 / 2009.

[11] Group interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (alias *Baba Kofur*) Retired Police Officer and Farmer, aged 89, at his residence in *unguwan* Mission, Garun Kurama and Mr. Dantani Yani, Primary School Teacher and Farmer, aged 58, at the same venue on 30/04/09. Also NAK/ZARPROF/907.They were said to have left Madinah as a result of their giving false measure of corn or the like i.e. after Islam has taken root and Islam is strongly against that. However, we think that this is a hamitic version of their origin because as we have pointed out earlier, linguistic evidence, being one of the strongest sources for historical reconstruction, points to the fact that the Kurama together with other language groups fall within the Benue – Congo sub- group of the Niger – Congo family group of languages. Therefore we are strongly of the opinion that, their claim of coming from Arabia is not true. And as pointed out by Nengel, their name was derived from the famous ancient market in Kano called *Kasuwar Kurmi* whence their ancestors lived together with the Hausa people before migrating to their present locality seems to be more acceptable, for '*Kurmi*' simply means 'forest' and the plural form of the word is 'Kurama'. The people call

the other hand, said they saw their great - grand parents in their present location occupying the hill areas.[12] Like the Kurama, the Gure claimed to have come from somewhere around Saudi Arabia. The migrants first settled in Niger Republic around Zinder and then to Saminaka area. Inter - group wars and the raids for slaves sent them out to as far as the Gure hills.[13] Another version of the tradition, claimed that they were part of a Fulani group from Niger Republic and that their founder, named Gaga first settled in Lazuru located south - east of Lere from where they came to their present location.[14] This tradition of the Gure is also of doubtful authenticity because as pointed out earlier, linguistics studies being one of the strongest sources for historical reconstruction proved that they form a part of the Benue – Congo sub – group of the Niger – Congo family group of languages. However, another version of the traditions of origin of all the groups claimed that most of the language groups migrated from nearby points surrounding their settlements. For instance, the Kurama migrating from the Saminaka area to their present location and the Gure migrating from the area around Lazuru. However, these theories of origins and migrations give little or no idea of chronology and there was generally absence of the dates of migrations. The tradition of origin of the other groups like the Sheni, Amo and Piti shall be treated in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The major occupations of the inhabitants of *kasar* Lere include farming, fishing, hunting and animal rearing. The crops cultivated by the people were mainly for consumption and in later days, for commercial purposes. These crops include; maize, guinea - corn, millet, cassava, cocoyam, sweet potatoes e.t.c. Similarly, the same crops were sold or exchanged for other

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themselves 'Akurmi' which literally means 'forest people' and which signifies their being originating from the Kano area. As such, since the people accept the term Kurama which is not derogatory, and as it is the general usage, it will be used throughout this write up.

[12] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari...

[13] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba, *Wazirin* Piriga Chiefdom and Retired Civil Servant, aged 81, at his residence in Gure on 29/04/09.

[14] NAK/ZARPROF/907.

commodities which the people do not have. This has therefore, contributed greatly to social relationship and stability within the area. For it was related that people from neighbouring communities visited the markets in *kasar* Lere which were conducted on separate days and were said to have attracted traders from Zaria, Kano, Bauchi, and even as far as Borno.[15] The local goods were mostly farm produce but indigo, jewelries, kola nut e.t.c from distant locations were brought to the markets especially the Lere market which was the largest in the area.[16]

Dry season farming (*noman rani*) was another source of income to the people of *kasar* Lere. Those who engaged in this type of farming were full time farmers who during the rainy season were upland cultivators.[17] The dry season farming was at the beginning for consumption and in later years, mainly for commercial purposes and generated a lot of income as well as boosted the economy of the area. The crops cultivated with the aid of local implements and manure include; vegetables, tomatoes, pepper, onions, okro e.t.c. It was the Hausa and a few Fulani that were mostly engaged in the dry season farming and the income generated was used to solve daily problems such as repairing of damaged roofs or building of new huts, conducting ceremonies such as naming or marriage and festivities like *Eid - el - Fitr* (ceremony carried out after Ramadan fast) and *Eid el - Kabir* (*Babban Sallah*).[18] It should be noted however that the presence of rivers in Lere, Garu and Mariri made it possible for the dry season farming (*noman rani*) to flourish.

Another major source of income to the people of *kasar* Lere in the dry season period was fishing. A considerable amount of fishing was carried out especially in the months of January to

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[15] Oral interview with Mallam Danlami *Ma'auni*...
[16] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of Market System... pp. 40-42.
[17] Oral interview with Mallam Isa Dembo...
[18] Ibid.

March in the following rivers; *Faram-Faram* (west of Mariri), *Tarbi* (west of Garu) *Rafin Yashi* (west of Ramin Kura) *Makasa Gada* (east of Garu) and *Taugan Yaku* (south of Garu).[19] The fishes caught in these rivers include; cichlid perch / tilapia nilotica (*karfasa*), tiger fish (*tsage)*, spotted synodont catfish (*kurungu*), common African catfish (*tarwada*) e.t.c. The fishermen exchanged or sold the fish to the local communities for other things they needed and as soon as it was rainy season, they returned to their farms (i.e. they were both fishermen and farmers). The fishermen in *kasar* Lere especially those found in Garu to whom were given the title of (*Sarkin Ruwa*) were from Kebbi.[20]

Similarly, hunting was also a major dry season occupation of the people in this area. It was an important source of meat and prestige especially to those groups or clans involved in the activity. For instance, specific locations with clear marked boundaries were meant for some of the clans and anybody that did not belong to that clan was prohibited from hunting in that area.[21] As such, the people did not interfere within the areas that did not belong to them. However, there were unrestricted areas where everybody was allowed to hunt for example, the forest around Kurmin Malle situated on the present Saminaka - Lere road, and Jos - Zaria road. Sometimes, the people even went as far as Falgore located along Jos - Kano road.[22] There used to be cultural as well as social activities before the commencement of hunting where all the hunters would come together and show their talent demonstrating how to use guns (in later days) and other tools to hunt. Some of the animals killed during the hunting exercise ranges from bigger animals such as antelope, (*gada)*, A porcupine (*beguwa)*, buffalo (b*auna*) and a few times leopard and lion to

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[19] Group interview with Mallam Sale Bako, fisherman, aged 65, and Mallam Auwalu Hassan, fisherman, aged 45, at their residence in *Unguwan Sarki*, Garun Kurama, on 30/04/09.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo, *Sarkin Bakan* Lere (hunter), aged 55, at his residence in *Unguwan Mato*, Lere, on 01/05/09.
[22] Ibid.

small ones such as bush rat, dorcas gazzelle / gazzele rufifrons (*barewa*), hare (*zomo*) e.t.c . And people who killed such big animals were highly honoured as well as considered brave.[23]

2.3 - Pattern of Settlement:

A discussion on the settlement pattern is necessarily an examination of how the ecology influenced settlement either by its own natural attraction or by the hazards and subsequent steps taken to check the hazards. By our study of the settlement pattern therefore, it is intended that by and large, we shall unravel the material conditions under which the social, economic and political developments led to the changes that will be subsequently examined in this work. In other words, by settlement pattern it is meant the manner in which a people's cultural activities as well as social and political institutions are established over a landscape. As such, our discussion here would be based on how settlements in *kasar* Lere were established giving emphasis to the factors responsible.

A major shortcoming of this work however, is that as a result of the absence of archaeological works done on this region, there is no material evidence that could provide us with actual or relative dates or even give us a clue as to when the settlements were founded or if there had been initial settlements by the groups or others. We therefore had to depend solely on oral evidence and archival sources from where we draw inferences into the history of the settlements in this region.

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[23] Ibid.

By the beginning of the 19th century, majority or all of the population were living in nucleated and compact settlements on the hills and dispersed and scattered settlements on the plains. Dense forests surrounded the settlements on the lowlands. The settlements on the plains were actually more numerous.[24] It was also observed that, those living around or on the hills used them as defence mechanism against external attack. However, this was mostly peculiar to the Kahugu and Gure people. The major settlements were directly linked together by well established network of footpaths and cattle tracks. Lere, established in different locations before the present, was a walled town. The wall served both economic and socio - political purposes like in most of the cities of ancient Hausaland. The settlement pattern in the Lere area by the late 19th century was made up of towns (*garuruwa*), villages (*kauyaka*), and hamlets / wards (*unguwoyi*) located in areas of continuous cultivation. The major towns and polities include; Dan Alhaji, Garu, Gure, Kahugu, Lazuru, Sugau, Unguwan Mato and Lere among others. These towns according to sources[25] served as the major centres of political and economic activities on which the surrounding villages and wards depended. Therefore, the authorities in these towns or polities (*garuruwa*) ensured that peace and stability was maintained within the locality. However, Dan Alhaji, Garu and Lere all had their walls with gates like most of the ancient walled towns and cities in the northern guinea savannah. The walls played important functions as demonstrated by Y. B. Usman that walls and gates in the emirates of northern Nigeria were not only for administrative conveniences and defense but that they are also part of a general policy of fostering the material welfare of the people.[26] It also involved the encouragement of farmers and artisans, the provision of facilities for the storage of food items and the regulation of markets.

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[24] J. Woodford; "Pattern of Settlement in Southern Zaria"...

[25] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of ... p. 15 and oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (alias *Baba Kofur*)... It should be noted however that the Gure and Kahugu as polities, their towns were named after them. This is however, made clearer in the later part of the section.

[26] Y. B. Usman; The Transformation of Katsina...p. 190.

Similarly, Achi and Sa'ad added that city walls in northern guinea savannah in particular were constructed round the cities to protect the business life of the inhabitants as well as to help the Emir in the control and regulation of trading activities in and around the cities. Sa'ad added that the gates also define who a town dweller (*dan birni*) is and who is a stranger. In addition, it gives city dwellers a sense of unity, identity and a feeling of cultural superiority over the dwellers of *waje*.[27] The structure of the walls clearly showed the extent to which the people living in such places are civilized as well as their political and economic organization. The process normally involved in the construction of the wall was manual and the mass of materials employed needed much manual work. The size or elaborateness of the wall depended on the size of the population under the emirs' control as well as his ability to mobilize them for the work.[28] Like in most rural areas of northern Nigeria, compounds in *kasar* Lere were built in accordance with the extended family system.[29] The head of the family with his wife / wives, children and other relations live together in a large compound with separate rooms and apartments. The separation of the rooms was meant to ensure privacy of each of the household within the compound. The compounds assumed circular pattern.[30] However, it should be noted that the Fulani maintained their hut system made of grasses (*ciyawa / bunu*) but later changed to the Hausa traditional style (of mud) of settlement. Some of the settlements will be discussed in this chapter. This is to enable us know more about the history of the people as well as the area they occupied.

The earliest settlement centres are remembered in the traditions as having been established both on the hills and on the plains. While the chronology of the settlements remains very

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[27] T. Sa'ad in B. M. Barkindo...
[28] A. Bala, The development and Function of City Walls in the Savannah Belt of the Nigerian Area, M. A. Thesis, A. B. U Zaria, 1985, pp. 15-16.
[29] J. Woodford; Pattern of Settlement ... and J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of ...
[30] Oral interview with Alhaji Aliyu *Sana'a* ... Mallam Mairuga... and J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of ...

dissatisfactory, the oldest of them were Dan Alhaji (*Tsohuwa*), Garu and Lere (as already discussed in the previous chapter) which constituted the settlements on the plains and Kahugu and Gure constituting the settlements on the hills. The other early settlements were Lazuru, Sugau and Unguwan Mato all of which occupied the plains. These settlements had subordinate village settlements, mostly on the plains, either established by members of the main settlements, or by immigrants.

However, a common problem in the study of the peoples and polities of the central Nigerian area is that of names. Almost without exception, the people and some of the places in this area have at least two names; a Hausa name and an indigenous one or the one which the people themselves use. For instance, the Yergam in Hausa, call themselves Tarok, Piti is a Hausa form of Abisi, and for the Kahugu we have the Anirago and Ikbiri for the Gure. It should be noted however, that the acquisition of these names has their own histories behind them. For instance, a reconstruction of how the Kahugu and Gure acquired their names is closely related to the nature of their environment or the places they occupy. Meanwhile in this write - up, the names by which the people were popularly known will be used.

2.3.1 - Dan Alhaji (*Tsohuwa*):

Located to the east of Lere and dotted by small hills, Dan Alhaji is one of the most significant early settlements in the *Karami* plains of *kasar* Lere. It was the biggest and oldest habe settlement and was inhabited by more or less independent clans living in *kurmis* (forest area), or on the rocky outcrops with which the area abound. All lived in a state of comparative peace and security only interrupted by an occasional clan feud or a clash between the *habe*

inhabitants and the Kororofa[31] remnant who were no doubt extant in those days. Traditions have it that the settlement earned its name from one Alhaji Jodoma (a man from Katsina) who decided to stay in the *kurmi* (forest) of the area for a while on his way to pilgrimage. While leaving, he left behind him two fowls - a cock and a hen. On his return, the fowls had multiplied. Such a propitious sign was not to be disregarded. Thus, Alhaji Jodoma called together the people of surrounding settlements of Uzu, Watara and Jafunu and induced them to gather all their followers in the *kurmi* and build a fortified town. As such, a wall (*ganuwa*) was built with two gates that were constantly locked especially at dusk and with well energetic guards. Although Alhaji Jodoma did not live to see the completion of the town, he left behind him his name which was named after the town.[32] It is also called Dan Alhajin *Gabas* and probably why it was referred to as *tsohuwa* is because there is the ancient settlement and the new one referred to as Dan Alhaji *sabuwa* which is an extension of the old Dan Alhaji. All the settlements still exist and are occupied.

Evidence has it that Dan Alhaji was established before the conquest of Mallam Musa - Shehu Dan Fodio's flag bearer to Zaria otherwise known as Zazzau.[33] The town was divided into

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[31]The word 'Kororofa' or 'Kwararrafa' is said to have been derived from Hausa meaning 'trade' and it seems to have been used interchangeably with 'Jukun' in referring to the invaders of both Hausaland and Borno. They are a group of people inhabiting the Middle Benue and parts of the Gongola basins. On the basis of linguistic evidence, the Kororofa or Jukun seem to be linked with the Benue – Congo peoples. It is probable then that they migrated into the Benue Valley from the south – east and spread their influence at least initially along the natural frontiers of the Benue Trough. This probability is all the greater if one considers the number and location of Jukun political centres along the Benue Trough: from Wukari to Dampar, Awe, Akiri, Keana, Azara, and north – eastwards to Wase, Tofa, Gwana, Futuk, Gateri and Pindiga.

[32] Oral interview with Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango butcher, aged 85, at his residence in *Unguwan Mahauta*, Dan Alhaji on 01/05/09 and Mallam Ahmadu, farmer, aged 80, at his residence in *Unguwan Mahauta*, Dan Alhaji on 02/05/2009. NAK/ZARPROF/907 has also corroborated this.

[33] NAK/ZARPRF/907 and J. G. Nengel; 'The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on the Kurama People of Eastern Zazzau c. 1800 – 1900' in Afrika und Ubersee, Band 71, 1988, p. 249 where they all demonstrated that at around the time that Zaria fell to Mallam Musa, Kano fell to Dabo. On the conquest of Kano, Alwali the habe chief, fled south and died at Burum – Burum, but his slave and armour bearer – Baruwa continued in flight until he came to Dan Alhaji and was received by Geza, the first chief of the combined habe clans. Acting on the advice of Baruwa, Geza went with him to Zazzau and did homage to Mallam Musa.

three; ruler's quarters (i.e. *fada*), where the village head's palace was located right in the middle of the town, other people were found closer to the walls or at the entrance of the town; while the *marina* were found at the *karofi / marina* which was at the extreme end of the town with a stream in - between.[34] The people found at the entrance into the town were mainly farmers and they cultivated mainly food crops both for consumption and commercial purposes. The crops cultivated include; cassava, cocoyam, maize, millet, guinea corn e.t.c. On the other hand, the people found in the *karofi / marina* were mainly dyers.[35] They used indigo and other relevant materials to dye clothes and other clothing materials mainly for commercial use or purpose. Later people from places like Kano, Sokoto e.t.c. came to settle in the town. For instance, the people who happened to be farmers were a combination of the indigenous inhabitants as well as people from different places as mentioned earlier, while the *marina* were mainly people from Kano.[36] It is the understanding here, that communal misunderstandings, wars and the search for greener pastures were some of the reasons for migration of people to places far and near, and for the foundation and establishment of settlements.[37] It was obvious that migrants mostly obtained information about other places they do not know from either traders (*fatake*) or travelers (*matafiya*) who always stop – by in camps (*zanguna*) and hence were familiar with all the villages and towns on their routes.

Movement to the new settlement of Dan Alhaji (*Sabuwa*) seemed to have taken place by the end of the 19th century due to population increase at the old settlement as indicative in the nature of the old site. Their market days are Sundays for those that were living close to the area

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[34] Oral interview with Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango…

[35] The name being derived from the occupation of its inhabitants. Detail discussion on how these activities were carried out would be explained in subsequent chapters.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Group interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kofur*) and Mr. Dantani Yani… Also oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu…

and Wednesdays for those that were from far places which started at around the later part of the 18th century and was attended by people from different places that are both far from and close to the town. The articles of trade were mainly food crops such as *risga* (a root tuber crop like cassava), millet, guinea corn, maize and groundnut. Other articles brought to the market from other places include needles, cloth, honey, salt, milk e.t.c. Similarly, the kind of people that participated in the trading activities was worth mentioning; there were the Fulani, the Kurama, the Gure and Kahugu and other Hausa from places like Kano. The trading activities and subsequent establishment of markets by the beginning 19th Century were the result of surplus in production which goes beyond consumption.

2.3.2 - Garun Kurama:

This is another important settlement in the *Karami* plains of the Lere vassal state. It is located south - east of Lere. The town is so named because of the fortified wall (*ganuwa*) that surrounded it. It is mainly occupied by the Kurama (a language group) who claimed to have come from Madinah in Saudi Arabia.[38] They moved south - ward to Kano area and settled where *Kurmi* market is located.[39] They remained there for quite some time then the Hausa came and settled among them and over threw them as a result of which they left and settled at the Kudaru hills around the Kauru area.

However, Nengel is of the opinion that the word '*Kurama*' is derived from the word '*Akurmi*' (a term which the people call themselves) which literally means the 'forest people'.

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[38] This is however, of doubtful authenticity because as examined earlier, linguistic studies, being a major source for historical reconstruction, confirmed that they fall within the Benue – Congo sub group of the Niger – Congo family group of languages. As such, this out rightly indicates that they have no affiliation with the Arabs and thus must have originated from the central Nigerian area.

[39] Lecture notes on the course 'Kano Region' by Dr. Haruna Wakili of the Department of History, B. U. K, 1998.

The term he said, was derived from the famous ancient market in Kano called *Kasuwar Kurmi* whence their ancestors lived together with the Hausa people before migrating to their present locality. '*Kurmi*' simply means 'forest' in Hausa and the plural form of the word is *Kurama*.[40] Thus, it should be clear that next to the Hausa and Fulani, the Kurama were the largest language group in the highlands and plains of eastern Zazzau during the pre – colonial period. They were found not only in their main settlement in the Kudaru hills but also in large numbers in Tudun Wada of southern Kano emirate and in the northern parts of Jos with some spill over into Lame of western Bauchi emirate. The Kurama area is bordered to the east by the Ningi hills which are a prolongation of the northern Jos Plateau which in turn borders the area to the south. To the west are the Kauru - Surubu Mountains and to the north are the plains of Zazzau and Kano. Within these geographical boundaries are found many other language groups who are neighbours of the Kurama. In the Ningi hills are the Buta, Kuda, Gura and Warji, while in the northern Jos Plateau are the Chokobo, Lemoro, Sanga, Gusu, Amo, Janji, Piti, Chawai and in the Kauru – Surubu mountains are many polities including the Gure, Kahugu, Rumaya and others.[41] Sources indicated that the *Garu / Ganuwa* (wall) was built to prevent attacks especially from the *Hausawan kasar* Zazzau and the *Ningawa* (Ningi people) who raided the area for slaves annually.[42] The main entrance was the only gate (*kofa)* opened during the day and locked up immediately at dusk. The major occupation of the Kurama was farming. They mainly cultivated guinea - corn and millet that could be preserved for up to three years in the granary / barn

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[40] J. G. Nengel; 'The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on the Kurama People of Eastern Zazzau c. 1800 – 1900' in *Africa und Ubersee, Band 71, 1988*, p. 245. We think this view is more acceptable since there is connection or relationship between the name (of the people) and their settlement. However, the word '*Garu*' in Hausa means wall or fortification meant to prevent external attacks. Therefore, 'Garun Kurama' means a walled town mainly inhabited by the Kurama.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kafur*)... See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820 and 907. The forces of the *Ningawa* were under Hamza, Danbaba, Danyaya and Danmaje. Also, M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau... p.175 and Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; Echoes of the Sokoto jihad... Vol. II, p.186 has corroborated this.

(*rumbu*). The method of preservation was through the use of a grinded leaf called *inciwa*.[43] It was normally spread on the ground before the heaps (*dammai*) of the corn are stored.

However, it should be noted that the Kurama, were also found in Kudaru, Lere and Chawai. In the last half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, new wave of settlers entered Garu and made a permanent abode there. Among these people were the *Kanawa* and *Kabbawa*. They interacted freely with each other as well as with others outside the town to the extent that the *Kabbawa* became famous fishermen in *kasar* Lere and were given the title of *Sarkin Ruwa*.[44] While the *Kanawa* engaged in smithing. It is also probable that the Kurama also practiced smithing since they were at Kano and Kano has been known with its tradition of iron work. As such, Garun Kurama became popular because of its fishing activity. The fishermen used locally produced tools ranging from nets (of various sizes and shapes) to hooks (also of various sizes) e.t.c. to fish and this activity was enhanced by the availability of craftsmen that produced these items. Their market day is Saturday and is attended by people from different places that were both far from and close to the town. The market is situated right at the centre of the town. Items of trade were mainly food crops and fresh fishes.

2.3.3 - Gure:[45]

The Gure lived in the extreme western edge of Lere and in the East fringe of Kauru hills. Their hamlets are hidden away in caves in the folds of the hills and are only to be reached by

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[43] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba…

[44] Group interview with Mallam Sale Bako and Mallam Auwalu Hassan…

[45] The word 'Gure' means a group of huts. The place was so named after the people have ceased to occupy the hills and build their houses on the plains. The people refer to themselves as 'Ikbiri' while others refer to both people and town as Gure.

difficult paths protected at intervals by the remains of old stonewall fortification.[46] There are two versions that explain the tradition of origin of the Gure people. One of them maintains that their founder named Gaga was a Fulani man who lived at Lazuru south of Lere. Gaga and his wife settled in Gure because they at a point lost their means of survival (cattle). They first settled around the Kauru hills in Lifana, the foothill of what is now the *Fadan* Gure.[47] It should be clear however, that the Gure were not from among the Fulfulde speakers. Besides, Lazuru is a settlement established by the Fulani. It is probable then that Gaga because of long co - existence with the Fulani learnt and spoke Fulfulde and so his descendants assumed that he were Fulani.

The second version asserts that the Gure people migrated from around Saudi Arabia. From there, they reached the Niger area (Zinder) and then to Lazuru. They left Lazuru because of inter-group wars and the raid for slaves to settle in their present location. However, it should be clear that this tradition of the Gure is of doubtful authenticity because as pointed out earlier, linguistic studies being one of the strongest sources for historical reconstruction proved that they form a part of the Benue – Congo sub -- group of the Niger – Congo family group of languages as such, they must have originated from the central-Nigerian area. They were mainly on the hills and only began to come down to build their huts at the foot of the hills when slave raids ceased.[48] It was related that the Gure were once conquered by the Kurama as a result of misunderstanding over a woman.[49] They were unlike other groups, a matrilineal community. The area had remained

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[46] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba… Also, NAK/ZARPROF/907.
[47] Ibid. See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820. An informant explained that although he cannot establish a date for the founding or establishment of the settlement, they only saw their grandparents occupying the hills and later came out and build their huts on the plains after slave raids have ceased presumably after colonial conquest.
[48] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba… It is clear that the two versions all has it that they were first at Lazuru (from wherever they came from) before they finally settle in their present location.
[49] Ibid

relatively purely a Gure settlement although in later days inter - marriage between them and the Kahugu, Kurama, Janji has brought others to settle in the area.

The major occupation of the Gure is farming. They used local implements i.e. cutlasses, hoes and axes to cultivate mainly food crops. The major crops grown are millet (*gero*) and *acca*, although some of them practice smithing while others were hunters. The blacksmiths usually asked whoever bought items from them to work on their farms or exchanged their items for what they do not produce. However, the Gure people do not have a market of their own because at the period we are looking at, they were mainly on the hills as such, they used the Lere or Kauru Markets.[50]

2.3.4 - Kahugu:[51]

The area is situated some six miles to the south of Gure in the Kauru hills. It is also one of the oldest settlements in the area. The Kahugu people call themselves the 'Anirago' and their town 'Kagu'. They speak related dialect with the Gure although with slight difference as maintained by an informant. However, while the Gure are a matrilineal community, the Kahugu are patrilineal[52]. Traditions regarding the area that traces its origin from here asserted that they emerged from a cave around the Kauru hills which indicated that even by the late part of the 19th century; the Kahugu still occupied the cave. With increase in population, it was obvious that they could no longer occupy the hills as such; they had no option but to come down and build their huts on the plains just before colonial conquest. But whenever they noticed that enemies were

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[50] Oral interview with Mr. Danladi Dodo aged 67, at his residence in Kahugu on 02/01/10. Also, NAK/ZAPROF/907.

[51] The word 'Kahugu' means a place for protection i. e where somebody could hide for security or take refuge against enemies. It is used to refer to both the people and town.

[52] NAK/ZARPROF/1820 and oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari and Mr. Peter Gimba...

approaching, they went back to the caves (the top of the hills was used as a point from where the people usually stay to watch out for approaching enemies).[53] This cave is located in the ancient settlement which the people still cherish. A visit to the old settlement shows that the cave although deserted for long, but it is still in place. It is also related that Magajigo the first settler was Katab who was captured by the Fulani and who after a term of slavery, fled from his master and settled around Kauru hills with his wife.[54] However, there is no evidence linguistically to show that the Kahugu speak the same or related language with the Katab even though they were all grouped or classified under the Benue – Congo sub – group of the Niger – Congo family. As such, apart from enjoying a strategic security location, both Gure and Kahugu appeared to have settled in their present location towards the beginning of the 18th century where the jihad met them.

The agricultural crops and tools or implements used are virtually the same with that of other groups mentioned previously people. However, *acca* and finger millet (*tamba*) were produced in greater quantity by the Gure because they do not produce guinea corn and groundnut because they believe that their production would cause drought. Much later, other crops like sweet potatoes and cocoyam were cultivated both for consumption and commercial purposes, sold mostly in the Kauru or Lere markets. They share almost the same socio - economic and political activities with the Gure.[55]

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[53] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari... The researcher was taken to the site (i.e. the hills) they first occupied in the outskirts of the town.
[54] NAK/ZARPROF/907 and oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari op...
[55] Oral interview with Mr. Danladi Dodo, Farmer, aged 65, at his house in Kahugu on 11/10/2008.

2.3.5 - Lazuru:

Another important settlement in the *Karami* plains of Lere is Lazuru. It was established by a Fulani group from the Sokoto area. Tradition has it that before the jihad of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, they trekked southwards in search of water and pasturage for their cattle and eventually settled at Chawai, living at Zambina on amicable terms with their *habe* neighbours. This could be true because evidences as explained earlier indicated that most Fulani groups left the original places they inhabited because of the exorbitant *jangali*, as well as to search for areas that have more grazing land and can support their large number of herds. It is not surprising for this Fulani group to have settled at Chawai being one of the fertile areas around the Jos Plateau which was conducive for the breeding of cattle. Similarly, the people of Chawai must have accepted them as pointed out by Nengel[56] because most of them were non - Muslims and in addition, because of the animal dung that they would benefit from as manure since they were farmers. This is established by the colonial Report of 1917 on Chawai as explained by Nengel et.al that the towns within the settlement of Chawai were forty - three but did not include the *rugage* of the pastoral Fulani since they had no permanent settlements.[57] The tradition continued that when Mallam Musa conquered Zaria, Dabo their leader, went to Zaria and paid homage at the same time embracing Islam and was thus, appointed *Magajin* Chawai. This appointment caused friction between them and the *habe* which resulted in the Fulani leaving Chawai and thus, founded Lazuru to the south.[58] Although the settlement of Lazuru is occupied by the Fulani, the area is also situated on a fertile land which makes it possible for the people to pursue farming as an occupation aside pastoral pre - occupation since they have permanently settled down.

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[56] J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; The Sokoto Caliphate... and Nengel et. al History of the Chawai...

[57] Ibid.

[58] Oral interview with Mallam Muhammadu whose grandparents were among the early settlers in Lazuru, Farmer, aged 65, at his residence in Garu on 03/09/09. Also NAK/ZARPROF/393 and 907.

2.3.6 - Sugau:

Although established long after the jihad and located to the west of Lere, it formed an important settlement in the *Karami* plains. Sources available indicates that Sugau was established by a group from Kano who first settled in Dan Alhaji and because of the raids by the *Ningawa*, they fled and made their way westwards and build the walled town of Sugau at around 1877.[59] This as pointed out earlier, was obviously around the time that the Ningi forces under Haruna *karami* carried out constant raids on the areas around the Jos - Plateau.[60]

The major occupation of the people was *rini* i.e. indigo dyeing in addition to farming activities including dry season farming (*noman rani*). As such because of this activity, people sometimes used to refer to the area as *unguwan marina*.[61] This activity was done by men generally throughout Hausaland unlike in the case of Yoruba land where women fully participated in dying. The women in Yoruba land used pots contrary to the pits used in Hausa land.[62] It was said that the people finally abandoned these activities with colonial conquest.

The dyed clothes were exported for sale to neighbouring lands and markets and even as far as Zaria and Bauchi where mostly traditional rulers, princes, courtiers and the rich (*masu hannu da shuni*) bought them either for their own use or gave them out as gifts to visitors from other lands. An informant[63] admitted that the trade in dyed materials fetched them a lot of income and

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[59] Oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu... NAK/ZARPROF/907 has also corroborated this. This must have been during the time of Haruna *Karami* and Danmaje

[60] There were series of slave raids by the vassal states and the emirate itself especially since the payment of tribute had risen to hundred slaves at around this period.

[61] The word '*marina*' may often be used to refer to the people who dye cloth and other clothing materials, and it may also refer to the place /area (normally located in the outskirts of the town) where dying activities takes place.

[62] The researcher was led by Mallam Alhassan Adamu (whose family happened to be given the title of *Sarkin Marina / karofi of kasar* Lere) to the *marina* where the traces of the pits are still visible. The area is well cemented.

[63] Oral interview with Mallam Lawal, junior brother to Mallam Alhassan, aged 59, at Sugau and Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango...

at the same time, it had established a social relationship between Sugau or between Lere and other areas. It also became obvious that people from neighbouring lands preferred dyed clothes and other materials from Sugau probably because of their quality, production within the time frame i.e. they do not exceed the promised time especially in situation where individuals gave their clothes to be dyed, and the dyed clothes were relatively cheaper compared to other areas. The items dyed included clothing materials, turban and thread used in weaving.

2.3.7 - Unguwan Mato:

The settlement owed its name from the first settler i.e. Mallam Mato. The area is situated to the north of Lere. Mallam Mato was said to be originally Fulani but became a hunter when at a point in time he lost his means of survival (cattle).[64] As such, his descendants became hunters and were given the title of *Sarkin Bakan* Lere. However, as the region (*kasar* Lere) became more populated, the forests were cultivated to sustain the growing population as well as to settle down. As a result, the hunters in later years could no longer hunt around or within the vicinity of *kasar* Lere but had to go to as far as the present Abaji, Lapai and Agaci areas for hunting expeditions (especially during the dry season). They used local implements or tools ranging from knives of various shapes and sizes to iron rods made by blacksmiths and sometimes even stones to hunt.

The people were also farmers since hunting expeditions only take place during the dry season. As such, they took to farming during the rainy season and the crops cultivated include millet and finger millet (*tamba*). They took the excess and part of the meat they caught to

[64] Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo... (He is the great grandson of Mallam Mato the founder of the settlement). The traditions were silent on how he lost his cattle.

neighbouring markets for sale or exchange with other commodities they needed. Other people found in the area were the Hausa and Amawa.

2.4 - Other Important Settlements:

There were other important settlements in the Karami plains that have not been discussed but are worth mentioning. They include ; Gasakora, Jama'an Iya, Juran Kari, Tudai, Sheni, Piti, Janji e.t.c. Gasakora, Jama'an Iya, Juran Kari and Tudai were Fulani settlements founded years after Dan Fodio's jihad. Gasakora was founded by a stock of Fulani that originally came from Katsina under Aliso[65] while Juran Kari was established by a Fulani group from Bebeji (in Kano) under the leadership of Mallam Jallo.[66] Similarly, the settlement of Tudai was founded by Mallam Albarka, a Fulani from Gure who first settled at Lazuru.[67]

On the other hand Janji, Piti and Sheni are all non - Fulani or non - Hausa settlements established to the west of Lere at different times[68] but located close to each other. The Sheni although claimed relationship with the Ziriya and Kerre (of the Bauchi Province in colonial times), claimed that they have always lived at or near Sheni i.e. where they now occupy.[69] Although each settlement is organized in its own way, they were however answerable to Lere.

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[65] Oral interview with Mallam Ahmadu Danjuma, Farmer, aged 70, at his residence in Gasakora on 02/05/09. See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820 and 907.
[66] Oral interview with Mallam Dantanimu, Farmer, aged 65, at his residence in Juran Kari on 03/05/09. This was corroborated by NAK/ZARPROF/907.
[67] Oral interview with Mallam Muhammad Auwal, Farmer, aged 70 at his house in Tudai on 31/08/08. See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820 and 907.
[68] Though the date of the establishment of the settlements is not referred to in the traditions, it is obvious however that they migrated and settled in their present locations presumably in the later part of the 17th century to the early 18th century where the jihad met them.
[69] NAK/ZARPROF/396 and 907.

The major settlements discussed in this chapter were directly linked together in the early period and even up to colonial period, by well established network of footpaths and cattle tracks. For instance, the ruling class ensured the safety of the paths as well as settled disputes between farmers and nomads if the need arose. The paths were seriously supervised and also, flow of farm produce to and from the various settlements was encouraged. We shall in the subsequent chapters see how these settlements relate with each other both economically, socially and politically.

2.5 - Immigration into Lere:

Here, migration is simply defined as the movement of people or individuals over a considerable or short distance for the purpose of abandoning their former settlements or home. It is however instructive to note that migration as a historical phenomena has a pattern. That is to say human beings do not just move at random except perhaps in case of migrations induced by wars. The pattern is always guided by objective material condition. Economic considerations often give migration its pattern or form. Other factors include family disputes especially dynastic, natural catastrophe like epidemic and famine which make life unbearable and of course the need for adventure. Thus, migration resulted when challenges from the natural environment out weight the level of man's technological development or capacity, to be the better able to tame his environment. As such, almost all the language groups in our area of study have traditions of movements. While some migrated over long distances, others only moved within a single geographical region. The question therefore is how can these movements of people be explained? It is possible to state categorically that some of the migrations resulted from intense conflicts and struggles accompanying the establishment of large centralized states in the area.

For instance, the Kurama who claimed to have migrated from Borno must have faced this challenge. This is because the history of Borno from the mid 18th century was characterized by lack of dynamic leadership in addition to the continued famine of the early 18th century and as such, it witnessed considerable unrest, which led to mass emigration that affected the demographic composition.[70]

The movement of different peoples into the *Karami* plains in the early period and the establishment of population centres was a slow process. It took a long time before the different language groups were brought into proximity with each other. Migration into *kasar* Lere could be seen as a movement of people changing their geographical environment either in search of labour or grazing land for their animals. Two types of migration took place in *kasar* Lere in the early period. First, there were internal migrations which involved the movement of communities from one part of the region to the other both in the pre – jihad and post – jihad periods; and there were also evidence of immigrations into the area from distant or nearby areas by different communities.[71] The most important of these immigrations were those of the Fulbe community, the Hausa, the Kurama, the Gure and others that formed early settlements within and outside the region. These people according to sources migrated from various parts of Hausaland and beyond.[72]

However, it is not possible to say exactly which particular language group first settled in *kasar* Lere. Although *Sarkin* Lere and few others were of the opinion that the Fulani were the

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[70] M. M. Gwadabe; 'The Transformation of Tunbi (Gumel) Emirate c. 1804 – 1828: Issues beyond Legend' in KADA; Journal of Liberal Arts, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 2007. J. E. Lavers; 'Kanem and Bornu to 1808' in O. Ikime (ed) Groundwork of Nigerian History, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, Ibadan, 1980, pp.199 – 203. M. N. Alkali; Kanem Bornu under the Seyfawa, PhD, A. B. U, 1978, pp. 370 – 390.

[71] A. Obayemi; The Yoruba and Edo Speaking Peoples and their Neighbours Before 1600 in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowther (eds) History of West Africa, Vol. I

[72] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad... Mr. Peter Gimba, Waziri in Piriga Chiefdom... Mr. Gwonyo Garba (alias *Baba Kofur*)... and Maidodo Maisamari, *Dogarin Sarkin* Gure...

first settlers in the area since the name of the area is derived from a Fulani word. However, the researcher is of the opinion that other people or groups predated the settling of the Fulani because evidences have proved that the Fulani on reaching the area met others such as in the *kurmi* of Dan Alhaji as well as in the Gure and Kudaru hills. These evidences also suggested the period of the settling of the Fulani to be just before the jihad of Dan Fodio and thus, the name of the area could not be far from the fact that the Fulani were more numerous than the other groups and because they played a role in the consolidation of the area.

It is also important to note that different groups have different reasons for their migration into *kasar* Lere. In the case of the Fulani, scholars like Nengel, Pashi and *Sarkin* Lere[73] enumerated certain factors, which according to their analysis have contributed to the movement of the Fulani in the early period to *kasar* Lere. They both saw the economic factor of nomadism as the most fundamental factor that led to the movement of the Fulbe community into the Lere region especially from the areas of Borno and Hausaland. Their movement according to the sources followed the seasons, i.e. during the dry season they moved southwards in search of grazing land for their cattle and in the rainy season they moved northwards to the area of less rain.[74]

Even though we have discussed the foundation of some of the ancient settlements in our area of study, it will be necessary to recount some of the traditions regarding the foundations of Hausa settlements in this area. Dan Alhaji is one of the ancient settlements that have a large number of Hausa immigrants mostly from *kasar* Kano and Zazzau. Even though there were three

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[73] J. G. Nengel et.al; History of the Chawai... Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu (eds), The Sokoto Caliphate... I. M. Pashi, The Formation and Evolution of the Pastoral Fulbe Community in Jama'a Area 1800-1933, B. A History Dissertation, Department of History, A. B. U Zaria, 1976, p. 13. And Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

[74] Ibid.

sub - clans that served as the original foundation of this settlement i.e. Uzu, Watara and Jafunu, a brand of hamitic influence has found its roots into this tradition. There is a Hausa tradition which asserts that since Alhaji Jodoma called on the above mentioned clans to come together and build a wall round the town, and since he is from Katsina (a Hausa) and subsequently the town took his name, it means that the Hausa were among the founders of Dan Alhaji. Similarly, even though they do not lay claim of the original founding of Dan Alhaji, they claimed that they (the Hausa) originated the chieftaincy institution in Dan Alhaji.[75] The building of the wall due to the advice by Alhaji Jodoma could be true; however, the founding of chieftaincy institution might have only gain prominence after the Jihad.

Connected to the political relation were the economic ties that brought the groups together. With the penetration of the Hausa into these areas, they were able to relate to the various groups peacefully and promoted trade relations in various forms. But while economic ties were exploited and promoted, it will be wrong to assume that it was only when the Hausa groups came into this area that the indigenous groups were taught the art of smithing and trade. This is because in the case of the Kurama, we have seen that in the course of their migrations they have settled in Kano around Dala, an area that is well known for iron work.[76] So it is possible that the Kurama did learn the art of smithing right from there and therefore when they finally settled in *kasar* Lere, they already had the knowledge of how to use iron to produce several implements ranging from farm tools to weapons not until when the Hausawa reached the area of the Lere region. Similarly, the people traded in their own way i.e. through trade by barter. For instance, the different groups specialized in the production of different crops, as such

[75] Oral interview with Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango...
[76] E. A. Ofoffin; 'Human Responses to the Natural Environment in the Kano Region' in B. N. Barkindo (ed) Kano and some of her Neighbours... p. 13.

whatever a particular group needed and which they do not produce, they exchanged what they had with what they did not have. Thus, one could say that the settling of other groups of people in *kasar* Lere only enhanced as well as brought some changes in these activities. In addition, the groups had a lot in common and a lot to learn from each another.

As for the Fulani, most of them started to immigrate to this area as far back as the 18th century where they did not really have a permanent settlement in the area but came in during the dry season to pasture their cattle and when the rainy season approached; they moved further north and the cycle continued for some time. There were however, few incidences of some of the Fulani who took up permanent residence in these areas and apart from rearing cattle, they also took up to farming to improve their economic positions. Even though, some of them have permanently settled down by this period, they had not formed themselves into a coherent group in order to pose any economic force in the area. They however, acted as middle men to their counterparts who wanted to sell their cattle to the indigenous groups. By and large, by the end of the 19th century, the immigrant factor in the economy and society of *kasar* Lere had become manifest.

2.6 - The Major Settlements and their Villages:[77]

The table below shows the major settlements and their villages in the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate.

Kahugu	Gure	Dan Alhaji	Sugau	Garu
Ka-durumi	Kaluri	Dan Alhaji Isohuwa	Sugau	Kingi
Ka-rimbo	Kabisa	Dan Alhaji Sabuwa	Ragwa Kurama	Rigada

[77] NAK/ZARPROF/907.

Kunyerano	Kabe	Chiroma	Liyuna	Gungumi
Kawere	Ligani	Gasakora	Kargi	Dokan Sati
Kuduru	Karabis	Goron dutsi		Daria
Wada	Kusan			
	Kalako			
	Lichawe			

2.7 - The Political Geography in c. 1800 A.D:

From the discussion thus far, it is clear that by the beginning of the 19th century, a group of people have occupied an area that is immediately south - east of Zaria otherwise known as Zazzau taking advantage of the geographical location to settle in the various areas they had carved out for themselves. From the pattern of settlement, the people have by now given each other names that described the environment they occupy and by and large giving birth to the different occupational groups of the area.

From our discussion in the previous chapter, it is evident that ecology is the study of the inter - relationships of organisms with the environment as well as with each other. Therefore, by our conception of ecology in this way, we have come to the realization that our comprehension of the ecosystem which deals largely with units of nature in which man, his domestic animals and his technology are interdependent cannot be clearly understood without a clear understanding of the geography of such an area. Our conclusion on the nature of society was that it variously influenced the pattern of settlement and occupational groupings. From this, it is clear that by the late 18th century, the people in *kasar* Lere have established such ancient settlements as Dan Alhaji, Gure, Kahugu and Garu among others. Dan Alhaji and Unguwan Mato among others were forested environments that were attracted because of the game animals that were

found in the area and by and large a fertile land useful for agricultural activities such as farming and the domestication of both crops and animals that were found in this environment.

The people inhabiting the settlements of Gure and Kahugu were largely settled at the foothills or caves of *dutsen* Kahugu and *dutsen* Gure popularly known as Gure - Surubu hills. The hills in this region seemed to have attracted human settlement because of the protection it offered and it was largely on accounts of the presence of these hills that the people were able to put up stiffer resistance to the jihadists and colonialists. Similarly, the hills were accorded religious significance i.e. were centres of worship as well as where sacrifices were offered. By and large because of the existence of these hills, the religious and political life of the people is largely controlled by the presence of these hills. Further south - east of this region are the Kurama occupying the *Garun* Kurama. The people found the area to be fertile and thereby engaged in agricultural activities. Also, the presence of rivers around the area such as *Faram-Faram* (west of Mariri), *Tarbi* and *Makasa Gada* (west and east of Garu respectively) e.t.c. has made the people to be fishermen and engaged in *noman - rani* as well.

On the whole, the geography of this area has given the region peculiarity that justifies its being given a special study. For as we have said, the rainfall and physical features of any area does influence the economic activities of the people which in turn shaped their socio – economic and political organization. As a result of this, even within the region, varieties of agricultural produce were available depending on the nature of soil found in the specific areas. For instance, *acca* - a grain crop flourish in Gure and Kahugu while guinea corn and millet flourished in Garu e.t.c.

2.8 - Conclusion:

From the above analysis by the late 18th century, various polities among the Gure, Kahugu, Sheni, Piti and Kurama e.t.c. have occupied *kasar* Lere. To a large extent, most of these groups have evolved certain economic, political and social ties which called for certain historical developments which were expressed in trade, religion and other social relationships. By the end of the 18th century, the settler element of the Hausa and the Fulani has been introduced and with this settler element in the area, certain economic and political features of the area would have been influenced to reflect the fact that *kasar* Lere was dynamic.

Therefore, we have in the foregoing discussion tried to emphasize the centrality of ecology in the historical evolution of the people of *kasar* Lere. From our understanding of the environment, we have come to see how man utilized it to sustain himself by using his skills and the available natural resources. The environment also helps in determining the nature of settlement pattern and some of the early settlements evolved in order to check the issue of insecurity or meet up with agricultural pursuits. All these, will go a long way to further expose us to a clearer understanding of the society which we seek to study. The nature of the settlement has helped to a greater extent in shaping the socio economic and political relations of the diverse groups in the area of study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF LERE BY THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

3.1 - Introduction:

In the last two chapters we have seen how geographical features aided the development of settlement centres in *kasar* Lere. We also saw how different people of diverse ethnic identities migrated and settled at *kasar* Lere in the early period before the 1804 or Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad. In this chapter however, it is intended to discuss further, the nature of the economy as well as the kind of society that existed before the jihad, which led to the subsequent establishment of Lere as a sub – emirate of Bauchi earlier after the jihad and later as a sub – emirate of Zazzau in the second half of the 19th century. This study is central to the understanding of the socio – economic structure of *kasar* Lere which include people within and outside the area, as well as to the understanding of the inter-locking relationship of the socio – cultural, economic and religious institutions of the people.

3.2 - The Economy:

By the end of the 18th century, the economic base of the whole region was agriculture which was supplemented by other branches of the economy such as hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, ironworking (smithing) and crafts manufacture. From our understanding of the ecology of the region, it must be mentioned that agricultural practices of the polities that inhabited this area must have been very efficient and effective as well as intensive. But to clearly understand how this land was effectively put into use, a thorough understanding of other spiritual

forces attached to land by the people will throw more light on the mode of production by the 19th century. The concept of the mode of production emerged from a broader concept of political economy which explains the way and manner in which people produce and exchange their means of livelihood in specific historical epochs.

Thus, in order to survive, the different polities in *kasar* Lere had to produce food and other material objects, and in the process of this production, not only did they organize themselves into coherent social groups, but they also entered into relations with other societies. The major factors of production were land, labour, raw materials and technology. From the mode of production approach, it is a combination of the social relations of production with the factors of production that defines the infrastructure which constitutes the economic base of any society. To understand how these intricate relations of the base and superstructure came into harmony or disharmony, we shall first of all try to answer the question - which mode of production was prevalent amongst the communities in the Lere vassal state at the end of the 18th century?

From the evidences in the oral sources, the economy of most of the groups in this region remained on hunting and gathering, and farming using relatively primitive tools. This was organized communally where the production process or appropriation of nature was done collectively, based on the control by the family, clan or various groups. Land and labour of members of the community served as the major means of production. The tools used were simple and division of labour was based on sex and age.[1]

[1] Where young men and boys or the youth performed the difficult tasks of clearing the farmland, tilling the soil and harvest. While women and young girls took part actively in sowing and applying manure as well as in carrying the harvest home. The women were also concerned with the storage of the harvest and onward processing into food that is finally eaten by the entire family.

Therefore, the basic unit of production was the family with the elder directing all the processes of production and to some extent controlling the harvest as well as deciding on what to do with the surplus.

3.2.1 - Hunting and Gathering:

This was an important economic activity among the groups in this region. Most of the people claim that the techniques of hunting with spears, bows and arrows as well as the trapping of animals with nets came along with them. This means that hunting had a long antiquity in the area. This evolved when a wandering band of people scavenged the bushes, caves and forests in search of game animals and fruits. From the accounts, it seems hunting predated agriculture.[2] For it was only when man, the hunter in his hunting and gathering activities discovered that the seeds of the fruits that he ate could germinate, that he started to settle down to agricultural pursuits. It is interesting to note that most of the traditions amongst the various communities in Lere claim that certain settlements like Unguwan Mato and Kahugu were founded by hunters.[3]

Generally, hunting was organized at three major levels among the people. The first was individual hunting which involved the trapping, using bows and arrows or making animal pits by such individuals. This type of hunting was done either in the day time or at night depending on what time the individual chooses and also on the type of game that was being hunted. Individual hunting exercise could be hazardous for two reasons: First, as the individual moved around, he exposes himself to danger because the animals could overpower and kill him. Secondly, the construction of game pits and the sophistication involved in it was such that both human beings as well as domesticated animals could be-trapped into such pits. This was because most of the

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2 C.A. Reed; Origins of Agriculture, Mouton Publishers, Paris, 1977, p.91; V.A. Onyenuga; Agriculture in Nigeria: An Introduction, FAO, Italy, 1967, p.2. Also, various interviews agree with this.
3 Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo, *Sarkin Bakan* Lere...

game pits could be as deep as 10 - 20ft and 3.5 feet wide but skillfully covered with very light sticks and thereafter, dry leaves, earth and grass were sprinkled on the pit in imitation of the surrounding environment.[4]

Game pits were also common and the animals trapped in these pits included hare (*zomo*), antelope, (*gada*), bush fowls, e.t.c. Even when the society became more organized, individual hunting exercises continued without any restrictions unlike the group hunting that were organized during the dry season or what the people termed as "resting time". Mostly, professional hunters operated either individually or in team. In Gure for instance, anybody who caught big games like leopard was given a heroic feast by his people. This was referred to as *ninkunsa*.[5] However, these professionals were said to be few and hunted throughout the year.

The second type of hunting is the group hunting where after identifying the location of game animals; the convener who may not necessarily be the *Sarkin Baka* (head of hunters) organized the hunting. He usually invited people of the same age or between fifteen to forty – five (15 - 45) to the area and the animal is trapped or hunted depending on the tools available. Most of the time, the hunting was within the vicinity of their wards or village. The small games hunted during this group hunting included squirrels, hares, rodents and some birds among which were doves, pigeons and bush fowls.[6] Among most of the groups such as the Kurama people, the games killed were shared among the participants who took part in the hunting expedition. One important feature of the group hunting was that it gave the convener the opportunity to distinguish himself and he acquired a temporary position of authority during such exercise. This was because during the expedition, the convener enjoyed total control and modest advantage when the catch is distributed in the group. Group hunting was launched by setting up fire in the

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[4] Ibid.
[5] J.S. Jatau; Historical Development of ... p. 33, and oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba...
[6] J.S. Jatau; Historical Development of... p. 34.

area set aside for hunting. The number of people involved depended on the size of the group. Some societies like the Amo, Kurama, Gure, Kahugu and Piti had participants from fifty to above two hundred (50 - 200).[7]

The third type of hunting was the collective hunting which involved sometimes the whole village or clan. Unlike the two discussed above, this type of hunting was more organized under a culturally accepted leader i.e. the *Sarkin Baka* (head of hunters) who announced the date, time and the location for the exercise. This type of hunting also involved the use of nets and therefore, was more complex than the rest. It was also regarded as a complex cooperation because of the specialists involved. The net carriers had to go into serious cooperation with the beaters in order to realize their goal. Traditions showed that the hunters spread their nets in a strategic area with one net connected to another. The net carriers then lay and wait in a hidden area. The beaters who were mostly the elderly and the younger boys in the community made a cow horn formation far away from the opposite direction from the area where the nets have been set. From there, they moved towards the nets beating the shrubs to scare the animals towards the direction of the nets. The beaters form a column in such a way that the animals can only move towards the direction of the nets. By the time the escaping animals run into the nets, the carriers come out of their hiding place to kill the animal.[8]

Although by the end of the 18th century, this region can be described as purely a communal one where there was no serious specialization in production, the hunting with nets showed a simple but complex division of labour between the carriers and the beaters. Even though bush meat was not known to have formed an important commodity for exchange, skins of

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo, *Sarkin Bakan* Lere... See also J.G. Longkat; The Economy and Political Relations of the People of South -Western Foothills of the Jos - Plateau Region to C.1900 A.D, M.A Thesis, A.B.U, Zaria, 1994, p.123.

strings for bows. The horns of the animals on the other hand, were used in wedding and naming ceremonies as well as other religious occasions.

On the whole, hunting was an important economic activity which was well organized and coordinated using hunting tools such as nets, sticks, spears, and later bows and arrows. In later days, the people of Amo and Piti used horses for their hunting expeditions. It united the people (members of a hunting expedition) and created an atmosphere of peaceful co - existence as well as a sense of belonging since whatever they hunted was shared amongst them. Big time hunters were highly regarded in the society that they were given direct ticket to be members of the council of elders and subsequently emerged as leaders. The slayer of a big animal was expected to distribute the meat among the elders of his clan as well as to the village head.

Concerning gathering, it was one of the primary economic activity of man. One of the natural endowments that the people of *kasar* Lere had in abundance as a result of the ecology was *shinge* and *makambari*. This was one of the gathering activities that the people engaged in and was done in a high and intensive magnitude because of the proteinous nature of the insects. Similarly, the gathering of lizards was also done in a high magnitude especially by young boys because of its centrality in some of the social requirements or obligations that had to be fulfilled before marriage took place especially amongst the Gure and Kahugu people.[12]

In addition, the people of *kasar* Lere could still be regarded as a gathering economy since by the beginning of the 19th century even though most of them have settled, women in the area still went about gathering vegetables, such as bitter leaf (*shuwaka)*, *rama*, *karkashi,* sheanut (*kadanya)*, e.t.c. Young boys also went into the bush and gathered fruits such as mangoes, *kadanya*, (Shea butter), *dinya*, *ciwo*, *tsada*, e.t.c which grew widely in the area.[13]

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[12] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba and Maidodo Maisamari…
[13] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi…

Therefore, gathering was seen as a major factor that gave rise to settlements because as people threw away seeds of fruits, they discovered that these seeds germinated thereby, implanting the idea that they could settle down and cultivate such crops which further led to the organization of agricultural labour.

3.2.2 - Agriculture:

Is the systematic raising of useful plants by human management. Food production is the main reason for agriculture, but cultivated plants also furnish substances useful as textile fibres, medicines and ornaments.[14] In a broad sense, agriculture often includes animal husbandry, which is closely associated with plant raising. On the other hand, agriculture can be used in a limited technical sense to refer only to raising field crops.

(i) - Farming:

Man has lived by farming for only a short time. For most of his existence – now believed to extend to proto - human forms as much as two million years old, man lived as a wild plant gatherer and as a hunter. Deliberate plant raising began only about ten thousand (10,000) years ago.[15] In this relatively brief period, farming has made possible revolutionary changes in human life. Human population has greatly increased, partly because more people could be fed. Moreover, agriculture has been a major factor in transforming human societies from small, primitive local bands into huge, technologically advanced nations. Agriculture does not by itself create civilization, but without agriculture, civilization cannot develop.

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[14] V.A. Onyenuga; Agriculture in Nigeria...
[15] C.A. Reed; Origins of ...

Therefore, agriculture could be said to have developed in three stages: in the first stage, people were gatherers of food, they hunted and fished, picked and grubbed seeds, fruits, and roots of wild plants. Such uncertain supplies forced them to move from place to place in an endless search for food. The second stage began when men became producers of food. They started to plant, cultivate and harvest crop. They tamed cows, sheep and goats for meat and milk and they kept draft animals to help them with their work. Thus, they could settle in villages and develop homes, social and civic institutions as well as arts and crafts. While the third and the final stage is the modern era. It is one of industry, machines and commerce, with many people depending on others to produce, prepare and sell food.[16]

As has already been stated that one of the main objective of agricultural activities is to provide food for man, this was the sole purpose of farming in the early days of man's existence; farming activities therefore, must have originated from early man's desire to provide for himself and his family a regular source of nourishment and to reduce the distance he had to cover in his wanderings in search of food. Similarly, it is probable that the prehistoric hunter learned how to tame certain species of animals which in captivity reproduced their kind, increased in numbers and followed him in his wanderings.

Although the reasons which motivate farming activities in modern times are far more complex than those of early man, the provision of food for man and his livestock still remains the primary aim of agriculture. This is very true of the communities in *kasar* Lere and it was in an attempt to maintain the ecological balance that most (if not all) of the groups maintained a strict calendar of the agricultural activities of their area. The calendar (as discussed in chapter I) showed that, the clearing of fields began in March. During this period, the cornstalks of previous harvests were cleared and fire set on the cut down woods which also served as fertilizer. By

[16] Ibid.

April, when the first rains were being envisaged, the household heads (especially of the non-Muslim communities) offered sacrifices to the fertility cult. In celebrating these festivals, the cult leaders (chief priest) took a cock to the forest groves and sacrificed it by spilling the blood to the sacred object in the group: asking the gods for rain and bumper harvest. It was after this that the cult leader carried the seeds for planting. It was only after the initial ceremony that other members by the community could go to their separate farms. The planting festival amongst most of the groups in the region was accompanied with a lot of dancing, eating and drinking from the surpluses of the previous harvest.[17] While amongst the Muslim groups, individual prayers were held to seek for bumper harvest from God almighty and prayers were said collectively only when there was drought or the like.

By April, most of the traditions agreed that it was the time of picking (harvesting) of the palm fruits. While by May, maize, yams, cocoyam, groundnuts, pumpkins and the early beans as well as millet were planted. These crops were mostly planted around the backyard of the houses. By June, *acca* was planted followed by the weeding of those crops that have been planted in April and May. The early beans are harvested by the month of July. The *fadama* yams were also harvested by this period to allow for the protruding of the yam seeds in November or December.

The harvesting of maize and the continuation of those of yams is ushered in in August and September. Similarly, the harvesting of groundnuts is ensued at this period. By October, the major engagement at this time was the making of yam heaps against the next planting season and the pruning of the guinea corn farms, the weeding of the late yams were done. The intensity of work at this period was minimal and so people utilized the opportunity to pay visits to friends and relatives in other places. The months of November, December, and January on the other hand, were the busiest periods of harvest of the major crops such as *acca*, the late millet, guinea

[17] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British Colonial...

corn and the climbing beans while the planting of the *fadama* yams were done in December and January.[18] During the resting period of December to March, hunting expeditions and other cultural festivals were held.[19] As such by implication, the whole year for the farmer in *kasar* Lere was a busy one even during the so - called resting period.

On the whole, the climatic condition as well as the geographical location of the area provided two seasonal farming activities viz; rainy (*nomar damina*) and dry (*noman rani*) seasons farming. Like in most other parts of Hausaland, farms throughout *kasar* Lere were divided into two viz; family farm (*gonar gandu*) and the individual farm. The *gonar gandu* was further divided into two i.e. farm around or within the immediate vicinity of the house and the far distant farm. Generally however, *gonar gandu* was meant for family consumption while the individual farm was mostly for surplus and commercial purposes (this shall subsequently be treated in greater detail).

The tools or implements used for clearing both irrigation and rainy season farms were hoe (*fartanya*), cutlass (*fitiki*), axe (*magirbi*), rake (*manjagara*), and fire (*wuta*).While the items involved in planting include hoe, calabash containing seeds (*kwarya*), seeds (*iri*), and sometimes sticks (*sanda*) and then manure (*taki*). Similarly, the implements used for harvesting include axe (*magirbi*), sickle (*laufe*), basket (*kwando*), and rope (*igiya*). However, the Gure people were an entirely different group as far as agriculture was concerned. This was because they did not produce groundnut and sweet potatoes for an obscure reason. They believed that the planting of these crops would cause drought. Thus, they planted *acca* in greater quantity, benni seed and cocoyam instead.[20] They exchanged their *acca* which was not produced by most of the groups in Lere for sweet potatoes and groundnut which they do not produce. As a result of such cultural or

[18] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi, Mallam Isa Dembo and Mallam Danladi (conducted separately).
[19] Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo and Mr. Gwonyo Garba….
[20] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba…

religious beliefs, it became obvious that some of the groups produced certain crops in small quantities or did not produce them, while others produced them in large quantities. Therefore, these differences led to the development and exchanges between the various communities in Lere long before the 19th century, with especially the people of Gure who did not produce certain crops. J.G. Nengel has pointed out that:

> '.....there was an inter - exchange of agricultural produce as well as other manufactured goods between the Gure people and their neighbours. For instance, for salt, leather goods, cloths, and other commodities, the Gure exchanged their agricultural crops and honey with the Fulani and Hausa. Hausa traders from Kano and Zaria were said to have visited Gure through Lere and Kargi towns. Sometimes the Ruruma, Rumaya and Kurama acted as middlemen in the trade between the Gure and the Hausa merchants.'[21]

Thus, it is important to note that the Fulani and Hausa as well as other language groups like the Kurama, Kahugu and Gure have all along shared the same occupation as far as agriculture is concerned. And although they patronized the markets at the end of every farming season and on daily basis to meet up with the weekly market days of the various *garuruwa*, the market in the walled town of Lere had since its establishment witnessed the movement of these groups with their articles of trade mostly surplus of the farm produce such as maize, millet, guinea corn, cocoyam, yam, *acca*, finger millet (*tamba*), bambara nut (*gurjiya*), sweet potatoes, e.t.c. for trading purposes. These, as observed by sources,[22] took their goods to the markets for sale where both the Hausa and the Fulani exchanged what they needed with such items.

Therefore, from the foregoing, it needs to be emphasized that except in cases of calamities, there was never a period of serious food shortage throughout the year amongst the communities of *kasar* Lere. This is as a result of the variety of crops planted and the periods of

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[21] Quoted by C.A. Curikanoyo; The Impact of Colonialism on the People of Gure Society, B.A History Project, University of Jos, 1987, p.5.
[22] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba... Mr. Danladi Dodo and Mallam Danlami...

their harvest, as such hunger was greatly minimized. Another thing was that because of the need to control land and to adopt various farming techniques, there was bound to be high yields of most crops so cultivated. It was as a result of all these ecological control which was predicated on a low level technology that made the people to evolve a purposeful calendar for maximum output.

(ii) - Irrigation:

Is the supply of water to farmland to raise crop production. It is used to supplement rainfall where it is too meager for healthy plant growth or only seasonal. In other words, irrigation is the watering of land artificially in order to produce crops. In the simplest forms of irrigation, water is drawn from a well or a stream and distributed over the land by means of small ditches. However, the amount of water to be supplied varies with the type of plant, the average temperature, and to a lesser degree, the humidity and soil characteristics. The water is applied at intervals, depending on the needs of the crop and surrounding conditions. This method is practiced by individual farmers and by small groups of farmers in arid countries to supplement deficient rainfall.

Irrigation began in ancient times as a natural phenomenon in places such as Egypt, where there is almost no rain but where the Nile rises regularly each year and used to flood large areas. As a result, seeds were planted in the mud after the flood subsided. [23] Artificial irrigation probably first began when men started taking water from the pools that remained in depressions for months after flood waters had retreated. Taking water from these pools led to the invention of primitive water – lifting devices. It also led to the damming of the exists of the water pools with

[23] Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 15, Grolier Incorporated, 1981, p.473

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[23] Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 15, Grolier Incorporated, 1981, p.473

stones and earth to store up bigger supplies of water.[24] Some of the early devices used for this type of farming and which are still used in some places include the shadoof, which consists of a long cross - bar pivoted between two upright posts. The shorter part of the cross bar carries a weight - a stone or a ball of clay - and the longer part carries a rope or long stick to which a container is attached. The shadoof is set up beside a pool, a well or a water course, and the worker pulls the longer arm of the cross bar down until the container dips into the water. Assisted by the weight on the shorter end, he lifts the full container and pours the water into a ditch that carries it into the land to be irrigated.[25] Another ancient water - lifting device is the Archimedean screw, which consists of a wooden cylinder with a helix inside. The device is mounted on posts so that one end of the cylinder dips into water. When the helix is rotated by means of a crank, the water rises in the helix and flows out at the top.[26]

Modern methods of irrigation include perennial irrigation and basin irrigation. In the former, water is supplied at suitable intervals throughout the year, and in large scale systems it is brought from a river through main canals, branch canals and distributary canals. While in the latter, the banks of a river are built up, and a strip of land along each river bank is divided into a series of large basins by transverse and longitudinal banks. When the river rises, the water is admitted to these basins through canals that extend through the river bank. The water remains on the land for several weeks and is then allowed to run off into the river, which by this time has fallen. The wet land is then planted.[27]

However, irrigation has for long been used in more humid and temperate areas to ensure proper timing of water supply for maximum crop yield. More common practice in these areas

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[24] C. A. Reed (Ed), Origins of ...
[25] Encyclopedia Americana...
[26] Ibid.
[27] C. A. Reed (ed), Origins of ...

today is the storage of flood waters in reservoirs from which the water may be drawn for use as needed. This form of farming was therefore, one of the earliest economic activities amongst the people of *kasar* Lere. Most of those who embarked on this form of farming were the Hausa migrants from either Kano or Zaria otherwise known as *'yan ci rani*. The method commonly used for the irrigation in this region was through the use of a calabash tied onto a rope and the rope is tied to a bamboo pole, which is secured to a base, a clay - coated tree trunk. The farmer fills the calabash with water from the river and pours it into a ditch leading into his fields. The weight of the mud on the end of the stick helps to lift the water. This was common as far as northern Nigeria was concerned.[28] Some of the crops cultivated by the dry season farmers (*manoman rani*) include: tomatoes (*tumatur*), pepper (*tarugu*), spinach (*alayyaho*), moringa oleifera (*zogale*), urena lobata (*yakuwa*), onions (*albasa*), garden eggs (*yalo*), e.t.c. The produce was mainly for consumption and later for commercial purposes.

3.2.3 - Pastoralism /Animal husbandry:

Pastoralism is an old institution as far as *kasar* Lere is concerned. It constituted one of the early economic activities in the area. In this branch of the economy, land and livestock were the principal means of production and are both the object and means of labour. In this occupation, an open, uncultivated space is left around the villages so that livestock can graze freely or sometimes the animals were allowed to graze at the backyard of the houses. Animals that were kept by the people in this region included cattle, goats, sheep, and poultry. The number of animals kept by the people varied from one household to the other. In general, livestock served important purposes; firstly as an important item of sacrifices to appease the gods (especially

[28] Group interview with Mallam Isa Dembo… and Mallam Baffa, dry season farmer, aged 68, at his residence in *Kobari*, Lere, on 02/05/09.

amongst the non - Muslim groups and among those class of Hausawa that practiced *bori*). For instance, when a member was suspected to have offended any of the cults, instant sacrifices of either a goat or chicken was made to appease the gods.[29]

Secondly, the animals or poultry served as items used as bride wealth to be paid to a woman by a man seeking a lady's hand in marriage (especially amongst the Fulani and the Hausa). Thirdly, periodic or annual festivals celebrated within the year such as naming ceremonies, weddings and other cultural activities demanded the slaughter or sometimes sacrifices of animals. Fourthly, when a household received an important visitor, an animal was slaughtered and prepared to entertain the visitor from whence other members of the family enjoyed. Lastly, they also served as sources of protein to the people as well as provided manure (fertilizer).

The tending of these animals was the sole responsibility of the young boys (and girls among the Fulani) in every household. They took these animals out to pasture in the grazing land provided by the communities or fallow farms in the morning and brought them back in the evenings. Strict measures were taken against children who did not tend their animals well. Meanwhile, during the rainy season, the animals were kept in the corrals. This is to enable the young ones responsible for tending the animals to participate in farm work. However, they were still responsible for feeding the animals by bringing green leaves and grasses every evening. In the corrals, the dung or the waste products from the animals accumulate as manure which was used to enrich the farms.[30]

Apart from the corrals, the livestock were also kept in *akurki* (pen houses or huts). In both the corrals and the penned huts, manure usually accumulate and was taken out to be used on

[29] G. J. Iliya, Impact of British ... p. 23 and oral interview with Mr. Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Peter Gimba and Mr. Dantani Yani...
[30] Oral interview of Mallam Mairuga...

the farms. To most people, the keeping of animals was explained in terms of the enrichment of the soil through the animal droplets. Thus, the keeping of animals by the various groups in this region as has been pointed out earlier were to serve as collaterals for those wanting to marry, and too that the manure derived from the animals did help to enrich the soils and gradually the possession of such animals was the basis of wealth among the groups in *kasar* Lere.[31]

Thus, the elderly amongst the Fulani groups were acquainted with the knowledge of cattle diseases and they were said to prepare local medicine (using herbs) for their animals. And if their warnings and advice were strictly adhered to by the young herders, dangerous cattle diseases were prevented. The young herders were also responsible for mapping and surveying tracks and places to pass through during their seasonal movements.[32] Thus, the males were primarily responsible for providing grazing pastures and security to the people under their control from being raided by thieves or attacked by wild animals such as hyena, lion, e.t.c. They took the rearing of animals so seriously to the extent that it sustains their marriage institutions.[33]

On the other hand, the Fulani women also played very important roles in animal husbandry. They milked the cows and were engaged in making dairy products such as butter (*manshamu*) used as sausage throughout Hausaland, rich milk (*kindirmo*) and ordinary milk (*tsala*). The milk served as a source of both protein and vitamins to the people. It is also mixed with a cooked substance in the form of balls made from millet (*fura*) which gives *fura da nono*, a rich food mostly consumed by the Hausa and Fulani during the day time and few among the surrounding communities. The dairy products were produced both for consumption and commercial purposes. As such, the women carried out all transactions involving dairy products

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[31] Ibid. Also, J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu, The Sokoto Caliphate,..
[32] A. Mahadi; The State and the Economy: The *Sarauta* System and its Role in Shaping the Society and Economy of Kano with Particular Reference to the 18th and 19th Centuries, PhD Thesis, A. B. U. Zaria, 1982, p. 518.
[33] Ibid.

and all cash obtained from the sales of the dairy products belonged to the women and men had no right to it. The income from the sales of the dairy products was however, expended mainly in buying foodstuffs, while the remaining was used for buying clothes for members of the house hold. When and if dairy products would become short of supply, the head of the house hold had to sell some of the herd in order to tide over the period. The goats and sheep which were raised in large numbers were particularly meant to serve this purpose.[34]

In addition to family labour, the heads of the households, like their agriculturalists counterparts, had access to other sources of labour. This included the labour of relatives, friends and neighbours. The nature of livestock production was such that a great deal of co – operation was absolutely necessary in all aspects of production. An outbreak of an epidemic, notably rinderpest, for instance, could render a whole group helpless and would become dependent on their relatives whose cattle had escaped the outbreak of the disease. In order to re – establish their herds, some people willingly offered their help by giving the victim gifts of bulls and heifers. Such animals were kept until such a time when the person being assisted had acquired a reasonable number of cattle. In cases where a herder had lost his cattle and could not get assistance from his relatives, he had to work for a rich cattle owner who kept on giving him gifts of cattle until he could re establish himself. He would then retire from the service of his beneficiary and stand on his own.[35]

Similarly, the social organization of the Fulani is an aspect worthy of being considered. As found in most parts of Hausaland, they were fitted in a patrilineal family units similar to the

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[34] Ibid, pp. 520 – 21.

[35] Ibid, p. 522. An outbreak of epidemic like that of rinderpest could easily sweep away cattle from an entire region. The most severe of the known cases of outbreak of epidemics in the central Sudan took place between 1887 and 1891.Starting apparently from Darfur, the disease reached the region of Lake Chad in 1886 and then spread westward. In the greater part of the area which came to be known as Northern Nigeria, the disease killed many cattle. Many of the nomadic Fulani, having lost most of their cattle, became demented. Some are believed to have done away with their lives while others became mad. For detail, see F. W. de St. Croix; The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, London, Gregg International, 1972, p. 12.

house (*gida*) under the leadership of the most senior person within the particular house hold.[36] Several units of the houses (*gidaje*) formed a pastoralist camp (*ruga*) within which there exists some form of kinship relations. In such instances, seasonal migrations do take place where they move towards a more fertile land and also where they could get water.

Co – operation and state intervention minimized conflicts over grazing grounds, water – holes and keeping away of infected cattle from uninfected ones. This was important in view of the concentration of cattle in this region. Herders for instance, not only shared information on the outbreak of diseases but also warned their neighbours or any newly arrived herders of an infection in their own cattle so that such neighbours may have the opportunity of moving their herds away in time. Quarrels over grazing grounds were minimized and easily avoided by adopting a principle of 'first come first serve'. When some herders had settled in a certain place, the grazing area became theirs for as long as they stayed there. Late - comers had to go elsewhere even if the occupied area used to be their grazing ground.[37]

It is also worth noting that although the Fulani pastoralists were best known for this occupation, a considerable number of people in *kasar* Lere also engaged in livestock keeping. It became obvious that by the end of the 19th century, almost every household owned a herd of sheep or goat. Dogs and pigs were also reared especially among the Piti, Gure and Kahugu[38] while poultry rearing was very common to all, other animals domesticated by people in *kasar* Lere were horses (*dawaki* - sing. *Doki / godiya*) and donkeys (*jakuna* -sing. *jaki / jaka*). Horses were used both for festivities especially during *Sallah* amongst the Muslim communities and it was a sign of prestige while the Piti used it for hunting expeditions. While donkeys were dear to

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[36] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Politics and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts, C.1804-1903, Ph. D Thesis, A. B. U Zaria, 1992, p. 46.
[37] Oral interview with Mallam Mairuga, op. cit. and A. Mahadi; The State and the Economy …
[38] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari…

peasant farmers who engaged them in transporting home their farm produce. Traders also relied on donkeys for transporting their goods especially to the weekly markets conducted on different days in *kasar* Lere. Fleets of donkeys were seen away from the market premises on market days.

On the whole, the availability of grazing land for almost all the year round encouraged not only the settled Fulani but also other Fulani groups from *kasar* Kano and Borno Empire who migrated to the area for grazing and subsequently, settled in the area. As a result, four major cattle tracks developed in relation to our area of study:

I. Rishi in Bauchi – Sheni – Tulu Kwanan Bauda – Buta – Garun Kurama –Kachiya.

II. Pankshin – Gumau – Fuskan Mata – Kipin – Kuniri - Karan Bana – Piti – Kachiya.

III. Bebeji – Gada Biyu – Dan Alhaji I – Unguwan Bawa – Juran Kari – Kargi – Kachiya.

IV. Rishi – Abadawa – Lazuru – Tudai – Gidan Dutse – Kachiya.[39]

The four cattle tracks met at Kachiya forest and moved southward to Abuja and westward to Kaduna. Thus, the livestock were a source of capital, meat, milk as well as hides and skin for the leather workers.

In summary, *kasar* Lere advanced from a wandering to a sedentary life where great inventions and discovery of the domestication of animals was made. Thus, it appears that the production process in agriculture and animal husbandry proceeded within the same framework of relations of productions. It is also worthy of note that with the domestication of animals and the subsequent animal husbandry at a later stage, a new form of relationship referred to as patronage - emerged. It was a system whereby elders and notables possessing livestock extended their

[39] NAK/ZARPROF/346.

social relations and influence beyond the limits of their own village. In this regard, household head entrusted his sheep or goat to an inhabitant in a neighbouring village. The animals so entrusted were the females. Upon the reproduction of the animals some of them were given to the original owner while the guardian keeps the rest. This process will grow to become political and economic weapons that will be used by the owner as the society developed. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, even though at this stage the elder owned and controlled the livestock, he cannot sale it out without the permission of his household members neither can he use it for his own private purposes. However, this process changed later.

3.2.4 - Fishing:

Another important occupation practiced by the people of *kasar* Lere was fishing. It was an exercise generally recognized by the people which served as a source of protein. Although larger rivers like River Niger and Benue did not pass through *kasar* Lere, there were tributary rivers, streams and ponds where a considerable amount of fishing was carried out. Fishing was therefore a secondary occupation to supplement agricultural production i.e. farming and rearing of domestic animals. Fish were produced for local consumption and much later (end of the 19th century) for export to communities outside *kasar* Lere.

Faram-Faram, Tarbi, Rafin Yashi, Makasa Gada, Taugan Yaku and Kogi Karami among others all played a significant role as far as fishing in *kasar* Lere was concerned. They served as the major rivers for fishing activities recognized by the people.[40] The occupation was majorly carried out during the dry season, mostly between the months of January and March as a source of income. The fish usually caught include: common African catfish (*tarwada*), *kurungu*, *kuma*,

[40] Oral interview with Mallam Sale Bako and Mallam Auwalu Hassan...

barga (cichlid perch) *karfasa* (tilapia nilotica), *mari*, *kawara* and *tsage* (tiger fish).[41] The method of catching the fish was by the use of a very big net (*taru*), a bell - shaped net (*koma*), hook (*kugiya*) and other nets of various shapes and sizes depending on the nature of the river in which the fishing is carried out. The biggest net is usually held by up to thirty people.[42]

Other rivers in the area include River *Karami* and River *Galma*. However, the above mentioned rivers are wider and bigger and therefore accommodate more fishermen. The fishermen usually return home as soon as the first rains are being envisaged, to attend to their farms. The fishermen of *kasar* Lere were mainly *Kabbawa* i.e. people from Kebbi. The preparations they normally make at the commencement of every fishing season included praying and the use of some herbs both for protection and luck. According to them, "we all know that the waters (rivers) accommodate so many things ranging from harmful animals to spirits. We therefore have to seek for protection against them. Likewise, entering the water everyday throughout the fishing period may equally lead to rheumatism."[43] Similarly, they give medicinal assistance to other people that happen to have problems like the bites of crocodiles, e.t.c.

3.3 - Craft Industries:

3.3.1 - Smithing / Iron work:

It is one of the most important local industries as far as *kasar* Lere is concerned and which in the course of time, had strengthened the ties of relationship among the diverse groups in the area. There are blacksmiths (*makeran baki*) and there are smiths (*makeran fari*) who cast

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

brass, copper and tin / lead.[44] However, it was the Hausa that were mostly found in this occupation. It should be noted that they practiced this occupation alongside farming. As such, when the rain starts, they leave their workshops (although not entirely) and commence with their farming activities or in other cases, those farmers who do not have money to pay for or items to exchange with the implements that was produced for them, went to work on the farms of the blacksmiths.

Therefore, the relationship between the Hausa blacksmith and the other non - Hausa groups was cordial. This is because, they provided the blacksmith with charcoal which they produced from the preparation of local beer otherwise known as *burkutu*. The Hausa blacksmith on the other hand, used the charcoal to produce all the necessary implements used on the farmlands by the local communities and for hunting as well as for defense against external invasion.[45] In addition, the blacksmith and the people associated freely with one another and thus, guarantee each other's safety throughout *kasar* Lere. For instance, a Hausa blacksmith who came from Kano was said to have stayed among the Kurama for a long time producing farm implements. '*Yan ci rani* (traveling smiths) usually from far north also used to settle around these communities most especially a month or two before the commencement of the rain i.e. a time when there used to be high demand for the farm tools.[46]

However, from what we were able to gather, it was not easy to ascertain the number of tools that was produced by a smith. This was because apart from the household head who was engaged in producing the major tools, other members of the household could also produce other items. Moreover, since production of tools was geared towards the needs of every household; it

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44 D. E. Ferguson; 19th Century Hausa land: Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of his People, PhD Thesis, California, 1974, p.327.
45 Oral interview with Mallam Abdullahi Umaru, *Sarkin Makeran* Lere... Mr. Peter Gimba... Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Dantani Yani... and Mallam Musa Sambo...
46 I. Madauci, et. al; Hausa Customs, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1968, p. 59.

was difficult to determine the number of tools that each household could produce. i.e. the more the members of the household, the more tools that would be in demand by such a household.[47]

According to *Sarkin Makera*,[48] their parents used to go to the hilly areas in the wilderness to search for iron materials (*tama*) for their work. While on few occasions, individuals dug out iron properties and sold to the smiths who later prepared them into iron. The processing of iron among the Hausa are those that follow similar pattern with other people in the north in almost all details. Firstly, when the iron bearing materials that were extracted were gathered together, and the furnace extracted were stocked with charcoal obtained from burnt trees (*kirya*), the iron bearing materials were then stuffed into the blast furnace, using air pumps made of goat skins, the iron materials were thereafter continuously fired through the clay nozzles attached to the furnace until they were melted. The iron materials were immediately cooled down by allowing water to run close to the furnace until they solidified as iron straw to make whatever tools a farmer or hunter needed. From this, various iron tools such as hoes, axes, rakes, knives, machetes, arrows, swords, spears e.t.c. were made for use both for the locality within which the tools were made and for neighbouring communities.

Thus, the blacksmith's workshop is usually a round hut made of mud blocks and covered by a thatched roof not necessarily supported by pillars. Within the workshop, there is a clay material that separated where the furnace is placed, and just before the clay material is the smith's seat. The bellows (*zuga-zugi*) are attached on the other side of the clay. They are splinted bags made of goats skins obtained either from butchers, the Fulani or sometimes from hunters. The bellows were hand operated by the different people working. The blacksmiths produce their

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[47] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi...
[48] Oral interview with Mallam Abdullahi Umaru... and Maidodo Maisamari... Also, D. E. Ferguson; Nineteenth Century Hausaland...

own working materials such as the anvils, hammers, smelting stone, water and fire among others.[9]

For one to become a blacksmith, he has to undergo an apprenticeship.[10] The apprentices provided free labour to their masters. The training period extends over many years depending on the eagerness of the apprentice. On completion of training, the master smith helped the trainee to setting up their own workshop with all the necessary equipments and tools. But in the case of the trainee being a son or relative of the master smith, he stays with him permanently in his workshop although he does his own work and earns a living. And in the case of his (the master smith) son, he inherits the workshop if the master dies.[11]

Like other professional activities, smithing was organized in guild system where all the smiths were under the leadership of *Sarkin Makera*. He supervised the activities of the various smiths within his dominion. This therefore, made it possible for easier mobilization of all the smiths for mass production of materials particularly in the face of national crisis such as war. The *Mai sarki* has to by way of incentive pay certain amount of money for the material produced for the state. The boost in blacksmithing in *Kano* here could be seen at two levels. In the first place, there was the rapid expansion of the productive activity which seemed to be stimulated by the development of large scale agricultural production in the whole areas especially after the Jihad. Secondly, apart from increasing demands for agricultural tools, there were also high demands for weaponry. These included arrow heads *(kibiyoyi)*, spears *(mashi)* and swords *(takobbi)* among others. Also by this time, there were indications that the intelligent ones among the blacksmiths also repaired guns. In order to satisfy these demands, the emirate leadership

[9] Oral interview with Mallam Abdullahi Umaru and Malam Musa Mustapha and Malam Hauwa Ousmanu et al.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

ensured enough supply by mobilizing other blacksmiths that were scattered throughout the emirate through the *Sarkin Uhikeran Zazzau* (the chief blacksmith of Zazzau).[52] Similarly, from what we were able to gather, it was not easy to ascertain the number of tools that could be produced by the smith. This was because apart from the household head who was engaged in producing the major tools, other members of the household could also produce other items. Moreover, since production of tools was geared towards the needs of the household, it became difficult to determine the number of tools that each household needed.[53]

From the foregoing therefore, one could surmise that the smiths were a very important class of professionals highly respected by the society without whom there would not be life or life would be very difficult. We are talking about people who produce what is used to produce food without which automatically people would not survive. They also produce ornamental objects such as bangles, rings, earrings, e.t.c for women. In addition, the smiths were also producers of local weapons used in hunting and warfare as well as horse saddles. This to a greater extent made the people of *Kasar Lere* to defend themselves against any possible invasion.

3.3.2 - Pottery:

It was believed that the tradition of pot making commenced when man started to produce food.[54] Pot making was also an ancient industry in *kasar Lere*. However, the forms of co - operation and technological evolution witnessed was imposed by the degree of the development of agricultural techniques since all handicrafts activities are carried out in the units engendered

[52] Ibid
[53] Group interview with Malllam Danladi, junior brother to the *Sarkin Makeran Zazzau* also a blacksmith aged 80 and Malllam Dallel a son of the *Sarkin Makeran Zazzau* also a blacksmith aged 36 at their workshop at *Unguwan Makeran Lere*, on 07/10/09.
[54] W. Bascet. Sweets of Indigenous Technology. p. 4

by agricultural production. For instance, the making of different types of pots in the area was necessitated by the agricultural output of the area. This explains why very big pots which were used for the storage of grains must have been due to the presence of much grains and the availability of clay mud in the area. Thus, the significance of this industry can be fully appreciated in terms of its importance to the daily life of the people of *Kwazo*. Here for the purposes of storage, cooking of food as well as medicinal plants and in terms of the simplicity of access to the materials for the industry. Therefore, the industry is well known and practiced for centuries in almost all the cities of the Hausa states.[1]

Process of Pot Making:

There are several methods of making pots among the Hausa depending on the type of clay. Not all clay could make pots.[2] However, the clay was mostly obtained from the rivers both within Here and from other streams of neighbouring villages. It was cut with a hoe and put into a straw waterproof covering (*Kwaramniya*) and taken to the workshop mostly found at the backyard of the pot makers' houses. Another form of mud was also gotten and having been dried in the sun, it was kneaded and mixed with clay. Water was then poured on the mixture and allowed for at least twenty – four hours. After twenty – four hours, dry dust was normally sprinkled on the floor, and the clay was then kneaded upon a lump and also pressed together, this is to make sure that the clay and the mud is properly mixed up. It will then be picked up and dust will be sprinkled on it for the second and third time so that it will not stick to anything, and after that it will again be kneaded and made into the shape of a large pancake or pat of butter, some twelve inches in

1. Mustapha et al Excavations

2. Oral interview with Malam Dabo Yaro, *Magini* (potter), aged 67, at his residence in *Unguwar Malamai*, Here on 07/05/09. The researcher was shown the materials and the techniques of making pots. Also, pots of various shapes and sizes were shown to the researcher.

diameter and about one to two inches in thickness. The next stage was to spread it over an inverted pot, which is referred to as *yakin gini* and then mould it with the palm and a piece of wood shaped like a scotch hand into the form of a dome. After having been wetted and smoothed, it was placed aside, while the potter repeated the process on other pots.[26]

After about four to five hours depending on the weather, the dome was removed and turned upside down and the potter then placed the fingers of his left hand inside the rim, and steadied the pot, while he beat the rim from outside with the scotch hand until the pot had assumed the shape of a bowl. The edge was then trimmed with a sharpened stick or knife and after that, a roll of clay was prepared about one foot in length and about 1 ½ inches in diameter, which was placed around the opening, thus thickening the neck and making the hole smaller. The potter then took a small piece of soft leather, and having wetted it, placed it astride the roll of the clay. He seized this with his left hand, and went round and round the pot backwards, steadying it with his right hand until the roll of clay had been squeezed up into a bell – shaped neck.[27]

The next step is the decoration though not all the items produced are decorated. However, the pot meant for fetching water (*tulu*), another pot meant for the storage of water (*wunka*) and cooking pot (*ukuma*) were most of the times decorated.[28] This decoration shows significantly the extent of the people's art. After the design, the pots were left to dry for about sixteen to twenty – four hours and were then heated on fire which makes it stronger and durable. It should be noted that the pots were also used as storage facilities i.e. for the stronged grains and other food items. Similarly, a basin made of clay (*Kwamanya*) was specially meant for bathing and washing.

[26] Ibid

[27] Oral interview with Malam Musa Muhammad, Potter, aged 63 at his residence in Dan Alhaji Dodo on 01/9/09

[28] Ibid

Therefore, pottery as an economic activity in *Kasar* Tere was the preserve of men and there were three centres of pottery. They were Tere, Garun Kuruma and Dan Alhaji. However, pots from Dan Alhaji were the most preferred and sought after because of the special made and the good soil that abound in the area.[24] Almost all the people in Dan Alhaji were involved in pottery while in Tere Mallam Dabo Yaro is noted for the activity and in Garun Kuruma, the family of Dankade Garba were known for this work. As such, because of the relative advantageous environment the people were able to produce various earthen wares which will later in the century become items of trade both within the locality and outside it.

3.3.3 - Tanning:

The industry was influenced by the availability of leather (*fata*) obtained from goats, sheep and cattle. The main suppliers of this item or commodity were the butchers (*mahauta*) both within Tere and its environs as well as from neighbouring communities.

Leather making process:

Leather works consisted of tanning (*fitsa*) and the actual production of leather goods. *Tanning* involved a complex process that included the removal of hair from the skin, softening and dyeing[25] all of which required great skills and technology. The process usually commenced by allowing the skin to undergo the process of curing. This was done by evenly applying salt (*gishiri*) or ash (*toka*) on the flesh-side of the skin to prevent it from bacterial infection. Then

[24] Oral information obtained from the locals revealed that as a result of the excellent built of the Dan Alhaji pots, a market emerged in the ancient settlement of Dan Alhaji where the people of *Kasar* Tere and their neighbours exchanged other local products for the pots of Dan Alhaji.

[25] Oral interview with Mallam Shu'aibu Ali, *Hausha* (tanner and producer of leather goods) and 73 at his residence at Garun Kuruma Tere, 10th October.

the skin was soaked for about three days which allows all the hairs to be removed. After that, the skin was soaked again for about two days in a chemical solution prepared from acacia nilotica (*bagaruwa*) and ash (*toka*). The process of removal of the flesh (*kaura*) begins using a double-edged knife known as *karzau*. The skin was then returned to the same chemical solution for a day. This was in preparation for the second de-hairing exercise at the end of which the skin was washed in fresh water and hung on ropes to dry after which the tanner *tanimi* rubbed on groundnut oil (*mangyada*) on the skin and it is washed again.[77]

Leather was dyed in different colours. The main colours however were red, green, and black. This required the knowledge of what to use to obtain such colours as well as what to add to preserve the colours of the leather.[78] The dyed leather was a highly valued object for both internal and external trade. Thus, the production of leather goods involved the manipulation of leather to produce wide range of materials. These include items for military, household, medicinal as well as educational purposes.[79] The materials for military functions included saddles (*sirdida*), halters (*taguma*), bow strings (*tsaagiya*) and shields (*garkuwa*). Household materials included large grain containers (*taiki*), containers for drawing water from the well (*gaga*) and various types of vessels for storing butter and honey (*kunshi*) as well as palm sandals (*takalmi*). Similarly, amulets (*layu*), hand charms (*kunibai*) and waist charms (*gyaso*) were also produced by the *bafaka* or sometimes by tanners (*tanimai*) and were meant for protection. The person that specializes in the production of leather materials (*dafaka*) also produces a kind of bag for both students and scholars meant for keeping the holy Qur'an and other Islamic books

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid. The re-tanned skin was then dyed in different colours. The use of the chemical solution, the one that the hairs have been removed with, the one that have been dyed as well as the type of products for e.g. palm sandals, flavored c

[79] Of all interviews with Malam Abdurrahman Isyaku, *Maiwa* (Tanner), resident, at his residence in *Unguwan Sarkin Yaki* Tsoh Alhaji *Dalhatu*, on 01/10/09

(*gajakoy*). The areas noted for tanning in *kasua* Lere were Lere itself and Dan Alhaji. Although there is a decline in the demand of goods made by the *majemai* and the *dukawa*, the industry survives up to date.

It should be noted however that tanning (*yanai*) and the production of leather goods (*dafawa*) are economic activities in *kasua* Lere was the preserve of men. Tanned skins from both centres flourished well within the area and were patronized by people from neighbouring settlements. The families of Mallam Shu'aibu Ali *bachaka* and Mallam Alhassan were noted for this activity in Lere while in Dan Alhaji the family of Mashibbi Adamu was known for this work. Household and military items produced were taken to the markets for exchange while medicinal items such as *kara* and *gaya* were only produced on demand since it depends on what the customer was seeking for. In other words, the customer obtains from Malam is the actual *kaya* (normally incantations or sometimes verses of the holy Qur'an written on pieces of paper) while the *bachaka* wraps it with the skin.

3.3.4 – Weaving:

The textile industry was another important sector of the economy of *kasua* Lere. The chief commodity or raw material involved is cotton which is produced by farmers. It was a large industry that pulled around many skillful workers based on division of labour. Amongst its specialized areas includes spinning, weaving, dyeing and cloth beating.[3]

[3] Oka interviewed with Hajiya Kare, Weaver, aged 60 at her residence in Sayawa on 9/12/08 and Hajiya Asabula, Weaver, aged 70 at her residence in *Kofar Gada* Lere on 9/12/08.

Weaving Process:

The spinning sub-sector involved making thread (*zaren*) from cotton. This was first done by removing the seeds (*auduga*) from the cotton and this is known as *cire* in Hausa. The end product of which is was referred to as *auduga*. The *auduga* was carded and spun using a spindle (*mai zare*). Spinning in most parts of Hausaland including our area of study was exclusively done by women[1]. There was hardly any woman that was not engaged in one sub – sector or the other of the weaving industry particularly the spinning sector. That was why young girls were taught and engaged in it and when they were married out, they were taken to their matrimonial homes with a lot of cotton and spinning materials. This was meant not only to guard them against idleness but also to provide them with gainful economic activities that could assist in lessening their overdependence on their husbands.

Apart from the thread produced from cotton, there was also thread produced from the fibres of silk worms used for weaving and embroidery. It was known as *zaren rumma*. The production of *zaren rumma* was the area of specialization of men. It was used for various purposes. Sometimes, it was interwoven with cotton thread to produce garment suitable for men and women. The thread was also used for making beautiful embroidery on men's cloth. Both threads i.e. the cotton thread and *zaren rumma* were marketed in *kasuwa* (yarn[2].

Weaving (*saka*) was the next stage in the production of textile materials. The number of people involved in weaving although relatively less than those involved in spinning, was substantial. It was done by both men and women except that there seemed to be some elements of specialization between the two sexes. While men specialized in the production of narrow strips of cloth material suitable for making large garments for both men and women, women

[1] Ibrahim Sule, Kano, 1988.

[2] Ibrahim Sule, Kano, 1988.

specialized in the production of wide strips mainly used in making wrappers (*aṣọ nla*) and a kind of blanket otherwise known as *gbariyo*[7]. Like spinning, weaving did not require intensive capital or complicated infrastructures. The basic equipment consisted of *kinkanra* (lit. tortoise) which was either a heavy stone or the base of a mortar (*amọ*) in which a hole was bored for straightening out the thread, a strong thread which was put through the bored hole and an object around which the thread for weaving was wrapped and thrown (*kinrikinra*). Others were two heddles which were made of thread (*alleran*), comb (*aṣọ*) and mat or dum – palm, or *gorubat* (*ikẹkẹrẹ*). All of these equipments were obtained locally and easily. Weaving was carried out either on the entrance to a house (*yara*), in a portico or stall (*ọnaṣọ*), or under a large tree, throughout the year – but it was intensified during the dry season because more people would be encouraged to it.

Like all other aspects of production, *owọwọ* was an important feature of weaving. The *'Aṣọ gbariyo kanra* was often woven communally, sometimes involving from fifty to one hundred weavers. These consisted of neighbours, relatives and friends. As was the case with *owọwọ* for agricultural production, the host provided food and drinks and sometimes kola nuts to the weavers. The type of cloth woven was to a large extent determined by the quality of the thread used and the degree to which individual weavers had mastered the art of their craft. The major centers of weaving cloths in *Kwara* Ere were Sugau, Dan Alkan and Lere [8]. However, the production of the various strips of cloth did not stop there. They were sewn together to form wider and larger clothing material. This required the services of the tailors (*onaṣọlaka*) who put together the pieces of cloth and designed the material to produce items ranging from gowns

[7] [illegible] with Mallam Alhaji Sule Adamu

tsigunni, loincloths (*wandaho*) and wrappers (*zanna*). Among the various types of *zanna* were *farugu*, which was woven from white thread (*kuri*) and red *dibarmi* threads; *suki*, woven from black thread called *bak'i* (black) and blue thread; *zalwan* was woven from blue and black threads; *mwaki*, woven from blue and black threads; *jinaki*, woven from black and red threads; and *rab*, woven from black and blue threads.[7] There were other clothes such as *kub*, *dan kwangwa*, *kwaya*, *bante*, *and kwargale* as well as *ca* and *kav*. It should be clear however, that all these were done with the hands using thread and needles.

The relative value of the clothes woven was of course determined by the quality of the threads from which they had been woven. The commonest cloth woven for male and female garments was *kwa'ni* (white cloth woven from plain white thread). Its greatest advantage was that it could be dyed according to any required colour. *Kuri* was generally the cheapest material. The most expensive was *kuchi* (the money); the name itself suggests the value of this type of cloth. It was woven from black and white threads (*warmuri*). These were rare materials and normally worn only by the wives of the ruling class. The cheapest material for wrappers (*zanna*) was *ca yan kare* worn by the poorest people in the society.[8]

Closely related to the tailoring sub – sector was embroidery which was most popular in Zaria. The sector involved making decorations around the neck, back, front and sometimes on the edges of gowns and wrappers. A wide range of embroidery designs were produced in Zaria and the designs indicated the status of the user of the gown. There was the one knife pattern (*wuka daya*), two knives pattern (*wuka biyu*) and eight knives pattern (*wuka takwas*). These were popular among the royalty or noble (*manya sarauta*) and the rich (*manya hanun da shaiwa*).[9] Although they were not produced in Ewe, they were imported from Zaria by the traders.

[7] A. Mahdi, *The State and Hausa cotton* ... p. 599 and also discussion with Hajiya Aishatu and Hajiya Adama
[8] *Ibid*, p. 600
[9] *Ibid*

land. For instance, P. J. Shea, as quoted by Mahadi, explains that areas to the north of *Birnin* Kano could not economically undertake the dyeing of cloth on a very large – scale basis because of lack of adequate water. If this was indeed the case, it meant that most parts of Hausaland which were located to the north of the *Birni* retrogressively produced less and less dyed cloths with increasing distance to the north.[78] In most cases, dye – pits were established in clusters and the clusters consisted of from a few pits to as many as two hundred at least by the 19th century. Each cluster was called *karofi*. Dye – pits in any of the *karofi* were owned by several families and were heritable. The number of dye – pits owned by the individual families in a *karofi* ranged from one to as many as twenty or probably more. At least by the 18th century, it was rare for an individual to own a whole *karofi*.[79]

Generally, dye – pits were not usually dug and worked inside the compounds, mainly because several aspects of dyeing needed a lot of co – operation. Some of these aspects were the stirring of indigo (*baba*) in the large and deep pits, the preparation and burning of dried sediment of dye pit (*katsi*) and the plastering of the walls and floors of the dye – pits. Others were the necessity for draining of *karofi* when it got flooded and the sharing of clothes for dyeing.[80]

The primary source of labour was provided by the members of the families who owned the dye – pits as well as slaves (*bayi*) and servants (*barori*). Women played important roles in some aspects of dyeing. The bundles of clothes brought for dyeing had to first of all, be treated in boiled water and pounded in mortars by women before they were dyed. Old clothes meant for re

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[78] A. Mahadi; The State and the Economy… p. 607. This explains probably why the *karofi* or *marina* in our area of study is located in the outskirts of the towns where streams and rivers were found and traces of the pits in the two centres could still be seen today.
[79] Ibid, p. 608 and oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu…
[80] Ibid.

– dyeing had to be treated in a solution of potash (*kanwa*) by women before undergoing the processes of re – dyeing.[81]

An important feature of dyeing was the number of people involved in the various aspects of the industry. Those involved in the digging of the dye – pits, plastering the pits, filling the pits with water, supplying of ashes, provision of a basket made from *geza* shrubs and often plastered with cow dung for covering the dye – pits (*dan tukunya*), supply of a long stick for stirring the indigo in the pit (*muciya)* and several other materials, including raw materials were often paid labour for the temporary services rendered to the owners of the dye – pits. Given the varieties of work in the *karofi*, the number of such paid labour was very high. Clothes are left to soak in the pits for varying periods according to the intensity of the colour that is required. For certain types of clothes particularly turbans (*rawani*) and other dresses of the royal class, the fabric is overloaded with dye and beaten with wooden mallets so that a glossy blue – black sheen *results.*[82]

In addition, tie and dyed patterns are made in some clothes by stitching up the cloth with a dye – resistant thread or fibre prior to the dyeing process, so that the stitched areas appear as a paler pattern against a darker indigo ground. Small seeds and sticks may be tied into the cloth on the same principle.[83] Hausa leather before processing it into a usable material such as bags, cushion covers, knives and swords sheaths were also dyed.[84]

However, to have a better understanding of the dyeing industry, there is a need to examine the process of cloth - beating (*bugu*) which consisted an integral part of the dyeing

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Oral interview with Alhaji Lawal Ango… The researcher was taken to the old settlement of Dan Alhaji where the *marina/karofi* is located. Although the place has long been deserted, the pits are still very visible.

[83] Oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu…

[84] Oral interview with Mallam Shu'aibu Ali *Baduku*…

industry. It is likely that the art of cloth – beating predated dyeing, for it was a standard procedure for treating all types of clothes. It was a process by which wrinkles were removed from clothes or clothes after the initial sewing as well as after laundering. It was also an important mechanism for making coarse materials softer.[85]

In its simplest form, anyone could and possibly did beat cloth occasionally, since it involved nothing more than placing a piece of cloth on a smooth stone or wood and subject it to beating with a stick or even with a hand or hands until the desired effect was attained. But this method would not have been effective by the 19th century when a lot of clothes had to be treated. This necessitated the development of a class of professional cloth – beaters. The expansion of this important occupation closely followed the development of the textile and dyeing industries. By the 19th century therefore, almost every *karofi* had a centre of cloth beaters attached to it.[86]

Like in all other sectors of the economy, this industry also underwent significant stages of development. This included the nature of training (in the form of apprenticeship), innovations and specialization. One of the most significant developments in this industry was the invention of the method of preparing concentrated dried and refined indigo (*shuni*). This involved the cooking of the indigo and the whipping of the cooked solution into a foam which was then poured into lumps and then left to dry.[87] The main significance of the introduction of *shuni* into cloth beating industry was that henceforth, beating was not just to smoothen out wrinkles on clothes but also to give colour to it. By beating *shuni* into cloth which had already been died with indigo, it became possible to allow the concentration of more dye in cloth. Consequently, such darker colour would be obtained. As such, cloth – beating was a contributory factor in the perfection of dyeing. In addition, the spreading of *shuni* on the cloth and the beating to which

[85] A. Mahadi; The State and the Economy ... p. 611, and oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu...
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid, p. 612.

such a piece of cloth was subjected resulted in the imparting of sheen to the finished material.[88] The ability of the cloth – beaters to impart colour to clothes after it had been dyed meant more and more varieties of dyed cloth could be produced by graduating the amount of sheen. The increase in the demand of dyed clothes led to an increase in the demand for *shuni*, log for cloth – beating (*mabuga*), mallet (*dan bugu*) and a strip of cloth made specifically for wrapping – up dyed and beaten cloth for long distance trade (*kasanki*).

It should be noted however that dyeing as an economic activity in *kasar* Lere was the preserve of men. Dyed cloths from both centres i.e. Dan Alhaji and Sugau flourished but it was believed that the people and their neighbours preferred dyed clothes from Sugau because they were neater and cheaper probably because the noted family for the activity (the family of Mallam Alhassan Adamu) inherited it from their forefathers and were even title holders concerning that back in Kano. In *kasar* Lere also, they were given the title of *Sarkin Marina*.

3.4 - Other Crafts Industries:

There were however, other important crafts which the people of *kasar* Lere engaged in and which were crucial to the economy. These include fibre processing (*igiya*), local salt making (*gishiri*), building (*gini*), making of thatched roofs (*soro / jinka*), and e.t.c.

Fibre processing was another important hand craft practiced in Lere. The materials used for this work were comb (*matsefi*), stone (*dutse*), thin grass (*ciyawa*) and water.[89] The people involved in this profession were categorized according to what they produce viz: those who produced fibre rain coat (*kabido*), mats (*tabarmi / karauna*), hand fan (*mafici*), and the second

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[88] *Oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu...*

[89] Oral interview with Mallam Mansur, Fibre Processor, aged 50, at his residence in *Unguwan Bawa*, Lere, on 17/01/10.

category were those who made trays chiefly used by the Fulani women to cover the calabashes containing cow milk (*fai fai*), hats (*malfa*) and a cap like item used to cover the mouths of animals in order to stop them from eating or biting unnecessarily (*takunkumi*).[90] Elders were mostly specialists that produced ropes that were used for *guga* to fetch water from the wells or tie animals to their tithe, dancing instrument tied on the leg (*akayau*), an instrument used when carrying load on the head (*gammo*) as well as baskets (*kwanduna*).[91] *kabido* and *kwando* were mostly produced at the commencement of the rain, while others were made in the dry season. However, this was most common among the Hausa and the Fulani.

Similarly, local salt making was another prominent activity in *kasar* Lere. It was chiefly made from the ashes of the stalks of millet and guinea corn (*tokar karar dauro* and *dawa*), grinded benni seed and sorrel chaft, as well as grinded peels of locust beans and *acca* straw.[92] After sieving the grinded items, they were mixed together with the required amount of water and allowed to dry. It was exclusively a female activity and was carried out among the non - Hausa or non - Fulani groups. The acidity of this salt was more than the imported salt.

Building was equally another important industry that boosted the economy of *kasar* Lere. It was exclusively men's affair. The industry worked hand in - hand with block making. Sometimes, the builders made the blocks while at other times, others were involved in making the blocks. The chief materials used were mud, dried grasses and water. Usually three or more people were involved depending on the size of the building.[93] One mixes the mud and the grasses with water (although the mixture was allowed for a day), another one brought blocks and the third person did the real work of building. The person who mixed the mud with water was

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[90] Ibid,

[91] Oral interview with Hajiya Amina, Maker of Ropes, aged 55, at her residence in Sugau, on 30/04/09.

[92] Oral interview with Malama Kande Garba...

[93] Oral interview with Mallam Sani Haruna, *Magini* (builder), aged 60, at his residence in Kwamma, Lere, on 17/01/10.

usually the one who passed it to the builder in a fashionable way as if he were throwing a ball. In that way, they build whatever was to be built.[94]

Another vibrant industry in *kasar* Lere was the making of thatched roofs otherwise known as *jinka / soro*. This was solely men's activity. The materials used for this work were dried grasses known as *ciyawar jinka* which was derived from the bush and rope from the stalks of *rama*.[95]It was made on the ground and carried to the top of the building. Similarly, these people made a form of grass wall used to fence the houses (*danni*).[96] This, and the above mentioned industry generated a lot of income to those engaged in it due to the importance of shelter to man. In addition, the materials required for the two industries including block making were very cheap and readily available.

3.5 - Women and the Economy in Lere:

The role of women in any economy cannot be down played. Aside their domestic activities i.e. taking good care of the family including the entire household as well as discharging other cultural responsibilities, they were also involved in the preparation and sale of cooked food and other low valued articles and ingredients. However, their role in the development of the economy cannot be under estimated. This is in view of the fact that most of the food eaten by men and families during the daytime was sold in joints (*dandali* or *maciya*) or in designated houses by either young girls or old women as has been observed:

> '.....women were the ones preparing the food at home
> While young girls and at other times young boys took
> It to joints (*maciya*) for sale. Old women were also
> Involved in the sale of articles like fried groundnut,

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[94] Ibid.

[95]Oral interview with Mallam Rabilu Muhammadu, Maker of thatched roof, aged 62, at his residence in *Unguwan Mato*, Lere, on 01/05/09. Also, Alhaji Lawal Ango...

[96] Ibid.

Groundnut cake (*kuli-kuli*), seasoning meant for soups (*Daddawa*) and so on."[97]

The traditions of most families in *kasar* Lere was that men provided the families with raw maize or guinea corn on daily basis. The women on the other hand processed and made *tuwo* out of it, which was eaten as dinner.[98] The leftover was usually eaten in the morning.[99]As such, women bought millet either from other farmers or their husbands provided them with it and paid them after sale. They made pap for sale in the morning and almost every ward (*unguwa*) had one or more women that made such pap. Thus, young children were seen in the morning (from the few well - to - do) families carrying containers to buy pap. While in the afternoon the women either made moi - moi, *fura*, *kunun tsamiya* or in few instances rice and beans and their female children took these items to the joints (*dandali*) for sale. So, men were mostly seen in the *dandali* eating anything of their choice. While at other times, the men sent for containers from their families to buy the food for them. Similarly in the late afternoon, a lot more and variety of food was prepared and sold.[100] This was the tradition in *kasar* Lere regardless of whether it was a Hausa or Fulani or non - Hausa or non - Fulani community, no matter how rich an individual

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[97]Oral interview Malama Jummai, maker of *kunun tsamiya* (a pap made from millet flour and tamarind), aged 56, at her residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 18/01/09 and Malama Rakiya (Gwamma), maker of *daddawa*, aged 70, at her residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 02/05/09.

[98] The women using mortar and pestle first processed and removed the back otherwise known as *surfe*. After that, they washed and spread the maize /guinea corn on a mat to dry. After drying comes the pounding or grinding stage during which the corn is turned into powder (*gari*). Then an earthen ware pot is filled with water (the size of the pot depends on the size of the family) and placed on the fire. After boiling, part of the corn powder is put in a container of water and stirred with a stick called *muciya* and then poured into the boiling water and stir for some time. This is called *talge* and it is allowed to cook for about thirty minutes after which the remaining powder is poured into the *talge* little by little stirring at the same time. When it becomes thick, it is allowed to cook for another thirty minutes to one hour. It is stirred again and packed using *mara* and small calabash called *koko* or *kwarya*.

[99]Oral interview with Mallam Abubakar Hussaini, Farmer, aged 55, at his residence in *unguwan dukawa*, Lere, on 17/01/10.

[100]Oral interview with Malama Rakiya Ahmad aged 45, at her residence in *Kofar Fada* on 28/12/08. Also, M. F. Smith, Baba of Karo: A woman of the Muslim Hausa, Faber and Faber, London, 1965.

was, breakfast or lunch was hardly prepared and eaten in the various houses.[101] As a result of that, *those women who produced the food for sale made sure* that they produced the best.

In addition, women performed roles such as assisting their husbands towards their professions, though most of the men interviewed claimed that women's roles were limited within the house chores alone, but it became obvious that they helped their husbands in one way or the other in their professions. For instance, the fishermen and hunters needed one herb or the other to be grinded or pounded and sieved which was either for protection or success.[102] In fact, *Sarkin Bakan* Lere[103] pointed out that if a hunter had disagreement with his wife or if she was pregnant, *the man could not go for hunting expedition whether close or far until he had settled such* disagreement and ensured that peace reigned in the house again. Similarly, the wives of the *majema*, *makera* and *marina* played significant roles because they were involved in one stage or the other of the production process.[104] In terms of weaving, women were major producers of women's cloth and a popular blanket known as *gwado* and were the only producers of thread. While in most of the non - Hausa or non - Muslim communities, women were major participants in agricultural activities. Their roles cut across all stages of the farming activities. After harvest, they were responsible for bringing the harvest home as well as its proper storage. They were also producers of the local beer popularly known as *burkutu* at designated houses which the men took mostly in the evenings and enjoyed themselves. Similarly, in the Fulani communities, women were responsible for milking the cows' part of which the household consumed and dispose of the surplus to designated points or markets for sale. They prepared the *fura* to be taken with the cow milk before they leave for the markets. After sale, they bought whatever the family needed. As

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[101] Oral interview with Mal. Boyi, op.cit. Mallam Danladi, op. cit, and Mallam Abubakar…
[102] Ibid.
[103] Group interview with Mallam Sale Bako and Mallam Auwalu Hassan… Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Mr. Dantani Yani… and Malam Musa Sambo…
[104] Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo… Alhaji Lawal Haladu… and Mallam Alhassan Adamu…

such, one could say that women were central in the economy of *kasar* Lere and they had ways of earning money both for their personal and household needs which in turn boosted the economy of the Lere vassal state.

3.6 - Administration of Lere's Economy:

3.6.1 - Land and Land Tenure:

The history of man whether as a wanderer, who found his food through scavenging, hunting and trapping of animals, birds or on fishing and the collection of other natural resources, over whose supply he was able to exercise little if any direct control, did so on land. Land is central in all economic pursuits. Thus, in whatever epoch, all economic endeavours which man has made, they were achieved through the effective control of land. As such, the importance of land as a factor of production among the people of *kasar* Lere cannot be under estimated. This is because all other economic activities came to depend on it albeit in varying degrees. We shall in this section therefore, examine how man was able to own land, control it and put it into further use up to the 19th century in *kasar* Lere.

As such, land tenure can be defined as '... the inter relationships between men in the use of land resources' or as '... the rights that people have in land, that is their integral privileges to use, cultivate, dispose of, and even exploit specified portion of the earth's surface. Tenure is therefore a social relationship between human being and the land; it is reflected in a broad array of social regulation regarding the use of the soil.'[105] Thus, land as the primary means of production and its distribution to and among the people is of central and crucial importance.

[105] M. M Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Authority in the British Conquest and Colonisation of Kano with special reference to Kumbotso District, PhD Thesis, A. B. U Zaria, 2004, p. 104.

It is therefore evident that land prior to the 14th century, in almost if not all societies in Africa, was the foundation of the economy, politics and the society. Its other important roles lie in the fact of being a major element in religious beliefs, social relationships as well as political configurations. It was variously regarded as a preserve of major deities, the sacred soil of the ancestors, an object of the most important rituals, the origin of royal power, the basis for health and prosperity; indeed it was widely looked upon as the source of life itself.[106]

However, land has not been so common and plentiful at all times and like history, land tenure is dynamic and changed with time and with situation. By the 14th century, under a certain condition in particular, a system controlled by a council of village elders, land was always readily available as and when needed. Being plentiful like the air we breathe in, it had no owner, in economic terms, land had no scarcity value as a factor of production. Because rulers did not personally own all the lands, free subjects could acquire and utilize any portion of land that was not in use. They could expand their portions of land under cultivation to any limit within their cultivation strength if it did not entail encroaching onto a land cultivated by another person. Acquisition of land or expansion therefore, needed no formal approval of the *Maigari* or the *Maiunguwa*. Each community occupied and controlled a vaguely defined territory within which individuals and families simply cultivate whatever fields they required for their daily needs.[107] As such, except for the ruling class, private individual property in land was not common. The sale of land was forbidden and its rental was not practiced although a holder was free to lend his land as he wished. The major concern of the leaders of that time was how to attract more people to their domains.[108]

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[106] Ibid, p. 105.
[107] Ibid p. 106.
[108] Ibid p. 107.

The transition to a more centrally controlled state system became evident around the 18th century. This was basically in response to the economic and political organization which featured a new outlook. Under this condition, land became scarce not only due to the growing population but because of the desire to accumulate wealth. As such, land whether used or unused became strictly controlled by the heads of the various communities.[109] At a later date, when political centralization took its root, land holding took a new outlook whereby it became a grant by the grace of the *Maigari*. Thus, continued loyalty to the traditional institution meant confident and total possession and ownership of land.[110]

Therefore from what is available in the field, it seems evident that the concept of land ownership was by the beginning of the 19th century, controlled and directed by the different household heads. This is because people in *kasar* Lere conceived land to belong to God and human beings were only custodians of this land on behalf of God. The reason behind this was that at the time of inhabiting the area, the various groups developed various methods through which land came under their control. One of such methods was that the transition from hunting and gathering meant that people moving round for hunting could discover good and fertile land to which they could migrate to.[111]

Therefore, among the various groups in the Lere vassal state, ownership of land emerged when upon settling in an area, whenever a piece of land was cultivated by a group or individuals, such became the "property" of the group or lineages, who have to show proof of such ownership by tracing the history of the lineage to such land. This was a specific indication to the question of

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[109] By this period, our area of study was under Bauchi and although there was no centralized government in the area, each community was under a community head or council of elders who in turn controlled the land from the centre while the heads of the various families controlled the lands owned by the various *gandu*.
[110] A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment of…
[111] Oral interview with Mallam Musa Sambo and Maidodo Maisamari…

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land ownership. Unlike some of the traditions of other groups in Nigeria, most if not all the groups in *kasar* Lere believed that it was God who owned land and people were only holding such land in trust for God, for one cannot own what he has not created.[112] It was for this reason that a lot of sacredness was attributed to the earth cults among the various groups in this region. It was as a result of this sacredness that sacrifices were made to the earth cult and the fertility cult before the commencement of planting or harvest especially among the Gure, Kahugu, Kurama, Sheni and Piti. This was done in recognition that God who own and gave such land had to be appeased through the various cults that evolved in the non - Muslim communities of this area so as to ensure bountiful harvest during the rainy season.[113] Meanwhile, any late arrival who needed to use the same piece of land without due consultations with the initial settlers was considered an intruder and war usually ensured to determine the rightful owner.

Because of the central place of land in production and with increase in population, the society seemed to develop a well - defined and egalitarian system through which every member of the society could obtain land. The system of land acquisition was fashioned within the framework of the social organization of the area. Accordingly, land was owned and shared in common among members of the same family.[114] The family land is known as *gonar gandu* where every member has equal right to use the land. As a collective property, the land was held in trust by the head of the clan or lineage – usually the eldest man in such a clan (i.e. *Uban gandu*) for members of his *gandu*.[115] The right of transfer and reversion is exercised only by the community as a whole – an individual in the community be he an elder or youth has no right to alienate the land he holds. As such, the *Uban gandu* was neither expected to sell nor pawn any

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[112] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Mr. Peter Gimba…

[113] Oral interview with Mallam Danlami (*Ma'aunì*), Mr. Peter Gimba, and Mr. Danladi Dodo…

[114] Oral interview with Mallam Shu'aibu Ali (*Baduku*), Alhaji Lawal Ango and Mallam Boyi…

[115] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of… pp. 30-31.

portion of the land on behalf of the family members, as doing so was not only tantamount to selling their means of livelihood but also not the norm. Land could therefore, not be sold but could be given as a gift to those in need particularly immigrants into the area.[116] Many of them especially the *Kanawa* before their final integration into or as constituting people of *kasar* Lere[117] got their lands from other families or, from the *Maigari* himself. Equally, hunting and grazing grounds were owned by the whole village and not by a clan or lineage as in the case of land meant for agricultural practices. This was because hunting grounds were either lands that were too forested to be cultivated or too rocky where different games were easily identified. Similarly, grazing lands were mostly agricultural lands that have been left to fallow therefore, anybody could graze his animals on such grounds.

Another important thing worth mentioning was the ownership of economic trees. For most of the groups, at the beginning of the occupation of the area in question, the process of identification and subsequent domestication of some of the economic trees took a great effort. Some of them would ask others to watch them as they ate the fruits (whether they would die or not), when they did not die, the tree was then considered a food crop and therefore an economic tree and then domesticated. All economic trees once identified became the property of the clan or lineage (especially if such trees were found in their agricultural sites since they generated a lot of income to the owners as they are sold) or that of the whole village if found in the forest (*daji*). Strangers who came into the territory at a later date were usually given land to cultivate but were

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[116] Ibid.

[117] Oral interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Sani, *Hakimin Birni da Kewaye*, aged 73, at his residence beside *Kobari*, Lere, on 28/12/08.

not allowed to own the economic trees on the land they had been so given by the original inhabitants.[118]

The first of the changes was in the area of territorial expansion as a result of increase in population. Traditions pointed out that as population increased, hunting grounds also became farmlands. Those living in the forest began cutting down more trees to make for enough farmlands that could be cultivated. Those living in the hilly environment became more conscious of their environment and the eminent land shortage that was being experienced as a result of increase in population. As such, the groups were left with two options. In the first place, some of the hill dwellers migrated to the low land or valley areas where there was abundance of land for the ever growing population. Some however, remained on the hills but went down to the valleys to cultivate more lands.[119]

Similarly, of fundamental importance in the administration of land in the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate had to do with the 1804 or Uthman Danfodio Jihad. An immediate effect of the Jihad was the implementation of the *Shari'a* on land especially on the issue of inheritance. Prior to the Jihad, inheritance was customary under which the eldest son took control and administer leadership allowing all other members of the family a share out of the total land area inherited. The eldest was thus, considered the most capable and therefore deserved all rights and incurred all obligations of the deceased heads.[120] This explained why women were excluded from the assumption of leadership of household and of inheritance.

With the Jihad however, a new outlook developed in the nature of the social and political organization. Inheritance thus, took the form of dividing the *gandu* at the death of the family head, to all members of the family on a criterion in which the male child takes doubled the

[118] Oral interview with Mallam Danladi and Mallam....
[119] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad... and Maidodo Maisamari...
[120] M. M. Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Administration... p. 109.

female. Thus women gain the right to ownership, not only of land, but also of other properties, but still not too free from male domination. In addition, land gained monetary value. This is more applicable in a situation whereby the beneficiaries or heirs outnumbered the land area or property left by the deceased (house head). What always used to be the solution under this condition was the disposition of the land / property for some amount of money to be shared among the heirs at the same rate of male doubling the female.[121] The Jihad also led to an increase in the number of office holders, princes and *attajirai* and indeed in the number of immigrant settlers. These factors meant increase in the number of people and skills that wanted the use of land for cultivation and settlement.[122]

On the whole, the method of acquiring land was based on first occupier basis i.e. the person that was first identified with a piece of land was recognized as the rightful owner of the land. On his death, it passed on to his offspring. Subsequent immigrants into the area got their lands through gift from other lineages. Another method of acquiring land was through wars of expansion during which substantial expanse of land came under the control of the *Maigari*. Though all lands literally belonged to him, he had absolute right over conquered territories that participated in the wars.[123]

Apart from land as a major factor of production within the communities in *kasar* Lere, an important factor of production in any given society was labour which was central in the economy of the people. For without labour, man cannot actually reproduce his livelihood. The way and manner in which labour was organized gives us an idea into the nature of society we are studying. It is only through our understanding of the division of labour that determines also the

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[121] Ibid p. 110.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad... and Maidodo Maisamari...

relationship of individuals to one another with reference to material instrument and product of labour.

3.6.2 - Organization of Agricultural Labour:

One of the strongest elements in the area of production in any given society is labour. Thus labour power, the only element that needs to be added to create value, is a capacity, a potential which can be left fallow or brought into action and which can be used more or less intensely.[124] Therefore, labour has not been colonial throughout history. Rather, it represents a specific stage in the socio - political and economic history of a people. As such, labour has not been static in the history and development of *kasar* Lere. The development of labour relations, like that of the development of history of the people has been quite dynamic and progressive. Therefore, by about the 19th century and especially with the success of the Jihadists, a Caliphate was established with both Bauchi and Zazzau as pillar emirates.[125] This political outlook supported the existence of a system of rule under which the aristocracy played a dominant role of determining ownership and control of means of production. In other words, the aristocracy by this period monopolized and utilized political power in the interest of the ruling class. The aristocracy was the political arm and the feudal class fraction in power. The fiscal policies of the aristocracy especially those related to land; labour and trade assured its political control over the organization and of production and the continuous exploitation of the lower class by the ruling class through various mechanisms. This includes the exaction of forced labour.[126]

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[124] M. M. Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Authority ... p. 143.
[125] Previously we have seen that *kasar* Lere was under Bauchi up to the period of the Jihad and with the Jihad, it was transferred to Zazzau. See chapters one and five of this thesis for details.
[126] M. M. Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Authority... p. 144.

The forms of labour that generally existed comprised of that of the peasantry (*talakawa*), slaves (*bayi*) and servants (*barori*). Peasant form of labour no doubt predominated and enjoyed direct access to the means of its production and reproduction. The ruling class on the other hand, regulated labour and production of the lower classes (peasantry and slaves) through various means due to the advantages of access, monopoly and utilization of political and economic power. The peasantry, slaves and craftsmen procured their basic means of existence through the utilization of their labour in agriculture, craft production and exchange. They used their labour power to produce use – values for consumption and other petty commodities in order to satisfy other needs.[127] On the other hand for communal labour transaction, when occasionally footpaths to the source of water supply and neighbouring towns and villages required clearing, the head chief's bell ringer summoned people for such activities. And if a well had to be sank, the same procedure was followed. Prolonged projects like the building of worship centres for town or village shrines even consumed labour to a more considerable degree. In the absence of wages, social sanction was strong enough to provide a formidable incentive, which ensured enthusiastic co – operation from all.[128]

As such, just like access to land as a factor of production, the organization of labour among the peasantry was at the beginning, family based. Thus, it formed the backbone of the economy of *kasar* Lere. Therefore, production was based on the family or the clan, with land and the free labour of the members as the main workforce. Since tools were still at a very low level of development, division of labour was based on age and sex and production relation was based on communal or common ownership of land with the household head or clan head only taking custody of the land for his people.

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[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

The basic unit of production was the household which was made up of several families. The internal structure of the household consisted of the household head, his wife / wives, children, his brothers with their wives and children and other dependents. This unit usually consists of blood relations tracing their real decent from a common ancestor demonstrable genealogically from whom it usually takes its name.[129] This descent is traced patrilineally and recognizing a common authority as exercised by the household head. The authority so exercised by the household head, was in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities for the common good of all.

In every household, each member was involved in production, with the household head determining which portion of land was to be cultivated and directing such production. Since agricultural activity was based on an intimate knowledge of the local rain, and soil conditions as well as on a wide familiarity with the local trees, grasses and other plants in the area, the possession of such knowledge by the elders was very important in the production cycle of the people. On the basis of age and experience, they gave advice on the best times for tilling, planting and harvesting and also decided on when the workforce of the family should move to another locality for the purpose of shifting cultivation, bush fallowing and crop rotation.[130] Hence, the mobilization, recruitment and training of labour for all productive activities were also done within the framework of the family. Accordingly, the family constituted both a common work force and a consumption unit i.e. *gandu*. In other words, the family provided the work team for all productive activities, while productive activities were geared towards the production of the basic needs of the family and for exchange.[131]

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[129] D. E. Ferguson; 19th Century Hausaland ...
[130] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi...
[131] D.W. Norman, "Labour Input of Farmers: A case study of Zaria Province of the North Central States of Nigeria", Samaru Bulletin, 1970, p.116.

In such an arrangement, both the *Uban gandu* and other members of the *gandu* were socially bounded by certain responsibilities, which every side was expected to fulfill. This was to ensure a disciplined workforce that was necessary for the smooth running of the *gandu*. For example, the *Uban gandu* needed all the co - operation and backing of the members of his *gandu* to discharge his tasks. This included all contributions for the socio - economic growth of the *gandu* through unrestrained offer of labour in the *gonar gandu* or workshop. Every member was expected to contribute according to his status. For instance, the strongmen cleared the forests in new fields, did the digging, while women prepared the food, and participated in the planting, weeding and harvesting of the crops together with their male counterparts.[132]

On the other hand, the *Uban gandu* was responsible for the mobilization and direction of the labour of his *gandu* for productive activities. He was also responsible for the provision of all inputs necessary for production which may include hoe (*fartanya*), big hoe (*garma*), and axe (*masassabi*), seeds (*iri*) and so on. The amount of labour at the command of each individual *Uban gandu* was an important consideration in determining his productive output, which may invariably influence his social status. In other words, the more the size of the land and labour force utilized by a peasant household, the greater its productivity or surplus generation and therefore, the higher its economic status. As a result, people tried hard to multiply their work force especially through multiple marriages.[133] Additional labour was therefore always sought for, especially at the height of the farming season which was mostly associated with the planting,

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[132] The young ones accompany the elders to learn the various techniques of farming and other work load that may be assigned to them. This age grade was also involved in the herding of the domesticated animals within their areas. Moreover, they looked after the cultivated crops on the farms to ward off harmful animals that could destroy the plants. Those who are married were expected to work on the *gandu* in the morning and work on their own towards the evening. It was a non - profit oriented work.

[133] A. Adamu; The Food Economy in colonial Nigeria: A Case Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria, M. A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 2001, p.15.

weeding and harvesting periods. These were difficult tasks which a household may not accomplish within the shortest possible time on its own. In this respect, it was the responsibility of the *Uban gandu* to acquire extra labour to compliment the labour of members of his *gandu*. And there were various options of acquiring extra labour at the disposal of the *Uban gandu*.

The *Uban gandu* could exploit the system of co - operative work (*aikin gayya*). *Gayya* was a system of labour exchange developed by the peasantry which put at the disposal of a particular household the labour power and services of members of several households in its neighbourhood for a specific duration in order to assist the *Uban gandu* in completing some farm works.[134] Apart from assisting one another to complete difficult tasks, the *aikin gayya* was believed to have some social significance involving the strengthening of bond of relationship as well as instilling discipline, courage, hard work and interest in agriculture.[135] It may appear simple for every member of the society to have access to this type of labour, but in practice, it was limited to only those with the resources and ability. Similarly, these co – operative organizations of labour were done with the intent of improving and subsequently increasing the production level of the hosting household. Upon the request made by the hosting household head, the whole clan or village converge on the farm of the host and farming begins with vigor from early morning and lasts till evening. During such sessions, participants were thrilled to music, food, bear (in the non - Hausa or non - Muslim communities) and sometimes meat. The

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[134] M. M. Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Authority… He also explains that *gayya* was different from *aikin tilas* which was enforced on feudal estates. Some of the differences he emphasized were that *gayya* was reciprocated and that people could decline the invitation politely if they would not be free to attend. Refusal did not attract any punishment as the case with *aikin tilas*.

[135] J.G. Nengel et.al, History of the Chawai of North Central Nigeria to 1932, History Department, A.B.U. Zaria, 2002, p. 68.

result of this is that each of the participants ensured that the whole portion of land assigned to them was completed before they went home.[136]

In the alternative, the *Uban gandu* could hire people to work for him and pay them in return – which may either be in cash or in kind and may either be on a daily basis or at the completion of the work. This system of wage labour was popularly known as *kwadago* and it was a later development. However, it should be noted that it were only the well - to - do and royalties (*attajirai* and *sarakuna*) that afforded it.

Another form of labour available was slave labour i.e. labour provided by slaves. However, this form of labour was not very common since only the rich and the royalties afforded it. This was because it had to do with the risks involved in acquiring the slaves and partly due to competition among buyers which pushed up the prices of the slaves.[137] In addition, there were difficulties in maintaining them which bordered on the question of feeding, accommodating and clothing them.[138] As a result, it became difficult for even the *sarakuna* and the rich who established agricultural estates (*gandaye*) to get enough slaves to work for them. Consequently, they had to look for an alternative form of labour. These included corvee labour, which was compulsory for all the *talakawa* who were expected to put up seven days each in a year as mandatory labour for the ruling class (*sarakai*).[139] Another form of labour was that provided by servants (*barori*). This category of labour force in pre – colonial times was made up of mostly domestic slaves for the rich and the royalties. Some of these servants (*barori*) were either the

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[136] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of.....

[137] B. Achi, "Warfare and Slavery in Zaria Emirate... p. 2

[138] M. F. Smith; Baba of Karo... People became domestic slaves for various reasons. In some cases, it happened that when an individual (man or woman) submitted to another and rendered for him all wanted services in exchange for protection and other essentials of life. Sometimes the relationship between a slave and his master was one of conquest and capture in war, or it could be purely by purchase in a slave mart. Slaves were also acquired by inheritance, presentation and in exchange for sumptuous payments. Others went into slavery by being chronic debtors while others were enslaved because traditional political authorities called them social rebels just as people could be imprisoned for similar offences in more sophisticated societies.

[139] B. Achi; 'Warfare and Slavery in Zaria Emirate...

poor from the lower classes to whom such a patronage was a vehicle out of poverty, or were relations of slaves. But the general character was such that slaves made up the main source of labour power of the royal *gandu*.[140] In addition, client labour was also employed. This usually took place when the rich borrowed out money or materials to the *talaka*, who for failure to pay had to willingly submit to the borrower for whatever that was to be done. Meanwhile, amongst the Kurama, *sauri* was the most advanced labour which involved the whole village men between the ages of fifteen and twenty - five and women of twelve years and above preferably unmarried. Other villages were also invited. The host farmer was a wealthy man and the work was organized for three days. On the first day, work begins early in the morning while the workers retired at sunset. On the second day, only *jarumi* starts work at about five to half past five in the morning till sunset, while *barde* (bodyguard) and others followed him to the farm at sun rise. *Yari* (farmers' leader) got to the farm in the afternoon. They worked till dusk while women cheered them.[141]

Another form of co - operative labour which was common especially among the Gure known as *uperu* [142] was the rotative co - operative labour based on age and in some cases sex. In this type of co - operation, a group of people of the same age grade or sometimes of the same sex either from the same clan or village organized itself into a workforce to work on a member's farm with each member taking his or her turn until the rotation was completed. The number of people involved in this type of labour varies from five to twenty (5-20) people or sometimes more. This form of co - operation was different from the one discussed above. This is because it was only those who could afford that can host *aikin gayya* usually initiated by the *Uban gandu*

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[140] M. M. Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Authority... p. 149.
[141] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of... also, group interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Mr. Dantani Yani...
[142] Ibid.

(household head), the rotative co - operative labour was organized and hosted by a member of the family on behalf of the *Uban gandu*. Similarly, while plenty of food, meat and sometimes beer were served in the *aikin gayya*, the rotative co - operative labour was not expensive because all the participants carried food from their various homes along with them to the farms and was eaten collectively during the break time. This did not make the host to incur any extra expenses since everyone went with his or her food. This situation was similar in the case of the Kahugu, Amo, Piti and Janji.

The mobilization and control of the labour of the peasants (*talakawa*) in relation to agricultural production was effected through the institutions of *Sarakunan noma* (farming) and *Makera* (blacksmiths). The institutions of the various heads of occupational groups (*Sarakunan Sana'a*) became prominent in the late part of the 18th century and by the beginning of the 19th century, they were hierarchically organized in response to the changes going on within the socio – political and economic terrain. The mode of selection and appointment of the *Sarakunan Sana'a* was so much in relation to performance and productivity.[143] Because of the nature of the functions they are expected to perform, every *Sarkin Sana'a* had his cabinet of officials that were found at all levels of government (central government, towns or settlements). This division made mobilization and division of labour easy. Indeed, it enhances the efficiency and professionalization of labour, which was also a clear representation of the level of development of the society prior to colonial conquest. The *Sarkin Sana'a's* intimate knowledge of each of his followers enabled him to select competent members for specialized jobs or mobilized all of them for work that required many hands.

In the 19th century, the utilization of the labour of the *talakawa* by the ruling class had considerably increased because the number of the *Masu Sarauta*, Princes and other non – titled

[143] M. M. Gwadabe; The Role of the Native Authority...

members of the ruling class increased tremendously. And indeed, because social differentiation in the society legitimized the claim of the ruling class to the labour and services of the *talakawa*, it then means that intense economic activities in which all or most members of the ruling class were engaged in ensured the maximum utilization of the labour of the *talakawa*. One other factor that assisted the growth of economic activities was the preaching by the Jihadists about the necessity, on the part of every Muslim, to engage in useful economic pursuit. Therefore the tempo of agricultural activities in the 19th century increased considerably.[144] These developments therefore, led to the facilitated establishment of the basis for social stratification of the society, and of the tendencies which translated into the Jihad movement of the early 19th century.

On the whole, the organization of agricultural labour exposed those who were lazy and indolent in the community. The community in turn punished such lazy people. For instance, a lazy person among most of the communities was subject to ridicule and harassment by the members of the community. At other times, they were denied wives and were highly disregarded amongst their age grade members. In this way, most of them changed their habits and imbibed the spirit of hard work and diligence.[145]

Thus, in the organization of labour, the intention was to help the people live in self-sufficiency; and whenever a household was unable to complete its work within the specified calendar, other members of the community could team up and extend a hand of fellowship to finish the uncompleted work that was before the needy household. Moreover, in times of natural hazards, a needy family could depend on its neighbours for its survival.

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[144] Ibid p. 151.

[145] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of... Also, oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba... and Maidodo Maisamari ..

3.6.3 - Taxation:

Tax was also an important institution in *kasar* Lere. It supported the economy of the area. The tribute paid annually by the subjects was in the form of tax. The tax paid by the people was known as *gaisuwa* and later *jizya* in the post jihad era. It was a mark of respect, loyalty and superiority of the ruler over his subjects.

However, since Lere as a political entity was established after the jihad, one could not talk of the nature of tax and the manner in which it was collected prior to that period. However, an informant[146] narrated that even after Lere was established, tax was mostly paid in kind and farm produce to the *Maigari* who in turn forwarded it to Zaria. The tax was mostly paid annually. Similarly, there is insufficient information as to the amount collected by the *Maigari*. But it was said that Zaria received one third of the slaves and cattle, and one half of the childless concubines of the vassal chiefs who died in office.[147] Likewise, the amount collected from the non Muslim communities was not documented.

3.7 - Control of Production:

It is generally agreed that all combined labour on a large scale requires a directing authority in order to secure the harmonious working conditions of the individual's activities. This authority as we have already seen was vested in the hands of the household head who monitored and supervised the agricultural efforts of all the members of his household for the purpose of increased production. Laziness as already pointed out was seriously frowned at and condemned. As such, agricultural output was relatively high. However, to measure the level of agricultural

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[146] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad... where he explained that the *masu sana'a* were not always willing to pay the tax. In his words, "*sai dai karfi na sarauta kawai*" i.e. they had to be forced.

[147] M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau... and oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu, Alhaji Lawal Ango and Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Dantani Yani...

production of the people, one is faced with the problem of periodisation. For instance, our oral sources could not say precisely whether or not production level was higher under the communal, lineage or tributary form of production. In fact, our informants were only able to explain that agricultural production in the olden times was higher than the present epoch.[148]

With a good ecological balance, a consistent calendar of the farming activities and an advantageous topography, agricultural yields were necessarily bound to be placed at a comparatively high level. The common staples of the people as has already been mentioned were maize, guinea corn, millet, *acca*, groundnut, potatoes and cocoyam which were produced in a very large quantity. For example, in the production of guinea corn and millet, a household by the close of the 18th century realize as much as 80 -100 bundles / heaps (*dammai* sing. *dami*) especially among the Kurama, Gure and the Hausa. Although *acca* was most popular among the Gure, its production ranked almost the same or second to guinea corn. Similarly, beans and groundnuts which were usually intercropped with other crops such as maize and guinea corn were also produced in large quantities.[149]

As for livestock production, even though the labour demanded was minimal in terms of labour cost, once the livestock were kept, they produce rapidly. Prominent among the livestock that were kept among the peoples of this area were goats, sheep, dogs and poultry, while pigs were also found among the non - Hausa or non - Muslim groups. Evidences collected indicated that a household could keep as many as 20 - 40 goats, 25 - 45 sheep and up to 150 fowls.[150] In addition, game animals were hunted in large numbers to supplement those that have been domesticated. Most of the animals so hunted were preserved for quite a long period and was used

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[148] Oral interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu, Alhaji Lawal Ango, and Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Dantani Yani...
[149] Ibid.
[150] *Oral interview with Mallam Muhammad Salisu, Butcher, aged 58, at his residence in Lere on 09/01/10 and* Alhajin Baba *Sarkin Fawan* Lere...

in meeting the nutritional needs of members of the household. The preservation of the game animals also meant that it could serve as a means of entertaining a visitor who happen to visit such household at the time.

As for the control and appropriation of surplus, it was in the hands of elders i.e. the household heads in all the families within a particular community. By the time the agricultural products were harvested, they were stored in the central barn otherwise known as *rumbu* and once stored there, the head of the household became its sole manager. The primary use of the produce was for feeding members of the household, guests and relations as well as for some important festivals or ceremonies that were celebrated in the area. The obligatory explanation of the central barn as narrated by our informants was to check cases of careless utility by members of the household. It also served as a security during the periods of drought and general hunger as a result of crop failure. Also during such hard period, relations of the household from neighbouring or distant villages who were affected by hunger of famine could come and take enough grains from the central barn to their children and was meticulously rationed to last for a long time until new crops were harvested.[151]

In addition, surplus produce was also appropriated through the payment of bridal wealth to the parents of a girl whose hand was being sought in marriage by the intending household. It therefore, became compulsory for a household head to safe keep all the crops that were harvested during the year for the payments of such bride - wealth for those members of his house hold who intend to marry.[152] It was not from his personal wealth that he was to pay such bride wealth but through the surplus accrued by members of the household as a result of their hard work and the prudent management of the household head. Thus, it is important to note that production was

[151] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari and Mr. Peter Gimba...
[152] Ibid.

mainly geared towards the general good of all and not for a few members of the household since whatever produce was realized, it was the collective effort of all.

The head of the household also expended the surplus produce on the purchase of new tools or the replacement of bad ones. In this regard, it was the responsibility of the head to get tools ready for the next farming season. The exchange mechanism was that of exchanging labour for labour while the tool maker (blacksmith) got some of the produce after harvest in return from the household that engaged him in the production of tools or farm implements. Similarly, the surplus was also used to perform funeral rites as well as other rites that were necessary for the sustenance of the family relationships such as showing hospitality to visitors as mentioned earlier and other festivals that were performed in the community during the year. Likewise, the head of the household used the surplus to appease the gods especially in the non - Muslim communities or among the few Hausa who practiced *bori* on behalf of any member of his household who committed an offence or in order to overcome a natural phenomenon such as drought, bad harvest, locust invasions, diseases and plagues or even barrenness.[153]

As such, we could say that the general misconception especially by the colonialists that African societies (*kasar* Lere inclusive), were static and did not live beyond subsistence level is not true. The reality (from the above) was that even though production was geared towards the sustenance of the family and the society at large, because of regional disparities and ecological differences, or religious inclination, certain societies or communities produced more than others. They also produced different variety which necessitated exchange, sometimes through barter. Moreover, production was geared towards the offsetting of the problem of an agricultural failure by allowing for a built - up of stock. As such, even though production was geared towards self -

[153] Ibid.

subsistence, the unpredictability of the weather / climate made the people to produce surplus.[154] Thus, the regional inequalities or differences in terms of climate, soil, and geology resulted in the production of surplus which was traded with to meet the needs of their neighbours. In view of this, we will proceed to consider and see how trade was organized amongst the people of *kasar* Lere which took the form of local and long distance trade.

3.8 - Local Trade:

Evidence from interviews with our informants indicated that the people of *kasar* Lere were closely linked by a network of trade routes controlled by the various groups within the region. This shows that there was a clearly understood relationship between one group and another. Similarly, given the nature of soil, vegetation, climate, hydrology and their variations in the region, it became clear that there were differences in their various economic activities, the outcome of which eventually led to the development of exchange of goods through the available markets in the area. This distribution network took the forms of bartering of goods, gift giving and through formal markets in conformity with the prevailing mode of production. By these distributive systems therefore, goods and services reached the different groups within the area.

For example among the Gure, *acca* the most common grain produced was given as gift to female members of a particular family who have married. The female members on their own part rendered their services to the household during the farming or harvesting period. In this way, a form of exchange mechanism took place even though it may not necessarily be considered as trade. Yet it was a form of exchange of good with services which gave birth to trade

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[154] *Oral interview with Mallam Boyi... and Mallam Danlami Ma'auni...*

relationship.[155] It was from this type of distributive mechanism that trade by barter later emerged. Because the community that the household head's relatives got married to, probably do not produce such item, or did not produce it in large quantity or they discovered that their own was inferior - probably due to nature of soil or seedling, then they became interested and sought to exchange the *acca* with their own commodities.[156] This began on a mutual arrangement between people from the two villages but gradually some did evolve to markets. As time goes on and in order to meet the needs of the various groups in the region, markets came into existence as a function of the division of labour, so that those who concentrate on the production of one sort may obtain the produce of others.[157] This view seemed to be applicable to most of the groups in *kasar* Lere as far as the evolution of trade and markets are concerned. Thus, trading activities were organized locally and effort would be made to identify some of the early market centres and other trading networks in the area.

Consequence upon this therefore, a weekly marketing ring was organized among the various communities and which almost everybody participated through which agricultural and manufactured goods were distributed to every corner.[158] As pointed out by an informant,[159] peaceful co - existence, travels, communications and commerce had existed among the people of *kasar* Lere i.e. both Hausa, Fulani and the diverse communities of the area. Assorted goods therefore, found their ways to the markets either directly by the producers or through the institutions of local merchants (*dillalai*) who may buy directly from the producers in bulk and sale to individual buyers at the market.

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[155] Oral interview with Mr. Danladi Dodo... and Mr. Peter Gimba...
[156] Ibid.
[157] E. Terray; Marxism and Primitive Societies... p. 45.
[158] Oral interview with Alhajin Baba, *Sarkin Fawan* Lere...
[159] Oral interview with Mallam Abashe, *Sarkin Hatsin* Lere, aged 40, at his residence in Lere, on 26/01/10.

Apart from the main market in Lere, there were other smaller markets as well as *dandali* and areas that have emerged as *maciya / mashaya* that spread across the wards and villages. These *dandali* provided for the local needs of the various wards. Consequently, the whole concept of trade and market is not a recent phenomenon among most of the groups. This is evident from the market and trade names that they have which are mostly indigenous to the groups. The table below indicated clearly that most if not all the groups in *kasar* Lere have names for markets, trade and other economic activities.

English	Market	Trade	Buy	Debt	Poverty
Kurama	Ukasuwa	Inzihizaza	Jaana	ubashi	Utalauci
Gure	Kakasuwa	Indishika-kasuwa	Ingya-mabir	Bashi	Indadigadama
Kahugu	Karikamazha/kakasuwa	Mazzaya	Mbirah	Ubashi	Mazadi
Amo	Ukasuwa	Usessuninlessu	Useru	Ure	Likimun
Fulfulde	Luumo	Shoggu	Sooki / soduki	Hage	Shooku
Hausa	Kasuwa	Kasuwanci	Saye	Bashi	Talauci

In addition, the people did not usé any uniform currency for the trading activities. Our informants explained that exchange mechanism was through the gift of one food crop in exchange for another or sometimes given in exchange for the purchase of farm tools (mostly done with the blacksmiths) as stated earlier. The use of cowry shells as a medium of exchange was a later development.[160]

[160] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba, Mr. Peter Gimba and Mr. Danladi Dodo, op. cit.

In the first place, the peoples of the region talked of the existence of markets in Lere, Dan Alhaji and Garu which was attended interchangeably by the people and their neighbours such as the Kahugu, Piti, Sugau and even the Katab.[161] These markets were attended based on the acceptance of a seven day market days. Moreover, the items that were traded in, included guinea corn which is produced in large quantity especially by the Kurama, *acca*, millet, potatoes, cocoyam, a small edible tuber like cassava (*risga*), pots, farm implements, honey and textile materials. As pointed out by an informant[162] peaceful co - existence, had existed among the diverse people of *kasar* Lere and goods found their ways to the markets either directly by the producers or through the institution of local merchants / intermediaries (*dillalai*) who bought directly from the producers in bulk and sale the goods to individual buyers in bits.

We have decided for the purposes of this discussion to lump trade both with the same language groups and different language groups because by their distance, they were not so far apart. For according to A.G. Hopkins, 'local trade refers to transactions which took place within a radius of up to about ten miles of the area of production.' He further explained that this was the range which could be covered in one day by foot or by donkey.[163] Going by this definition therefore, it is imperative to note that all the markets which we have identified strictly fall within the 10 miles radius. Yet in terms of identifying the differences in goods marketed, it will be seen that since there was no sharp ecological contrast, exchange of goods were more on which grew better quality crops than the other.

However, it should be noted that even though markets existed in *kasar* Lere a long time ago, not all trading transactions were conducted at the designated markets. For apart from

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[161] Oral interview with Alhaji Lawal Haladu... and Mallam Alhassan Adamu...
[162] Oral interview with Mallam Abashe, *Sarkin Hatsi*...
[163] A.G. Hopkins, An Economic History...

markets which were fixed and agreed by members, there existed a form of trade where an individual or group of people could take an item to either a nearby or distant neighbour and exchange it with what the neighbour had. Our informants[164] argued that this form of trade was in practice even before the evolution of some of the markets in the area (such as that of Lere). Both agreed that a Kahugu or Gure man carried some of his produce (especially *acca* which they produce in large quantity and which other communities do not produce) to Garun Kurama, and looked for people whom he could exchange his *acca* with what he needed. Mostly however, he exchanged his produce with quality farm implements produced by the Kurama. At the end of the transaction, the Gure or Kahugu man would have collected enough farm implements, pots as well as guinea corn which were the exchange items the Kurama offered. In this way, the two economies were intricately complimented one by the other. A similar transaction took place amongst the Janji and Piti, the *Hausawa* of Dan Alhaji and those of other areas e.t.c. The items which the Hausa exchanged with other groups were mainly cloth, pots, and fresh fish as well as farm implements.

On the whole internal, local or short distance trade was significant in the economy and social structure of the people of *kasar* Lere. This was because trade served as an indication that there was enough for the communities in the region; the unpredictability of the environment placed on the people that they had to produce in order to exchange their products to meet each other's needs. In addition, the long distance trade did develop out of the local trade. For it was as a result of the need for local exchange that the need for the creation of long distance trade was stimulated.

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[164] Oral interview with Mr. Danladi Dodo, Mr. Peter Gimba and Mr. Dantani Yani....

3.9 - Long Distance Trade:

The organization of long distance trade was based on the differences in ecology, hydrology and topography of the areas, which supports production of varying products. Thus, the people of *kasar* Lere traded with their neighbouring communities for quite a long time and this led to the establishment and development of a good exchange system through the network of trade routes mentioned earlier. Some of these communities included Zaria, Bauchi and Kano.[165] Similarly, the emergence of more market centres such as that of Lazuru, Tudai, Sugau, Rahama, Babban Fadama, and Kudaru in the later part of the 19th century was as a result of the location of the area on the trade routes from Hausaland to Zangon Katab and Jos. Cattle tracks and footpaths were the major trade routes in pre - colonial Lere. These include;

- Zaria – Maigana – Soba - Dutsen Wai – Kudaru - Rahama.
- Lere – Gurza - Zangon Katab - Jama'a – Loko.
- Lere – Dan Alhaji I – Doguwa – Falgore – Tudun Wada - Kano.[166]

The articles of trade also played an important role in shaping the economic activities of the area. Items such as Hausa garments, dyed clothes, horses, beads, ropes, hoes, knives and condiments such as onions, *tafannuwa, dadduwa*, were brought to the markets for commercial purposes. Similarly, commodities such as potash, glasses, salt, wheat and sometimes kola nuts were imported into the Lere markets.[167]

The people that participated in these trading activities were the long distance traders (*fatake*), the middle men (*dillalai*) and retailers (*'yan koli*). All played essential roles in the trading activities. They were either owners of the capital they used in the business or were clients

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[165] NAK/ZARPROF/907 and 396.
[166] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of…
[167] Oral interview with Mallam Sani Miko, Trader, aged 40, at his residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 17/01/10.

to the rich business men. Sometimes, the *dillalai* provided the *fatake* with storage facilities, food and market information. They also bought goods from the local people and sold to the *fatake* as well as bought imported goods in bulk from the *fatake* and sold in bits to the local people. They played these roles because they knew more about the market situation than the *fatake*. Similarly, sources indicated that the transaction was by bartering since at this point in time no form of currency has been introduced. However, with the jihad, cowries of various kinds and shapes were used as medium of exchange among the people.

In addition, the Lere markets also served socio - cultural functions. For instance, they were considered as places where the enacted laws from Zaria were proclaimed by the town crier (*sankira*) with the order from the *Maigari*. They also served as places for discussions on day – to - day affairs of the people and of proclaiming the day on which a new established market should start to function. Cultural entertainments were also performed in the markets. For instance, the Hausa performed their drama (*wasan sarkin samari*), traditional wrestling (*kokawa* and *dambe*) e.t.c. The Fulani also performed their cultural whipping (*sharo*) while other groups like the Gure performed their *acca* planting ceremony (*makanta*) and manure spreading ceremony (*nabila*) and the Amo organized their circling dances (*iwawa*). Similarly, Amo, Kurama and Piti days were organized in the markets.[168]

3.10 - Conclusion:

This chapter has given us a picture of the economy of *kasar* Lere up to the eve of the Jihad and afterwards which was characterized by the dominance of agriculture with a focus on

[168] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of ... p.40

the family as the main force of production. And that in man's attempt to control his environment, he had to bring into play all the intervening forces at work so that production could be made possible. We have also attempted to demonstrate that contrary to the belief that subsistence economies do not have surpluses, *kasar* Lere depended on the household head to ensure that some form of surpluses were left for several purposes such as weddings, festivals as well as for use during periods of drought. Then, manufacture and trading activities constituted secondary economic activities. We have also seen that *kasar* Lere became an important centre along trade routes, and as such it attracted traders from both far and near. Similarly, the fact that the area has diverse people whose cultural, political, religious and social activities had distinct differences, yet they share so many things in common and were tied through such activities. We have also seen how the people were integrated through economic ties as well as how they have directly affected the people of other areas.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS BY THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

4.1 - Introduction:

The previous chapter shows that in the economic pursuit of the people of *kasar* Lere, the household head was in charge of production (deciding which lands to be cleared and crop to be planted and where) and equally supervised the harvest. It was therefore clear that the most important unit of production in the society was the family. The head of each family did exercise some powers which can be regarded as authority. This chapter attempts to show that the social organization which was centered on the family also explains the economic organization. It emphasizes the crucial place which the family occupied in both the economic, social and political systems in our society. An analysis of the social and political organization of the family therefore, becomes necessary here to help our understanding of the nature of society of *kasar* Lere by the end of the 18th century. Then we shall move on to examine the aspect of inter group relations among the people and how they relate with other people outside their own area.

4.2 - The Family:

The family is the basic demographic community with procreation as its basic function and performing other social as well as economic functions together and living in the same compound, tracing their descent and relationship to one another by a chain of genealogical connections to a single male ancestor. The family type of *kasar* Lere especially at this period and regardless of whether it was a Muslim or non - Muslim community, is typically African, which

contrasts sharply with the nuclear type that is obtained in the western societies. In other words, the dominant family type obtained in our area of study was the extended family type largely because the more members one has in his family or constituting his household, the more productive he becomes. All members of the family pay absolute loyalty and allegiance to the household (family) and membership was strictly by birth.[1] However, this could have only been possible at the early stage of the family's existence or of the society before it became heterogeneous. This is because there were indications that even strangers constituted members of most families, mostly through absorption. Thus, membership of a family came to be based on total participation in the family's life.

Some forms of bond and kinship network seem to unite members of the family who regarded themselves as one indivisible entity. This bond was reinforced by the tenancy of a common residential unit the house (*gida*), which was made up of individual huts or *dakuna / bukkoki* (sing. *Daki / bukka*) and granaries / central barn i.e. *rumbuna* (sing. *rumbu*) surrounded by a wall / fence (*danni*). The *gida* is accessed by an entrance (*zaure*).[2] This is however mostly obtained in the Hausa / Fulani or Muslim communities within our area of study. Therefore, it is clear from the above that definite division of labour based on gender and age characterized the family. Communities (except for the Gure) in our area of study are patriarchal where the eldest male member heads the family which earned him the title *Maigida* - connoting great responsibilities. Since the whole processes of production and exchange centered on the family, the names or titles given to each member of the family had an import on the responsibility that each member had towards the others. This is put forward by Engels thus:

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[1] A. Smith; "Some Considerations relating to the formation of ... p. 67.

[2] For more information or description of the Hausa residential unit, see M.F. Smith; Baba of Karo...

> The names father, mother, brother, sister, and child are no mere honorific titles, they involve quite definite and very serious mutual obligation which together made up an essential part of the social constitution of the people in question.[3]

For instance, the name father or the head of the household did carry along with it the responsibility he had for the rest of the members of that family not only in the provision of the family's needs but also in all aspect of social, political and religious needs of the people. His ability to discharge these responsibilities depended on the respect accorded to him because of the authority he exercises in the household. Ajayi J. F.A[4] see this authority in terms of the age of the household head while J.G. Nengel[5] sees age as a limitation because the elder was constrained by his limited physical structure as he was not necessarily the strongest in the family. He further explained that his control over land was not a factor either; since by the end of the 18th century land was in abundance neither does he have the physical strength to protect his family from another family taking land from them. As such, the source of the power or authority of the elder over the entire household came from knowledge of the history of his household and the control of matrimonial gifts within the family. Therefore, the acquisition and preservation of knowledge tended to reinforce the authority of the older person over the younger. In addition, the control of surplus that was even generated by the young further gave the elder the chances to perpetuate their supremacy over the young through the control of the circulation of women through the matrimonial gifts. This act alone placed the young under the perpetual subordination of the elder. This therefore, was the basis of authority of the elder over the members of his household.

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[3] F. Engels; The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Reking, 1978, pp. 32 -33.
[4] J. F.A. Ajayi and B. Ikara (eds); Evolution of Political Culture in Nigeria, UPE Ibadan, 1985, p. 12.
[5] J. G. Nengel; Intergroup Relations in the Pre - Colonial Polities of Kauru and Pengana Highlands of Central Nigeria. PhD Thesis, University of Jos, 1989, p. 27.

In the technical sense of the word, a family was taken to mean the man - household head, his wife / wives and children. But in a communal set up such as the group in *kasar* Lere, a family or household meant the head that was the oldest in the family, his wives, his brothers and their wives, his children and his brothers' children. It was in recognition to the respect accorded him because of his age and wisdom, that the household head oversees the distribution of goods and services within the family. He is also charged with the responsibility of keeping a portion of whatever was produced to enable him meet certain social obligations within this area.

Similarly, a major area where he demonstrates his authority lays in his control of the marriage gifts that went for members of his household that were of marriageable age. The woman was on the other hand, regarded as the producer of the producer[6] and in this regard, the acquisition of a woman became the real basis of social emancipation. Since the woman was seen as the producer of the producer, marriage was considered primarily as a medium for improving the economic status of the family and also improved the social status of the man getting the wife. This social transition was however not without difficulties. In an attempt to secure a wife for his young ones, the head of the household had to source and pay the bride price. In this course, the household head strengthened his control and respect from members of his household and the larger community.

For example, a close look at the Gure, Kurama, Kahugu, Sheni and Piti showed that, of all the items that were essential as bride - wealth, the marriageable adult in any of the family did not possess them because of the prevailing mode of production. In a communal mode of production, the redistribution of whatever was produced was solely in the hands of the household head. For instance, the necessary items for bride wealth such as *acca*, guinea - corn, lizards and

[6] She gives birth to children (the male) who in turn became responsible for or leaders of another household (different from her own) and taking charge of the production processes.

sometimes goats had to be made readily available by the head at the time they are needed. As such, we could say that the role the head of the household (*maigida*) played was not a mere one. Therefore, he needs such qualities as wisdom, courage, strength, foresight and knowledge among other things. In addition, apart from the *maigida*, some kinds of relationship differential or otherwise were also expected from each member of the family to other members. For example, women were expected to be highly submissive to their husbands and thus, hastened to their requests and biddings. They cooked for the family and kept the households clean as well as ensured that the children are brought up in the most accepted character and moral conduct.[7]

However, it is important to note here that, in the absence of the *maigida* i.e. either in case of death or ill - health, the most senior among the other members of the household assumed fully the leadership and the discharge of the household's responsibilities. Meanwhile, he must have been closer to the *maigida* before then, and so must have acquired all the necessary experiences from him. While in case of extreme old age of the *maigida*, the next person / senior member of the household to take charge of the responsibilities would have to always seek for advice and guidance especially on matters of justice and marital problems from the *maigida*. Through this, he acquires all the necessary experiences that prepare him for the leadership of the household. It should also be noted that the household head's (*maigida's*) responsibilities and the way he discharged them was obtainable throughout *kasar* Lere regardless of whether it was a Muslim or non - Muslim community. The only difference is in the items given as bride wealth. Non – Muslims gave lizards and the likes, while Muslims gave what is stipulated by the Islamic law (or as stated in the holy Qur'an), mostly a sum of money (in our period of study, its equivalent).

[7] This is regardless of whether it was a Hausa, Fulani or non - Hausa/Fulani community. The functions are the same.

4.3 - Marriage and Birth Customs:

Marriage as an institution is highly respected by the different groups in *kasar* Lere. They consider it as an institution through which their communities procreate and attain important position in the social ladder within the society. As such, they followed the appropriate channels to ensure that marriage is contracted and frowned at anybody that goes against the norms and values. An informant explained that at this period, you find a marriageable girl running away from and did not want to have anything to do with boys.[8] And so he termed the communities to be pure (*tsarkakakku*).

In Gure (a non - Muslim community), when a young man wishes to marry, he goes to the maiden of his choice and issue her with a ring of brass or iron. If she accepts the gift, he knows that she has automatically accepted him. He then presents her father a bowl of local beer (*burkutu*) and informs him of his intention to marry his daughter. After this, he and about four of his friends will work on the prospective in - law's farm yearly. This depends on the age of the girl. If she is close to marriage, it lasts for a short while may be two to three years. If she is very small, it lasts until the girl is of marriageable age (the marriage age was usually from 12 years). When the girl reached marriageable age, the young man goes with kinsmen of his own age and hunts for lizards.[9] They find and kill as many as they can, these are then smoked and presented to the girl's father. He then gathers together his relatives and shows them the lizards and then consults with them as to the suitability of the marriage. If all agreed, the next was to prepare beer (*burkutu*), and the marriage day would be the day when the beer fermented. From then onwards,

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[8] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Gwonyo Garba, Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango... and Malama Kande Garba...

[9] One of my informant states that the boy takes to his in - law 'meat', without stating its type or the quantity probably being ashamed or shy to mention lizards. While other informants and colonial sources categorically stated that it was lizards. For detail see NAK/ZARPROF/1820.

the girl and one of her friend would be sleeping in the boy's room but it was a taboo for her to get pregnant because it was against the norm. And on the fixed day which the girl's parents must have communicated to the groom's family, relatives and friends would gather at the girl's house, each bringing along about two measures of *acca*. After submitting the *acca*, the person would be served with beer. At the end of the feast, about five sacks of *acca* or its equivalent must have been realized and would be given to the girl to take to her husband's house. The girl is then taken to her bridegroom's house where a feast would be organized. The bridegroom's presents consists of an axe for cutting up the household fuel, mahogany oil and red clay (*kaya*). Both bride and groom are daubed with a mixture of the oil and the clay. On the marriage night, the lizards earlier given to the bride's father are brought and eaten by the bride and bridegroom and other friends.[10]

Owing to the mother kin relationship of the Gure, widows were not inherited; as such a widow is free to marry whomsoever she pleases. A widow's marriage is performed without ceremony and only the axe was given as a gift. Similarly, it is a taboo for relations to marry each other. There was nothing like dissolution of marriage, but it is said that a man will seldom divorce his wife. If, on the other hand, a woman wishes to leave her husband for another man, she is free to do so and neither compensation is paid to the former husband nor does the question of children enter into the matter. The female child is left with the father while the male child goes to the mother's brother.[11]

In Kahugu, marriages are arranged by the fathers of the children (whom in most cases were friends) or in few instances if the son is old enough, he may make the choice for himself. When the betrothed male child is old enough to handle a hoe, he goes every year with three or four of his companions of the same age, to the farm of his future father – in - law and work for a

[10] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba and Mr. Danladi Dodo... and NAK/ZARPROF/1820.
[11] Ibid.

certain number of days. This continues until the girl is of marriageable age. From then on, the girl will be visiting the boy and sometimes even sleeps with him. All marriages took place after "*gero*" harvest (*cin gero*). But no marriage takes place until after the marriage of the women of the *Sarkin Tsafi's* clan. When this takes place, the parents of the bride prepare beer and take it to the house of their future son - in - law, whilst at the same time; members of the girl's family collect firewood and deposit it at the girl's future home. The boy's family will take about five sacks of *acca* to the girl's house in the year of the marriage. The girl's parents will afterwards fix a specific day for the wedding and will brew fifteen to twenty large pots of beer and present to the boy's family. When the day arrives, each of the two families will brew as much beer as possible and when all is set, relations and neighbours gather at the bridegroom's house, and the marriage is celebrated with much beer drinking. On the marriage day, the bridegroom gives to the girl's father equivalent to one bag of salt (*kantu*) and four hundred cowries or its equivalent to the mother's relations.[12]

When the formalities have been completed, the father takes his daughter by the hand and give her to her groom, at the same time he hands him a stick saying 'if your woman does wrong beat her, but when doing it, hold her by the hand and do not let her go. Should she run away do not blame us.' Sometimes, it happens that a girl refuses to marry the husband chosen for her, should she do so, the marriage does not take place and the man receives no compensation for the farm work he offered to her father. Similarly, women do desert their husbands for other men, but no claim can be made by the deserted husband except that children born within the first nine

[12] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari... NAK/ZARPROF/1820 has also corroborated this.

months after the desertion are his and must be given to him (regardless of whether they had anything to do with each other).[13]

Amongst the Kurama, the youth who wishes to marry must first consult the girl's parents, if they agree, he pays them a bride price which may be of any value but is seldom of about forty thousand cowries, one basket of rice, one basket of guinea - corn, one goat, four chickens and one pot of honey .While in most cases, the parents chose husbands and vice - versa for the children. When these preliminaries have been agreed upon, the youth and his friends numbering between four to twelve will yearly work on the farm of his future father – in - law for as long as the girl becomes marriageable (sometimes extending over ten years). During this time, he also presents his prospective parents – in - law with small gifts. When the girl is old enough, the youth goes and seek for a date for the marriage. He takes with him at this time, two woman's cloths and two handkerchiefs. Should the parents agree, the girl is dressed in the youth's cloth and he takes her off to his house where a beer feast is held. Other informants explained that the girl was usually taken in tears and with much difficulty to the groom's house. A strong girl of about nine years accompany her and assist with the fetching of water and firewood which usually lasts for one to two months. This is known as *uturusu*.[14]

It sometimes happens that when the girl reaches marriageable age, she prefers someone of her generation; this used to happen and it is known as *gupi*. Complaint is then made by the young man (the initial suitor) to his clan leader. The preferred suitor and his parents are sent for and the matter is enquired into. If the girl persisted on her choice, then he (the preferred suitor) must pay a fine of a *kantu* of salt or its value – about 1,000 cowries to the chief / clan head. This was divided among the old people of the clan by the chief. The girl was then left with the man of

[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Oral interview with Mr. Dantani Yani and Malama Kande Garba...

her choice, but the first two male children of her marriage would belong to the former suitor as a compensation for the work which he had done on her father's farm for so many years or in a few cases, he refunds the value of the farm work performed by the original suitor.[15]

From the foregoing, it is clear that the marriage customs of the Gure, Kahugu and Kurama are similar especially the *baiko* in which the work or agricultural services that the sons – in - law were exposed to were the same and the beer drinking that accompany the wedding. However, this could not be far from the fact of long co - existence together as well as the inter - relationship between the groups since none of the group's tradition of origin indicated the same origin except of course the fact that they belong to the Benue – Congo sub group of the Niger – Congo family group of languages .

On the other hand, the Sheni had a complicated system of marriage by exchange. In other words, no Sheni man could get married unless he had a younger sister whom he could exchange for the sister of another man (whom he wanted to marry) of the same group. No matter how young the girls might be, they could always be exchanged and no man could exchange an older sister, therefore, the eldest son of a family had the right to exchange any female child born after him and the next brother in succession, any female child which followed him. However, in a situation whereby there is only one female child, the eldest brother had the right to exchange her, but he is to provide a wife for their father's younger brother. In the case of the eldest child being a female, the brother cannot exchange her but his kinsman can, so she is exchanged thereby providing a wife for her brother's kinsman. The first female issue of this marriage is then exchanged for a wife for her brother.[16]

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[15] Ibid.

[16] On very few occasions however, a girl who finds a suitor somewhere i.e. not amongst their own language group stays with that man without the marriage rites necessarily observed. The informant knew a girl that did that.

Should a man be the only son and have many sisters, he exchanges as many as he wishes and give the remainder as gifts to his kinsmen who can exchange them for wives. Besides the exchange of the younger sister, widows who are not inherited by a younger brother of the previous husband and who return to their original house may be exchanged again, but not by the original exchanger, but by his younger brother (s). In addition, if a woman leaves her husband, then he at once claims his younger sister back again from his brother – in - law with whom he had exchanged and could re - exchange her for another wife.[17] It should be clear then, that boys who belong to a family that does not have female children cannot get married since they have no body to make exchange with. They can only marry from neighbouring communities.

Marriage amongst the Muslim groups in Lere is based strictly on Islamic principles in addition to the observance of some traditional rites. The first of the principles is the mutual understanding between the boy and the girl (although in most cases parents chose husbands for their daughters and vice versa). Secondly, consent of the girl's parents (which normally precedes courtship, and the wisdom is to avoid courting a girl whose parents had already chosen a husband for her). The third of the principles is the bride price; the fourth, being representatives of both bride and groom and finally, witnesses. While in the traditional aspect, certain formalities had to be observed before the final wedding day. This include: first, gift to the bride which could take the form of money, clothes, jewelries e.t.c and is expected to be as frequent as possible (*kayan toshi*). The second is money (otherwise known as *kudin gaisuwa*). to be taken to the bride's house by the groom's representatives usually six months or even a year to the wedding. This money is later estimated to be about £2 - £3 which is shared amongst the girl's relatives signifying the acceptance of the boy by both parents and relatives of the girl. Third in these formalities is the *kwaryar sa rana* which consist of about twenty to thirty measures of maize, two

[17] Ibid.

wrappers and some money usually up to £5. The groom's family carry this to the girl's family alongside the date they want the marriage to take place. The bride's family either accepts the proposed date or fixes another date and later sends it to the groom's family. The bride price is expected to be at the bride's house two days before the wedding (in the case of the Fulani, a cow is usually given as the bride price which the woman will look after in her matrimonial home).[18]

In addition, it is the tradition of the people (Muslim groups) of *kasar* Lere that the bride is taken to her husband's house a day after the wedding *Fatiha* i.e. after all ceremonies have been concluded. Traditionally, the wedding *Fatiha* takes place on Friday after *Juma'at* prayer.[19] Similarly, it was a common tradition of the people of Lere to conduct *auren zumunta* (marriage among relations) as it is not prohibited by the Islamic Law. The maturity age for a girl to be married ranges between nine and twelve years while that of the boy is between fifteen to eighteen or twenty years. However, by the end of the 19th century, inter marriages between the various groups that made up *kasar* Lere were conducted such as between the Hausa and the Kurama, or Gure, between the Gure and Kahugu e.t.c.[20]

Concerning birth, no particular customs attend the actual birth of a child and no ceremony takes place until the name is given. Among the Kurama, the mother of the new born may not leave her room for seven days after delivery, but on the seventh day, she appears holding her child and its name is given and proclaimed by the old women of the clan. This

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[18] Oral interview with Hajiya Habiba (also known as Ta'annabi), aged 75 at her residence in *Bakin Kasuwa*, Lere on 09/04/10.

[19] This is solely because Friday is a special day among the rest of the days and it is believed that all things done on Friday receive Allah's blessings. This has continued till date.

[20] *Oral interview with Hajiya Fatima (also known as Tuntu), aged 70- a product of the Kurama - Hausa marriage* who was also married to a Hausa / Fulani, at her residence in *Unguwan Malamai*, Lere , on 04/09/10.

custom also obtains amongst the Sheni. While in Gure, naming does not take place until after the child is able to sit.[21]

In Kahugu all children born during the year are named on the same day. This is a day chosen by the *Sarkin Tsafi* (he directs all affairs of the people) during the hot weather just before the rains when the locust bean (*dorawa*) trees ripened. At this time, each father sacrifices either a goat or a fowl for each child that is to be named and the usual beer drinking feast takes place. The names of the children are given by their mothers[22] although all the groups gave newborn babies names of the day they were born before the actual naming. The Kurama however, gave names of visitors to newly born babies in whose presence a woman gave birth. Amongst the Gure if a male child is born, a bow is made by the father and hanged at the entrance of the house while if it is a female child, a *gammo* (used by women to carry load on their heads) is made and hanged. This is meant to explain to visitors the sex of the newborn without making enquiries. The father of the newborn from that day will continuously visit houses or spots where beer (*burkutu*) is brewed with his container seeking for donation of *kunun yaro / jariri*. Thus, the beer is used to serve visitors who have come to see the newly born baby.

Children amongst all the non - Muslim groups in Lere are suckled for two to three years, and during this period, the husband may not cohabit with the mother of the child. Twins are considered a blessing by all the groups. On the occasion of the delivery of twins (all male or a male and a female) in the non - Muslim areas, a ram and a cock are killed in their honour, or

[21] Oral interview with people from the different groups conducted on separate days.
[22] Oral interview with Mrs. Rita Ayuba, Housewife, aged 57, at her residence in Gure on 29/04/09. And Mr. Danladi Dodo..,

should they be female, a goat and a fowl are killed. The meat is eaten by either the male or female relations of the parents according to the sex of the children.[23]

Amongst the Hausa and Fulani or the Muslim groups, as it is the tradition, the expectant woman (who is giving birth for the first time) is taken to her parent's house when the pregnancy is between six to seven months and may not return to the husband's house until after six months or one year. After delivery, the woman is confined to the room and only goes out when taking her birth. Children were given names of the day or season or circumstances they were born.[24] On the seventh day as is stipulated by the Islamic law, a child or children are given names in line with the Islamic injunction. For a son, the name is usually one of the names of the twenty five prophets of Allah such as Adam, Ibrahim, Isa, Muhammad e. t. c. It can also be one of the names of the companions of the prophet Muhammad such as Abubakar, Umar, Uthman, Aliyu, Hamza e. t. c. The name can also be one of the ninety – nine names of Allah mentioned in the Qur'an prefixed by the word 'Abdul' which means 'the servant of'; for example, Abdullahi, Abdul-Aziz, Abdulkarim, e. t. c. For a female, the name chosen is the name of a woman whose name is important in historical religious context such as, Amina, Khadija, Ruqayyatu, Fadimatu e. t. c. It should be noted that a father can choose a name for his child of either sex with or without prior consultation with his wife.[25]

As it is the tradition, on the sixth day, the father of the newly born buys a ram and some kola nuts. He sends about two hundred or more kola nuts to the parents of his wife for

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[23] Oral interview with Malama Kande Garba and Mrs. .Mallafiya Auta.

[24] The circumstances could either be during the rainy season, fasting, festive periods such as *Sallah* e.t.c. For instance, a male child born at the height of the rainy season is given the name *Anaruwa* or *Aruwa* while the female is called *Marka*, the child born during fasting is called *Dan Azumi* or *Ramalan* while the female is called *Azumi*, the child that is born during *Sallah* is called *Sallau* or *Bisallah* while the female is called *Tasalla*, while the child that is born on Arafat day is called *Alhaji* or *Hajiya* in the case of the female child, e. t. c. Or if a female child is born after two or more male children she is called *Kande* or *Tanko* in the case of a male child, a child whether male or female born after twins he or she is called *Gambo*, e. t. c.

[25] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi... Also, I. Madauci et. al; Hausa Customs... p.6.

distribution to their relatives, friends and neighbours. He also distributes some to his own relatives and friends. The number of kola nuts given to each person may vary from two to a dozen. The remaining is distributed in the morning of the naming. On the morning of the naming, the father of the child gets the front of his house thoroughly swept and then spread mats and undressed skin mats (*buzu*) for his guests to sit on.[26] Before the actual naming of the child, the *Imam* or *Mallam* (learned man in religious matters) slaughters the animal bought for the occasion. The animal can be a goat or a ram or a bull (the male is preferred in each case) depending on what the father can afford. As the animal is about to be slaughtered, the *Mallam* murmurs a short prayer, during which the name of the child is uttered. The father has at this point informed him of the name of the child.[27]

After the animal has been slaughtered, the *Mallam* and the father of the child join the crowd for the actual naming ceremony. This begins when the *Mallam* asks the assembled guests to offer prayers to the prophet. This is announced to the gathering in a loud voice by one or more professional praise singers (plu. *maroka* sing. *maroki*) who often turn up uninvited at such ceremonies. When the prayers have been said, the *Mallam* reads aloud his own prayers in Arabic and Hausa. He blesses the child, announces its name and hopes that it will live a long and useful life as a member of the Islamic faith. He then raises both arms with his palms upwards and passes them over his face. The whole assembly does the same. The *Mallam* then invites another member of the crowd to say another prayer. When this has been done and the open palms passed over the faces, he asks yet a third man from amongst the gathering to offer some more prayers. This brings the ceremony to a close and the people disperse. At about the same time, the butchers who have been invited to skin the slaughtered animal are busy at their task.

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

As the crowd disperses, the father begins a series of payments. Firstly, he pays off the *Mallam* for his services. His fees vary from about five shillings to one pound. Then he pays the praise singers. With only two in attendance, he may pay them ten shillings to one pound. The people who have skinned and cut up the meat usually get a share of the meat as well as five to ten shillings as payment for their services.[28] Next, is the mid – wife who has worked for a whole week washing the child twice a day also has to be paid. In some areas all she gets is the skin of the slaughtered animal plus its head and the legs cut off from the knees. While in other areas like our area of study, she gets these plus cash payment varying from five to ten shillings or a piece of cloth but no meat.[29]

The barber then comes forward. The child is brought to him to have its head completely shaved, to remove the uvula and make any tribal marks requested by the father. When this has been done, he is paid from five to ten shillings and in some places like the area of study, the neck of the slaughtered animal is added. The woman who has given birth (*maijego*) entertains her friends and relations in the evening.[30] On the occasion of the delivery of twins, two rams, goats or bulls are slaughtered with no distinction between the sexes.

On the other hand, circumcision amongst the Kahugu takes place at set periods which are determined by the Chief Priest (*Sarkin Tsafi*) and after he had circumcised his household, other people followed suit. The sacred knife belongs to the groove (*Tsafi*) and is not used as might be supposed. The time for circumcision is indicated when the baboons come to the groove (*Tsafi*) hill. Bundles of corn are given to them to eat and should a baboon go right up to the groove (*Tsafi*) after this, it is known that the circumcision period is due. For each child that is circumcised, a goat is sacrificed and a leg of it presented to the Chief Priest (*Sarkin Tsafi*). This

[28] Oral interview with Mallam Mato *Wanzami* and Mallam Boyi...
[29] Oral interview with Hajiya Habiba (a.k.a. *Ta'annabi*) and Hajiya Fatima (a.k.a. *Tuntu*)...
[30] Oral interview with Mallam Mato *Wanzami*...

continues and lasts for about fourteen years so even if a child is a day old, provided it is within the circumcision period, he is circumcised. And then the sacred knife will be declared hidden by the Chief Priest (*Sarkin Tsafi*). However, some of the informants are of the opinion that there can only be one of such period during a *Sarkin Tsafi's* life time.[31]

Amongst the Gure, circumcision takes place after every fifty years. When it was time, everyone is circumcised. However, if it so happens that a man has not been circumcised and he already has a son or male children, the father is usually circumcised while the children are left until after the next fifty years. Meanwhile, if a child is born today and the sacred knife will be declared hidden by the following day, that child is circumcised.[32]

Amongst the Muslim communities, Islam enjoins that a male child should be circumcised. Traditionally, circumcision is carried out when a child reaches the age of seven. It is the traditional barbers that carry out the circumcision exercise. However, it is not every barber that is competent to perform the circumcision act, but only those specially trained to do so. The knowledge is passed from father to son.[33]

Circumcision is carried out at the height of the cold season, when harmful bacteria likely to infect the wound are believed to be scarce and dry wind of the harmattan makes the wound to heal on time.[34] As circumcision is quite an ordeal to small boys, the day of the event is generally kept from them lest they run away.

On the appointed day, the barber arrives very early in the morning. The child is brought forward, gripped in the firm hands of the father or some relation. The barber digs a small hole

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[31] Oral interview with Mr. Danladi Dodo… See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820.

[32] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba… who claimed that his kinsman was among those that had such experience, and Mr. Gabriel Bako, Farmer, aged 62, at his residence in Gure. See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820.

[33] I. Madauci, et. al. Hausa Customs… p. 11, also, oral interview with Mallam Mato *Wanzami* whose family carry out the circumcision of children not only within Lere but also within the neighbouring areas.

[34] Ibid.

with his knife and the child is seated with his penis directly over the mouth of the hole. The boy's eyes are then covered by the hands of one of the people holding him. But if the boy is considered brave and unlikely to flinch under the barber, his eyes are left uncovered. The barber then tells the one or two people holding the boy to get ready and really hold him very firmly so that he cannot move violently under the pain. He then gets hold of the boy's penis, draws the skin tight and makes a cut. The blood is allowed to drain into the hole and some herbal medicine is placed over the cut. He then finds three one inch and one two inch small corn stalks which he arranges in a triangular shape with a strong string passing through them. The boy's penis is passed inside the triangle and the two ends of the strings are tied at the back of his waist. The purpose is to avoid contact between the penis and the testicles.[35] Several children ranging from one to about twenty are circumcised in a particular household or depending on the number of children that are due for circumcision. The *Wanzami /Sarkin Aska* were the one with the sole responsibility of the circumcision and thus, move from one household to the other.

After circumcising the children, the barber (*Wanzami*) then instructs whoever was going to look after the children on what to do. From that day on, he visits the patients every morning to see how they are progressing and to offer professional service and advice. The children are then kept apart from other boys and even adults. They live and sleep in a room to themselves and of course their supervisor. The reason for the quarantine is simple; too many visitors particularly children, are apt to raise dust as they walk around the dust or sand covered floor of the room. The dust may turn the wound septic if it settles on it.[36]

Children circumcised must sleep on their backs henceforth and never on their sides so that their healing wound may not be re opened. They must also stay completely naked and since it

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

is very cold at this time, a fire is kept burning throughout the night. To ensure that the children did not sleep on their sides and that when they did so, no harm can come to their penis, an ingenious apparatus is devised. A guinea corn stalk of about a foot in length is cut and a hole is made through it. Then a string is passed through the hole. The string on either side is tied to the boy's legs just above the knee. It is tied in such a way that when the boy turns over on the side in his sleep, the corn stalk prevents the knees from coming into contact. If he remains in that position for some time, the sharp ends of the corn stalk start eating into his flesh and the pain will make him turn over on his back again. This arrangement which in some areas including the area under study is called *karkiya* or *mari* in other areas which is taken off when the boy wakes up in the morning and put again at bed time.[37]

During this period of healing, which can vary from one to five weeks, the children are well fed and well looked after. Their meals must include cooked or roasted chicken, well spiced and well buttered. When they take liquid food in the form of a kind of porridge, it is well spiced and potash added to it (*kunun kanwa*). Relations and friends of the family come to their assistance with rich dishes every night. As the circumcision heals, small boys and girls tease the children and sing derogatory songs about them and they in turn throw things at them but this is all done in a spirit of good humour.[38] When the healing is complete, the children get their first washing since the circumcision, get their heads shaved and are given a new loin cloth or shorts (*bante*). Sometimes, bean cake is prepared and given away as alms to other children as a thanksgiving to God for the children's recovery.

The barber who performed the circumcision is now paid for his services in accordance with the financial position of the parents of the children. He is in most cases given corn or at

[37] Ibid, p. 12.
[38] Such songs include that of *Dan kaciya da warin tusa in ya buga gari ya waye*. The children would sing and clap their hands at the same time.

other times chicken (the quantity depended on the number of children circumcised). There is no any special celebration carried out.

4.4 - Death and Burial Customs:

Amongst the Gure and the Kahugu, the death of a young person is attended with much sorrow, but the death of an old person is a joyful occasion at which a feast is held with much beer drinking. Both Gure and Kahugu bury their dead in family graves. These consist of a hollowed out cavern approached by a well like entrance closed by a flat stone. Men, women and children are buried separately. Males are buried lying on their right sides and females on their left. The bodies are sewn up in goat skins.[39]

In Kahugu at a death, the relations of the deceased kill goats; one for a young man up to a hundred goats for an elder, which are eaten at the wake. The left forelegs and the skin are given to the deceased's household in the case of the death of a man while in the case of a woman, right forelegs are given to the deceased's household. In the case of the death of infants, they are not given the ordinary burial, but they are placed in a pot and buried without ceremony near the house, so that their souls may re - enter their mother's wombs.[40]

Similarly, no special ceremony attends the burial of a chief or the Chief Priest (*Sarkin Tsafi*) in Kahugu, however, in Gure a chief is given a new grave at the entrance of his house and here also, will be buried his mother and nephews if he pre - deceased them. At the chief's burial, goats are sacrificed at the mouth of the grave and the blood is allowed to pour into the grave. The body is buried the following morning and is wrapped in its best attire and turban. Only young

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[39] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari...

[40] NAK/ZARPROF/1820. Oral information obtained during fieldwork has also corroborated this.

men may attend the funeral of the chief and no women with the exception of the chief's sisters. The chief's wives are shut up for three days and after five days; they are allowed to re - marry.[41]

The Kurama on the other hand, bury their dead in an ordinary grave, but round the body is built a wall of stones, which eventually forms an arch over the body without touching it. Earth is then poured on top of this. Two fowls and a goat are sacrificed at the grave but this is not done in the case of children. The body is wrapped in cloths and tightly bound round with stripe of native cloth from head to toe. Chiefs, their sons and heads of households are buried in their houses; others are buried in their compounds while infants are buried near the wall of the house so that the mother may conceive again.[42] Widows mourn for four months during which they neglect their hair and do not change their clothing.[43]

The Sheni bury their dead in graves of the same type as the Kurama, the female is buried on her left side while the male is buried on his right side. An individual is buried wherever he dies and there is no special burial for the chief. Mourning lasts only one day.[44]

The Muslim communities on the other hand, bury their dead in a simple grave. The grave has to be dug to exact specifications and a piece of ground is cleared of weeds at the communal burial ground where this exists. In those days, each household has its own burial ground within the house and a special corner of the house is reserved for such a purpose. When the ground has been cleared, the length and width of the grave are marked out. Before the grave digging begins, a corn stalk is used to measure the length and breadth of the corpse so that the grave shall just fit. As the grave is being dug, those who are to prepare the shroud start to do so. The shroud can consist of a one or a three or a five piece suit, depending upon whether a turban, pants or a gown

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (Baba Kofur) and Dantani Yani...
[43] Oral interview with Malama Kande Garba...
[44] Ibid. See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820.

are required. The length of the grave is made slightly longer than the length of the corpse and the width is between one and a half to two feet. The digging is then started and continues to a depth of about a foot and a half. Then a hole within a hole is made. The inner hole (*'ya*) is about a foot wide and the same length as the corpse is dug to a depth of a foot and a half, or deep enough to contain the corpse when it is laid on its side.[45]

The body has to be washed before it is shrouded. This washing is a religious one and follows certain prescribed forms. The body is washed by one person and an assistant. The body of a female is washed by females and the body of a male by males. But a wife can wash the body of her husband and vice versa. The dead person's anus and penis are first thoroughly washed. Then an ablution is performed in exactly the same way as the ablution performed by living Muslim about to say his prayers, with only this difference, the washing of the feet is delayed until the entire body has been washed. After the ceremonial ablution, the head, face and neck are washed. Then the right side of the body is washed as far as the ankle. The left is then similarly washed. Then the right foot is washed and afterwards the left.

The body is now ready to be shrouded by those who have performed the washing. The dead body is wrapped in a piece of white cloth and placed in a hammock like bed and covered with a piece of cloth (*kubba*). It is then carried to the point where prayers are to be said and placed in front of the man who leads the prayers (*Imam*) while the rest of the crowd line up behind him in rows, one behind the other. The corpse is laid with its face turned eastwards i. e. facing the sacred Mosque in Makkah (*qibla / Ka'aba*). The *Imam* recites verses of the Qur'an aloud but unlike other prayers, no prostrations are made. The *Imam* stands at about the middle of a male corpse and about the shoulders of a female corpse.[46]

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[45] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi... and I. Madauci et. al Hausa Customs... p. 24.
[46] Ibid.

When the prayers are over, the body is carried to the grave. It is carefully lowered into the inner hole of the grave and pieces of wood or broken pots are used to cover it. Part of the soil dug out of the grave is mixed with water and the mud so formed is used to cover the pieces of the broken pots or wood. The remainder of the soil is used to cover up the grave to a height of about a foot above the surrounding ground level.[47] The same funeral rites are observed for the leader / emir and the ordinary people. No celebrations are carried out.

The burial is now over. The family of the deceased gathers at his home to receive the condolences of neighbours, friends and well wishers for the next seven days. After one week, it is customary to give alms to the poor on behalf of the deceased. This usually took the form of food like bean cakes (*kosai*), millet or corn cakes (*waina / masa*) or some millet preparation called *gumba*. This is followed in most cases by prayers for the dead. The same process of giving alms and prayers are repeated after fourty days.

The wife or wives of the deceased, including any concubines he may have had, begin a period of mourning or observe the waiting period (*takaba*). The length of the period is four months and ten days for wives and half the period for concubines. During this period, the women are to avoid all finery. They do not have their hair done or use cosmetics of any kind and they cannot get married during this time. At the end of the mourning, they can take frequent baths, wear beautiful clothes and make themselves attractive to other men and suitors can come forward and ask for their hands in marriage.[48]

[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid..

4.5 - Inheritance:

Owing to mother kin relationship in Gure, inheritance was very complicated. No son ever succeeds his father; in fact as soon as he is old enough to leave his mother, he goes to his maternal uncle's house and becomes in every way his son. This maternal uncle is the head of his mother's clan. There is no inheritance of widows by a younger brother which so often was the case with most non - Muslim groups.[49]

Amongst the Kahugu, Kurama and Sheni widows are inherited by the younger brother of the deceased while the wealth of the deceased is shared amongst his children with the eldest son getting the lion share. However, a widow has the right to refuse to marry her husband's brother.[50]

Inheritance amongst the Muslim groups in *kasar* Lere is observed according to the laws of the religion. Whatever is left behind by the deceased person, the law has already shared it or had explained how it will be shared among the heirs. Widows, parents of the deceased, male as well as female children all have their share as stipulated by the law. Similarly, if it were a woman that dies her husband, parents and children will all have a share of the properties she left behind. A deceased who is unmarried is also inherited. However, share of the male children is twice that of the female children because the women folk are considered by the religion as weak and they needed to be taken care of either by their sons, brothers or husbands.[51] Widows are not inherited; they remarry men of their choice after the waiting period (*takaba*). Sometimes, they go to their new husband's house with their children of the previous marriage especially if they are too small to be left behind or if she has no relatives to take care of them. The new husband on his own side

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[49] Oral interview with Mr. Gabriel Bako..., and NAK/ZARPROF/396.
[50] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kofur*)...
[51] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi... As well as information obtained from a recorded interview with late *Limamin* Lere, Alhaji Muhammadu Sani...

welcomes the children and gladly shoulder their responsibilities because of the reward attached to taking care of orphans as stated in the laws of the Islamic religion.[52]

4.6 - Other Social Activities:

Other social activities amongst the Muslim groups include the *bukukuwan Sallah* (*Eid – al - Fitr* and *Eid – al - Kabir* celebrations), celebration of the birth of prophet Muhammad peace be upon him (*bukin Maulidi*) and celebration of the new year of the Islamic calendar (*bukin cika-ciki*).[53] The *Eid – al Fitr* is celebrated the day after the Ramadan fast is ended.[54] Early in the morning of the day as it is stipulated by the *Shari'a* (*Islamic Law*), a household head gives out alms (*Zakkat - ul Fitr*) on behalf of himself, his wife / wives, children and any person dependent on him whether they are adult or children, male or female. The household head gives out as alms a measure of millet or the local food of the area for each member of the family. This alms giving is only done during the *Eid – al - Fitr* and not during the *Eid – al- Kabir*.

After the alms have been given out as it is the injunction and the practice throughout Hausaland including the area under study, everyone dresses in his best cloths and hurries to the praying ground in the outskirts of the village or town.[55] People are seen trooping to the praying ground from every direction. Some on foot carrying prayer mats or dried sheep skins (*buzu*). The lame and the disabled ride on their donkeys. While the Emir / *Maigari*, his household

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[52] Oral interview with Hajiya Fatu Sale, a widow who has married three times as a result of the death of her husbands one after the other , aged 80, at her residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 02/05/09. Also, M. F. Smith; Baba of Karo…

[53] The two celebrations of the Eids i.e. *Eid – al - Fitr* which is celebrated at the completion of the *Ramadan* fast or popularly known as *karamar Sallah* and *Eid el - Kabir* or *Eid el - Adha* otherwise known as *Babban Sallah* which is celebrated by sacrificing the ram in commemoration with the sacrifice of prophet Ismail by his father prophet Ibrahim (peace be upon them) are annual events.

[54] The fast is observed for a complete month and Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar.

[55] *Eid* prayers are said in an open space as instructed by the law and not in mosques.

servants and the ward heads (*Masu Unguwanni*) as well as those close to the royalty, all ride on horseback to the praying ground.

When all people have assembled, the emir and his party arrive. He dismounts and sits in a specially reserved place in the front row behind the *Imam* who leads the prayer. When the emir has sat down, the *Imam* comes forward to lead the prayers without the usual preliminaries of the call to prayer. The *Imam* starts by saying 'God is the Greatest' (*Allahu Akbar*) seven times and is repeated each time he says it by the people. The *Imam* then reads the prayers aloud. He recites any chapter of the Qur'an after the usual opening chapter (*Al – Fatiha*) and prostrates. When he gets up for the second *raka'at*, he repeats the *takbir* (God is the Greatest) five times and so do the people. Then he reads another chapter (anyone) of the Qur'an after the opening chapter.[56] After the prostrations and the short sitting during which the *Tahiya* (*Tashahhud*) is recited and the prayer concluded with 'peace be on you' (*Assalamu Alaikum*) repeated by everyone present, the *Imam* begins to read the sermon (*khutba*) for the occasion in Arabic during which he also prays for both the leaders and the led and well being of the nation. When it is over, the people disperse, but on the *Eid – al Kabir* day (the *Eid* of sacrifice), the Emir's or *Maigairi's* sacrificial lamb and that of the *Imam* is slaughtered on the praying ground before the people can return home to slaughter their own.[57] Everywhere in towns of Hausaland after the *Eid* prayers, the people make their ways to the Emir's or *Maigairi's* palace to watch the traditional horse riding (*hawan Sallah*) by the *Maigari* and his council members usually accompanied by the royal drumming (*tambura*) and music. On such a day, the *Maigari* and his council members as

[56] The opening chapter (*Al Fatiha*) is compulsory to be recited in all prayers whether obligatory or voluntary by anyone performing the prayer. It is so named because it is the first chapter of the one hundred and fourteen chapters of the Holy Qur'an.

[57] Sacrifice is strongly enjoined on all those who can afford to offer it. The minimum acceptable age of the offering of sheep or ram is one year although some authorities accept ten months and others eight months.

well as those of their subjects who have got mounts, dress up in their best finery. Apart from their own outfit, their horses too are dressed up in a manner worthy of admiration.

After the prayers are over, the Emir / *Maigari* and the various title holders make their way to the palace, each surrounded by his contingent. At the head of each contingent are the *zagage* (sing. *zagi*) or pages, usually three in number. These invariably carry folded blankets over their shoulders; with the blankets they cover the saddle of their master's horse when he alights to say his prayers. They also carry swords slung over their shoulders. The swords have sheaths coloured red, green or some other colours. They also carry a stout bamboo club to ward off unruly horses. One of them carries their master's staff.[58] Behind the *zagage* comes the district head himself, riding on a large stallion which has been well dressed in colourful trappings. Some district heads are even more particular about their horses' wear.

The procession makes its leisurely way through the town. When it reaches the palace grounds, the *zagage* get out of the way and those on horseback will gallop in groups to offer *gaisuwa* to the paramount ruler / chief. This is done by raising the right hand, palm closed, in salute, the left hand is used in drawing the reins of the horse as the riders approach the point where the Emir is sitting. This continues until all groups have so saluted the Emir; in some cases several rounds are made. When the Emir / *Maigari* reach the palace gates, he stops there to acknowledge the salutation of the horsemen. When this is over, a call for silence is made and the Emir / *Maigari* give his annual speech / address. He calls on the people by enjoining them to be law abiding, to live in peace with one another and to be good citizens.

The moment the Emir / *Maigari* has finished his address, drumming and music resumes and he is escorted by the council members into his palace and later each of them is escorted to

[58] I. Madauci et. al; Hausa Customs… p. 38. Generally, the gown worn by a *zagi* is of striped or native woven cloth in which tiny black and white spots alternate or in some bizarre coloured cloth calculated to make him stand out. They wear black turbans to complete their outfits.

his house according to seniority of office. The elderly go their separate ways while the youths stayed behind as they are entertained by the different entertainers and later everyone goes home to resume again in the evening hours for a lot more activities.[59]

The *Eid* festival whether the *Fitr* or *Kabir* is an occasion when every householder tries as best as he can to buy himself and his family new clothes. With regards to the feeding arrangements, he slaughters chickens and buys enough meat for a massive meal to be prepared for the family and for distribution to friends, relatives and neighbours; in fact enough to feed anyone who happens to call at the house. Similarly, boys and girls spend the next three to five days or in some places like the area under study up to one week visiting the houses of relatives and acquaintances. Everywhere they go, their new clothes are loudly admired and gifts ranging from meat, sweets, and in later days money are given to them. At the end of each day's round of visits, the girls spend the rest of the day dancing to the tunes of drums or *kalangu*. The boys love to watch the dancing and most of them can be found there. In fact, they spray on the girl that danced best and a lot of them got their suitors there.[60]

However, *hawan Sallah* during *babban Sallah* used to be a very big event where communities (including the non - Muslim groups) surrounding Lere participated, each of the groups show casing its talent. The celebration lasts from morning to about the time of the noon prayer (*Zuhr*) and continued after *Asr* (afternoon) prayer and this continues for three consecutive days.[61] While the celebration of *karamar Sallah* used to be a lesser one because

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[59] Boys and girls as well as adults love to watch the various entertainers that flock into the towns during the festival. These include '*Yan Kama*, '*Yan Gambara*, '*Yan Tauri*, e. t. c. all of whom are minstrels who make people laugh by what they say and how they say it. There were also all kinds of charmers who play with snakes, hyenas, monkeys and scorpions.

[60] Oral interview with Hajiya Jami, aged 65, at her residence in *Kwamma*, Lere, on 27/12/2008 who testified to the fact that she met her husband at such joints and that it was a pride for a girl in those days to be one of the best dancers and that people laugh at any girl who does not know how to dance.

[61] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad... On each of the day, there were series of entertainers who show case their talents in front of the *Maigari* who is usually seated in front of the palace with his council

Maigarin Lere used to go to Zaria and celebrate the *Sallah* with the Emir. Accompanying the *hawan Sallah* in almost all parts of Hausaland including our area of study is the *hawan daushe* which usually take place a week after *Sallah* or the Friday after *Sallah*.[62] This also involves the riding of horses by the *Sarki / Maigari* and his council members to surrounding villages after which the *Sarki / Maigari* returns to the palace (*fada*) for onward show casing of other cultural activities like the *sharo* of the Fulani.[63]

By the 19th century and after the Jihad, *bikin cika-ciki* and *bikin Maulidi* became prominent. *Bikin cika - ciki* is meant to celebrate the commencement of the new year (of the Islamic calendar) during which the people fast for at least two days as recommended by the Islamic law.[64] On the second day, the people in most cases slaughter chickens or even rams (for those that can afford) and prepare delicious as well as variety of dishes which they ate and distribute to friends and relatives at the break of the fast. *Bikin Maulidi* on the other hand, is observed during the third month of the Islamic calendar in commemoration with the birth of the prophet Muhammad peace be upon him. It is celebrated by reading the story of the life of the prophet Muhammad may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him as well as chanting praises in his honour and reciting the holy Qur'an, which usually lasts from evening till dawn. All categories of people are involved i.e. ranging from children of about six or seven years to

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members surrounding him. Each entertainer is rewarded according to his talent. Similarly, the royal drums (*tambura*) are beaten every night after the night prayer and are only stopped when it is around midnight. This is done for about five days from the *Sallah* day.

[62] In the case of *karamar Sallah* which the *Maigari* goes to Zaria for the *Sallah* celebrations, the *hawan daushe* usually take place a week after *Sallah* (but on a Friday) while during *babban Sallah*, it takes place on Friday even if *Sallah* is celebrated today and tomorrow happens to be Friday.

[63] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad. This *hawan daushe* has a long antiquity in Hausa land and in our area of study; it started at around the later part of the 19th century. However, other social activities and gatherings like the dancing to *kalangu* music, the drumming of the *tambura* e. t. c. took place instead of the *hawan daushe*.

[64] The fast is enjoined on the 9th and 10th of the first month of the Islamic calendar i .e. *A l -Muharram*.

adolescents and adults. In later years, the people especially those participating sew new clothes that served as uniform and appeared good.[65]

Another tradition celebrated by Muslim communities in the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate was *tashe*. This is done at the last ten days in some parts of Hausaland or at the last fifteen days of the month of *Ramadan* (i.e. the fasting period) in other places like in our area of study. Children between the ages of five to fifteen got dressed in most cases at night (depending on the type of *tashe* they wish to carry out) and move from house to house singing and dancing usually of a humorous character where they are given gifts of either grains of guinea corn or millet while in later years and in larger towns, they were given money which they keep and share at the end of the whole period of the *tashe* (on the last day of Ramadan). However, older boys do not enter people's houses. They generally find the head of a dead donkey and carry it about and dress themselves in odds and ends and they move from front door to front door singing *macukule*. They speak with heavy accent as if Hausa is not their mother tongue and they cannot speak it well. They usually say all manner of silly things in humorous ways calculated to make people laugh. The people / listeners present them with money or any gift which they shared amongst themselves at the end of the night's performance before they disperse until they meet again the next night. They continue the performances until the end of the fasting period and sometimes they perform even on *Sallah* day.

[65] The *Mauludun Nabiy* is commemorated at the 3rd month of the Islamic calendar i.e. *Rabiul Awwal* in most cases on the 12th which is considered to be the actual date of the birth of the prophet. However with time, and since this group would want to attend or witness the one conducted by another group, they no longer stick to the 12th but any day within the month. Similarly, the sewing of new clothes does not only apply to the participants but to anybody who has the ability and wishes to appear good on that day.

4.7 - The Political Organization of the People:

Lere was founded and established by the Fulani as has already been demonstrated in chapter one. Accordingly, other groups of people were already settled in different sections of *kasar* Lere before the arrival of the Fulani group who claimed to have established the area. Therefore, before the coming of this Fulani group and since it was after Danfodio's Jihad, the different communities happened to organize themselves based on their culture and religious beliefs. Each community was made up of several clans and each clan was in turn made up of families who had the same lineage or were related through marriage. It is important to note that at the initial stage of their existence, authority did not transcend beyond the family, so each family was independent of another. The head of each family was responsible for his family. However, concerning the training of the youth, all members of the community were responsible. Meanwhile, each community came together to select a Priest referred to as *Bukarma Matasfi*[66] amongst the Kahugu and the Gure and *Ugon Chif*[67] amongst the Amo. Similarly, the bravest man in the community was accorded respect and given the title *Ukarma ya tawanga*[68] among the Gure and *Bukarma Buzuntu*[69] among the Kahugu. The Priest's function include among other things conducting festivals at the commencement of the farming season as well as during harvest, circumcision festival e. t. c.

By the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century however, it is discernible that among all the groups, a political hierarchy was emerging (probably due to the fact that some Hausa and Fulani groups had settled amongst them), where the community head (selected by elders of the different clans) was at the head of the administration and was assisted

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[66] J. S. Jatau; Historical Development of ... p. xviii and oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari...
[67] Ibid p. xiii.
[68] Ibid p. xix.
[69] Ibid p. xviii.

by the Chief Priest in co - ordinating the various activities of the people. It was also this group of elders that intervene in intra and intergroup quarrels (if there were any) and ensure peaceful relations among members of the community with the household head acting as intermediary between his household and the administration.

Similarly, as a result of population increase, a combination of several villages led to the selection of a leader who was nominated not on the basis of his age but brevity and in most cases, he was a war warrior who had excelled in battles that became the leader of the various villages. His powers were controlled by religious sanctions. His judgments were final because they were said to be directed by God. Hé is then assisted by the community heads (i.e. every community had a head representing them) and the Chief Priests.

Beside the community heads and the Chief Priests, other titles such as *Sarkin Noma, Uban Farauta, Sarkin Ruwa*, and *Sarkin Tsafi* emerged. It should be clear however, that holders of these offices owed their positions to the elders of their individual village settlements. And just like the clan heads and community heads, only people of proven qualities of good character, honesty, hard work, generosity, bravery and with excellent human relations that were selected to these offices. Except for the occupational titles such as *Ubandoma, Yari, Sarkin Ruwa* e. t. c. whose selections were thrown open for contest to the brave and hardworking in the society, appointments to the offices were hereditary to certain families by the beginning of the 19th century.[70]

The immigration of the Hausa explains why the functions of the subordinate political title holders were virtually similar to those of the states of Hausaland. Thus, the *Sarkin Fada, Galadima, Madaki, Magaji* and so on constituted officials of the various communities in *kasar*

[70] J. G. Nengel (et al); History of the Chawai .... pp. 47- 49.

Lere. These titles however, existed mainly in the major centers where we have the seat of government, while other towns or villages had only the ritual, as well as the other occupational titles.[71]

Apart from the authority that is centered on the household head and other elders in the community, members of the village community were forced into other forms of loyalty because of the association the members had to enter into with others which was on the basis of age grade and occupational pursuits. To understand the social and political relations that existed among the groups in the area, a further elaboration on the age - grade and occupational grouping is necessary.

A major basis for social identity and organization was the age - grade which was often formed for the execution of community projects and for the defense of the village against external attacks. This organization incorporated all the village population organized in a hierarchy of age – grades. Among all the groups, the hierarchy of the age - grades was divided into four. At the bottom of the ladder were children below the age of twelve. Socially, they were allowed to mix freely with their female counterparts and at times, were even allowed to sleep together.[72] Their major activities in the economic sphere included running of errands, taking care of domestic animals and looking after the house and the smaller children when the working adults were away to the farms.[73]

The next group consisted of those whose age ranges between twelve and twenty. This group was considered economically viable for the society. Because it was at this stage that members were initiated into adulthood. During the initiation exercise, members were trained to

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[71] J. G. Iliya; Impact of British Colonial Rule ... p. 14.

[72] This is regardless of whether they are related or not and the elders were rest assured that the children will not enter into any sexual relationship.

[73] Oral interviews with Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Dantani Yani and Mr. Danladi Dodo... conducted at different times and in different places.

accept social responsibilities in the society. Hence, the group was saddled with the responsibilities of building and maintenance of the shrines, clearing of public spots such as dancing ground and the clearing of new farms for the community. They were also engaged in hunting expedition.[74] The youths were responsible for the general defense of the village and fought wars. It was this group that actively participated in dance festivals and it was the body that constituted the work force. They were mobilized for the maintenance of roads, market centers as well as other community projects. It was only after the initiation that the society considers this age group ripe for going into marriage through the permission and directive of the household head. Basic training into manhood was received by members of the groups who during the initiation period stayed in the shrines and were beaten so as to train them to endure hardship when they are faced with the realities of life.[75]

The next group i.e. second in the ladder was those that have successfully passed through the above training and have successfully undergone the initiation process. This age - grade constituted the cream of the labour and fighting force of the community. It was only the members of this age group that were allowed to find new settlements or households with the expressed permission of the head of the former household. The founding of new settlements or households by this group was seen as a progressive step because it was seen as a step towards the expansion of the clan.[76]

The final group or those at the top of the ladder could be regarded as the council of elders. This group played both political and religious roles. They were regarded as the link between the living and the souls of the departed ancestors. They were very knowledgeable in the society's norm and therefore, the custodians of such society. Age was fundamental in

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[74] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Mr. Peter Gimba... conducted separately.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

determining the religious and political system that emerged in the society of *kasar* Lere. This group mainly consisted of the heads of the various households and sub - clans which largely formed the leadership in the various polities. Among their responsibilities were appointing the head of the council of elders and subsequently the village head / chief. They also interfered in issues relating to disputes either on land or marriage. So to some extent, they also exercised judicial functions. Cases concerning clashes between clans or communities were usually referred to the village head / chief.[77]

It should be clear however, that even though the woman was not accorded any special position in the social ladder; she was responsible for the expansion of the clans and the community as a whole since she was the producer of the producer. This procreative power makes her so important that rules, prohibitions, controls and restrictions on sex were made in consideration of the pubescent woman.

Generally, this social hierarchy went further to maintain the political systems as they evolved amongst the various groups in the area. The political organization of the people of this region went beyond language groups because the territorial boundaries of the polities had within them other groups that did not necessarily speak the same language as those of the dominant group.

4.8 - The Religious and Judicial Systems:

From our previous discussions, it is clear that the evolution of religious, political and social organizations and the judicial system were informed by the economic forces that were at play among the groups. It is therefore not surprising that the political institutions found their

[77] Ibid.

expression in the religious organizations that we shall highlight. The religious and judicial processes of the people earned the elders a prestige which lies in the respect that the people had knowledge (acquaintance with customs, genealogy, history e.t.c.) which is identified with and reinforced by a series of techniques (magic, divination, cultural rites, e.t.c) that guaranteed the elders exclusively by means of barriers that are either institutional (initiation rites) or esoteric (sorcery medicine).[78]

From the onset, kinship relations were maintained not only through emphasis on blood relation, but religion which is taken as the worship of the ancestors was further used to control and maintain the kinship ties. Religion therefore, became an ideology through which the elders maintain law and order which also found expression in the judicial system. For religion set forth the rules that govern the society which they could not comprehend in reality, it was therefore regarded as the only way through which the people could comprehend reality. It was then that they used it not only as an instrument of social control but also as an effective ideology upon which the system operates. It was through the judicial system that those who violated the religious system / rules were punished. Based on this, the discussion on this aspect will go hand - in - hand since the two systems are inter - twined.

Religion among all the groups in *kasar Lere* (the non - Muslim groups) is embedded in every sphere of their culture. It emerged as a result of their inability to comprehend ideas and mental attitudes, which have to be inferred. They conceive god in a universalistic point. He created the universe and therefore has the powers to direct and control the forces of nature. As such, all would appear to have a monotheistic belief; God is known to the Kurama as *Ashili*, to the Gure as *Kashila*, to the Kahugu as *Kashiri* and to the Sheni as *Ashi*. There seemed to be a

[78] Terray, E; Marxism and Primitive Societies: Two studies, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1972.

strong etymological resemblance between these names, and the most probable explanation being that all are derived from the *Ashili* of the Kurama, who are by far the most numerous language group next to the Fulani and the Hausa not only in Lere but in the neighbouring districts as well.[79] It is most likely therefore that they must have at some time exercised a considerable influence over the others since traditions of the Gure indicated that they were once defeated by the Kurama in a war.[80]

Closely related to this Monotheistic belief are the worship of ancestors and the worship of the Penates of the sacred groves personified by the tree or stone. Ancestor worship is practiced by all the groups. The customs and ceremonies are much alike and in fact follow the usual customs connected with the worship of ancestors amongst the groups. Thus, the head of each household acts as the medium through which the spirits of the departed may be approached by members of the family if they needed their assistance. Offerings of salt, meal and beer were made at the family grave, should the salt and meal have vanished when the grave is visited on the next day, the suppliant will know that the wish has been granted, where upon the head of the household drinks the bear which presumably has been tasted by the ancestors. On the other hand, if the salt and meal are untouched, it means further prayers and offerings are demanded.[81]

Amongst the Gure owing to their mother kinship relationships, approach to the ancestor is through the head of the mother's household, the maternal ancestors being propitiated and not the paternal. But the spirits of the dead are not all well disposed. Among this people, the soul of an evil person will continue to be troublesome for at least one month after death. It will keep people

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[79] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British Colonial Rule on... p. 25; NAK/ZAKPROF/1820 and oral interviews with Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Peter Gimba and Mr. Gwonyo Garba...

[80] Oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Mr. Peter Gimba...

[81] Ibid.

awake at night and has even been known to drag them from their beds so that when they awake, they found themselves outside their houses.[82]

On the other hand, the *Tsafi* / grove worship amongst these groups appear to be the most important of all their religious beliefs and the one in which they stand most in awe. Among the Kurama, each clan has its own *Tsafi* grove and its *Sarkin Tsafi* who is commonly known as the *Sarkin Dutse* or *Sarkin Itace* according to whether stone or tree is the object of worship.[83]

In Gure, there is no *Sarkin Tsafi*, the office being vested in the person of the chief, who however, cannot perform the mysteries until he has been presented with the sacred sword originally given to them by the Kurama. His sacredness is exemplified by the fact that he must eat alone and unobserved.[84] While in Kahugu the *Sarkin Tsafi* ruled the life of the entire people, no event of any importance taking place without his having first consulted the *Tsafi*. As such, no planting may take place in the area until the *Sarkin Tsafi* has planted his own crops, should this happen, the delinquent must bring a ram to him for sacrifice and thus, expiate his sin. It should be noted that not only to general planting does this apply but to each individual crop.

Before the planting of each crop, the *Sarkin Tsafi* sacrifices a ram at the sacred grove so that the sowing may be under the good auspices of the deity and the guardian spirit of the people. Similarly, at the harvesting period, a cock is sacrificed and when the *Sarkin Tsafi* begins to reap, it is known that all may do so. At the time of the mass circumcisions, no one may be circumcised until the *Sarkin Tsafi* has circumcised his household.[85]

On other occasions when some special favour is requested and the usual beer drinking feasts are held, no one may begin until the *Sarkin Tsafi* has poured out his own libation to the

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[82] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba, Mr. Danladi Dodo and Maidodo Maisamari... Also NAK/ZARPROF/1820 has corroborated this.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

gods, then the household head pour out his own libation and begin the feast.[86] The *Sarkin Tsafi* of the Kahugu appeared to be a more powerful and more sacred person than those of the other language groups. Both he and all members of his family must not wear cloth of any kind and are always dressed in leather loin coverings. Therefore, just as in any religious beliefs, the Omniscience God has to be approached through some lesser gods which are represented in their worship of idols and spirits in forest and caves. All those who headed the various cults were the Priests.

Crucial to the discussion on religion is the fundamental issue of worship of the earth cult during the *makanta* (*acca* planting ceremony) and *nabila* (manure spreading ceremony) among the Gure and Kahugu by the *Bukarma Matsafi* (Chief Priest) and *Ugon Chil* among the Amo. It was on the basis of this respect accorded to him that he had the final say in all judicial matters in the various areas. These cults were also a medium or a forum used to consult the gods especially on matters that were beyond the comprehension of the ordinary human being or on the outbreak of an epidemic or the absence of rain. The occurrence of these things was considered as an offence on the gods who had to be consulted and appeased. And whenever an offence was committed, the priest and other members of the cult who were the priests of the various clans met to determine the nature of the offence and passed on the sentence / judgement on the offender who would have to pay in kind for such offences as well as offer sacrifice. The extension of whatever punishment meted on the offender was done by the cult members who were the law enforcement agents in the community after the chief priests (*Bukarma Matsafi* or *Ugon Chil*) had announced publicly the sentence. As it were, it should be remembered that all these were

[86] Ibid.

responsibilities of the elders in the society and no youth or women knew the secrets and operations of these cults.[87]

These cults were also charged with the responsibility of initiating adult members into manhood. During the festivals (which were held almost at the same time throughout the communities), the secrets of the land was revealed to the people and it was only after this that an adult can be regarded as a man. Implicit to the worship of this cult is the significance that the cult worship attached to the fertility of the land. Here, the cult was principally worshipped so that the chief crops – guinea corn in Garun Kurama, *acca* in Gure, millet and guinea corn in Kahugu produced could continue to be prolific by such worship.[88]

Principally, religion among the groups in *kasar* Lere is built around the unknown - i.e. those things that the people in spite of their age and knowledge could not give any interpretation to. It was therefore common place to find that leaders of such cults were those with some special esoteric knowledge, special language and symbolism over which they held exclusive monopoly. With this special knowledge, it was easy for them to manipulate the members of their community through the invoking of the esoteric language.[89] By chanting some incantations, members were more likely to obey and therefore, giving the elders the ability to judge and pass judgment on people who were found guilty by the incantation - religious consultation with the powers beyond human understanding. It was also through this that whenever a woman or someone committed a crime or an offence, payments were made in kind through the gifts of animals which were instantly slaughtered to appease the gods that have so been offended. In this way, the elders developed into an incipient class since they sat in council to consume those things that were sacrificed to the Gods.

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[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

It should be noted that among the non - Muslim groups of *kasar* Lere, sacrifices played an important role in the daily life of a clan or the entire groups, coupled in every case with beer drinking. Thus, at the sowing of crops, at harvest, at births and deaths, at marriage, at circumcisions, at time of drought or any crisis in the clan's life, a sacrifice of some kind or the pouring of a libation of beer takes place to propitiate the unseen and unknown god. To all the groups, phenomena of nature are signs of the displeasure or otherwise of the unknown, purposely sent as a warning to them. However, among the Muslim groups, all activities concerning justice or otherwise, were carried out in accordance with the laws of the Islamic religion although there were some among the *Hausawa* who practiced *bori* (the seeking of one thing or the other from the spirits) and which required the sacrifice of one thing or the other to the spirits by the head of the *bori*.

Thus, it becomes clear that the religious and judicial system among the people of *kasar* Lere combined with the political roles that they played derived from the authority they had on their control of the lineage and ancestral shrines. As we have also seen, this authority was further enhanced by their control of other places such as market centres where even though by the 19th century they had not started to impose taxes, the emergence of the Hausa and Fulani immigrant groups would have introduced them to luxury goods. More importantly, the relations they had with one another will further enhance this authority.

4.9 - Intergroup Relations:

This aspect of our study will attempt a synopsis of the various levels of interaction that existed among the people of *kasar* Lere. But to be sure, the relationship that existed amongst the people cannot simply be understood in terms of language and culture as some scholars have

attempted to show. For as Y. B Usman has argued, the language that is spoken by a people or its culture and / or polity cannot be understood on its own without a critical look at the human being who is not just a social being, but who has the capacity for manual and mental activity including language is reproduced beyond conception and procreation, by feeding, nurturing, socialization, acculturation training, education and socialization.[90] It is therefore our contention that rather than accepting a stereotype view that cultural relationship come about from without, we argue that such relationships, be they religious, economic or political are born out of the processes of the peoples way of reproducing themselves, the production of their means of sustaining human life.

In our discussions earliest, an attempt was made to demonstrate that issues surrounding the demarcation and identification of boundaries were based on the blazing of trees and the subsequent ownership of land. It was also highlighted that the identification of territorial boundaries were made during hunting expeditions which also meant that once these boundaries were identified, the different groups were bound to recognize the presence of the other groups in the territory and therefore sought to co - operate or interact with them in various forms. In addition, from our discussions on the ecology of the area, the picture presented was that there was bound to be what can safely be termed as regional division of labour which made the various polities to co - operate in order to meet their various needs. At the same time, the settlement pattern showed that there was hill as well as plain dwellers which went a long way to influence their religious, economic, and social beliefs.

Furthermore, oral information retrieved during field work indicated that despite the difference in the nature of dwellings of the people, they did relate to one another in various ways. One of these was the attendance of the various religious groups / cults to the yearly festivals of

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[90] Y. B. Usman; "Political Economy and Political Community" The Significance of the 19th century. Mimeo-Seminar on National question in Nigeria, Abuja, 1986, p. 15.

neighbouring villages and polities. Informants among the various groups like the Kurama, Kahugu, Gure and Amo showed that they bear the same name for God.[91] Moreover, whenever any of the groups was celebrating its religious festival, the others attended and participated in the ceremony as well as took active part in the drinking, eating and dancing which accompanied the festivals. In addition, hunting forays which were usually organized by clans attracted a lot of people outside the clan. This means that if a clan was organizing a hunting expedition, other clans were invited either directly or indirectly. For instance, evidence has shown that the Gure, Kahugu, Amo and Piti attended hunting expeditions organized by the Kurama.[92]

Religious festivals were organized primarily from the people's religious point of view to show appreciation to the gods for a bumper harvest and to request same for drought free rainy season. Other festivals such as the initiation into adulthood, burial and birth ceremonies were well attended by people from different background and polities. Farming festivals for the purposes of instilling discipline into the farmers was organized by almost all the groups. The use of *inciwa* a special brand of leaves by the Kurama was supplied by them to her neighbours for the preservation of farm produce for as long as possible.[93]All these further cemented the relationship between the groups in the region.

Another important area of intergroup relation was in the area of marriage. As has been explained earlier, whenever a clan leader wanted to seek for a wife for a member of the family, a fundamental condition was that such a wife did not come from the same clan as the husband. In this regard, all marriages were contracted outside the clan. This called for marriage exchange that was contracted outside the clan and this went a long way in expanding that clan. But because of the nature of settlement, some groups did not find it easy to get a wife within the same language

[91] G. J. Iliya; The Impact of British ... p. 25.
[92] Oral interviews with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kofur*), Mr. Peter Gimba and Maidodo Maisamari...
[93] Ibid.

group. As such, the Gure, Kahugu and Piti found it easier to have marriage relations with each other. It is important to note that giving the nature of the environment, three major items were essential in marital exchange. For example, almost all the groups used *acca*, guinea corn and dried lizards as the necessary and essential items of the marriage gifts.[94] Two important things emerged from this. Firstly, whenever there was an inter clan or inter village marriage exchanges, the two villages were not likely to go to war with one another. Secondly, as a result of this, there was more fission of the cultural relationship of the people more than ever before and this will go a long way to affect their external relationship in general.

However, it should not be assumed from the foregoing that there was no war, internal feuds or wrangles among the people. For while war prone situations were being checked this did not mean the complete absence of war or clashes. Again, the concept of war among the people of this region has been grossly misconstrued in the colonial records. For while a picture of continuous war, insecurity and savagery has been painted by the people, the objective reality was that the people were more peaceful than they were thought to be as will be demonstrated.

War, in its practical sense was a major factor that exercised a considerable influence on the life and the survival of a village, town or country. Karl Marx explained that "war is the great collective duty and communal task required either to take possession of the material conditions of life or to defend and perpetuate that same possession."[95]

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[94] Ibid . See also NAK/ZARPROF/1820.

[95] K. Marx; Grundisse, Moscow, 1973, p. 378. It should be noted that since the level of the development of technology of the people in this region was relatively low, the tools used in fighting the battles / wars were relatively low as well. The wars were fought at close range using bows and arrows, spears, and slings. Knives and swords were also used when the enemy is very close. The wars were mostly fought on foot. Concerning the number of people involved in any war, the traditions of all the groups agreed that it involved the whole village men who have been initiated into manhood. As mentioned earlier, women as well as children or young men who have not been initiated into manhood were not involved in any war as a rule. They were however used for intelligence gathering and sometimes to stop the wars.

In this regard, it will be too simplistic to conclude that communal wars of pre – colonial Africa, is a savagery act as our colonial commentators seemed to have concluded. Rather, such communal wars in Africa could be considered as parts of the socio - economic activities meant to ensure expansion, restore the balance of population disturbed by a murder or by the abduction of a woman, or to increase the available labour force which in both cases was to preserve or extend in the process of production. It is important at this point to stress that most of the wars recorded in our area of study were in response to socio – economic development as pointed out by Mangvwat and Nengel [96]

a. Small affray or fights and family feuds based on local disputes over women and sometimes territorial boundaries not leading to the killings of persons especially between members of the same language groups.
b. Raids, occasional surprise attacks undertaken without any formal notification.
c. Large scale battles involving the destruction of property and the taking of enemy's heads against external aggressors rather than neighbours.

These types of wars were common among the groups in *kasar* Lere as well. Warfare, it must be emphasized were part of the processes of the transformation of these communities from one stage to the other. Rather than seeing wars in terms of head hunting, cannibalism and savagery, the issue of territorial expansion for economic purposes clearly manifested itself in the wars between the Kahugu and the Piti as well as between the Kurama and Piti. Informants from the various polities agreed that the wars were fought in an attempt by the groups to establish political supremacy over each other. However, the groups came together in the face of an external aggression.[97]

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[96] M. Y. Mangvwat, 'Warfare on the Jos - Plateau in the 19th Century A. D' in T. Falola and R. Law (eds) Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre – Colonial Nigeria, p. 6. Also, J. G. Nengel; Intergroup Relations in the Pre – Colonial *Polities* of ... p. 73.

[97] Oral interview with Mr. Peter Gimba and Maidodo Maisamari... The Chiefdom at present include; Kahugu, Gure, Amo, Kurama, Piti, Janji and Rukuba. Similarly, some wars arose because of women. This was seen in the various inter and intra ethnic feuds that arose as a result of the kidnapping or elopement of a woman from another village.

4.10 - Conclusion:

What has been attempted at in this chapter is a synopsis of the social and political systems of the people that formed the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate. Our discussion on the family relations shows that the basis of authority of the household lies basically on the household head and this in turn was basically due to his knowledge of the ecology, tradition and his control of the surpluses of production of the society. That as a result of the growth in population which was probably due to improvement in agriculture, the lineage based political system that could incorporate members of different clans into one political unit on the basis of territorial conquest. Even though the allegiance that a clan member has for his clan head is not totally uprooted because of residency, the member now found himself giving unflinching loyalty to the new found leader; this was one sure way through which the various polities emerged. With the evolution of the various polities, there emerged in each polity the need for authority. This was found in the *Ugo Na Map* (Amo), *Ukarma ya Tawanga* (Gure), *Bukarma Buzuntu* (Kahugu), and *Burukura* (Kurama) with their chain of council of elders. This group performed both religious, judicial and political functions, for it were they who consulted the gods and carried out justice to whoever deviated or went against the laws of the land. The different age grades performed the various tasks assigned to them by the elders and was often brought into close supervision by the elders. The surplus that was appropriated went a long way to satisfy individual's economic and social needs. As it has already been mentioned that even though the household head controlled

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This state of warfare was however, temporary because as soon as the defensive or offensive village establishes its supremacy over the other, the war automatically ceases. Some of our informants also point to the fact that once the kidnapped woman bears a child for the "enemy" village, the war came to a halt. In addition, as a matter of rule, women and children were not killed at any of the battles that occurred between two warring villages. Even though this was prohibited by the laws of the lands, it appears more probable that the motive behind the prohibition was informed by their productive capacity.

the surplus, he in turn gave it back to the various members of his household and even though some of the surpluses were appropriated in sacrifices to the village cult, there was serious class distinction at this point in time. What was more was that this type of appropriation has a recycling effect in that even though not everybody enjoyed from the meals so offered to the idols, it meant that whenever one is qualified to be part of such council and enjoy such meals, he would do so. It is clear that one's ability to attain such status was based primarily on age and not exploitation of the lower class.

Similarly, the various groups related with one another through religious festivals, trade and sometimes war. And even though wars were fought, the picture painted by colonial administrators and anthropologists have been discarded for want of empirical data. From the discussion thus far, what is of significance is the singular fact that the topography did to some large extent hindered the development of the various polities into a centralized state system. The immigration of the Hausa and Fulani into this area by the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century brought about certain changes which shall be examined in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE 19TH CENTURY ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN HAUSALAND BY UTHMAN DAN FODIO

5.1 - Introduction:

The last chapter x – rays the political as well as social life of the people of *kasar* Lere. It shows that the family in *kasar* Lere whose basic function was procreation and the performance of other social as well as economic functions, is typically African i. e extended family type which in turn had much to do with the level of productivity of an individual or the entire house hold. The family members in their own case considered themselves as one indivisible entity and thus, carried out or performed their scheduled responsibilities. Similarly, marriage as an institution was highly respected since it was the recognized or appropriate channel of procreation amongst all the groups. Therefore, political authority begins with the family with the *Maigida* as the head and who served as representative of that family at the clan level. Clan heads assisted by the Chief Priest formed the council of elders / village council where matters concerning the village were discussed. The council was also saddled with the responsibility of forming laws and administering justice on offenders or violators of rules of the society. In addition, the chapter established the fact that all the groups believed in a supreme God, but the channels through which they communicated or sought for his assistance varied with whether it was a Muslim or non – Muslim villages / communities. Other social activities which brought the people together and united them as well were the various festivals both at clan and village levels. This chapter shall among other things analyse the 19th century Jihad in Hausaland otherwise known as the 1804 Jihad or the Jihad of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio which marked a turning point in the history of the entire Hausaland and even as far as neighbouring African countries. In doing this, we shall

begin by depicting the picture of Hausaland at the eve of the Jihad i. e highlight the factors that prompted the Jihad movement; the actors in the movement, e. t. c.

5.2 - The 19th Century in Hausaland:

The jihad movement in Hausaland represented a coalescence of various factors and like all historical movements; its underlying roots are deeply embedded in the past. The Jihad, which took place in the 19th century, is variously understood. For some, it was the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio because he inspired and led it; for others, it was the Fulani Jihad because of the ethnicity of its leaders and most of its participants. It was according to some others, the Sokoto Jihad because the movement originated from Sokoto.[1] All views could be correct. However, in this study, we will simply refer to it as the 1804 jihad because of the importance of periodisation in any historical study.

The 1804 jihad was carried out in the greater part of the area forming the present northern states of Nigeria. Lere, which is our area of study and that was part of Bauchi at the onset of the jihad and later formed a part of Zazzau, forms only a part of the large area affected by the movement. The jihad originated in the Sokoto area in the north - western corner of modern Nigeria. Before the 19th century, this region was under the Hausa kingdom of Gobir which formed one of the seven original Hausa states or the Hausa *Bakwai*. Within three years of its inception, the jihad spread eastwards into the Hausa states of Kano, Katsina, Daura and Zaria. Thus, in order to understand the movement, its causes and implications on our area of study in relation to Bauchi and Zazzau, it is necessary to discuss it from its very foundation.

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[1] Y. B. Usman; The Transformation of Katsina...

As mentioned earlier, the 1804 jihad was initiated and led by the Fulani. At the time of their infiltration into Hausaland, the Fulani perhaps comprised three broad groups: the Pastoral Fulani, the *Sullubawa* and the Orthodox or the *Toronkawa* as they are commonly known. The Pastoralists were not Muslims before the jihad, a small number of the *Sullubawa* were Muslims before the 19th century but the entire group was Islamized in the course of the jihad. The *Toronkawa* on the other hand, were Muslims long before their coming into Hausaland in the 15th century. Not only were they Muslims but they were also learned scholars who believed in nothing short of strict observance of Islam and the divine law of Islam (*Shari'a*).[2] It was this group that provided leadership in the jihad.

The Fulani, who call themselves Fulbe (sing. *Pullo*), are known by different names in West Africa. In the French speaking West Africa, they are called *Peuls*. The Bambara of Gambia call them *Fula* while the Kanuri of Borno and people of the present Republic of Sudan call them *Falata*, the Hausa call them *Fulani* and this is the term we will maintain throughout this study. Like the Hausa, the origin of the Fulani is still a puzzle. Some European writers have tried to associate them with either a Hermitic or Semitic origin. The French scholar, L. Tauxier, for example, suggests that the Fulani were originally a branch of a red Hermitic group that inhabited areas close to the Masai of East Africa.[3] It was from East Africa, according to Tauxier, that they moved northwards into Egypt and from there, followed the northern edge of the desert until they came to southern Morocco. They were then pushed further south into the Senegal River area in West Africa as a result of the Arab expedition into the Sudan which was originated

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[2] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction: The Fulani Jihad in Kano and its Aftermath, 1807 – 1919, PhD Thesis University of Michigan, 1978, p. 92.
[3] Ibid, p. 93.

by 'Ubayd Allah, the Umayyad governor of Ifriqiyya in A.D. 736. C. K. Meek,[4] on the other hand, suggests that the Fulani might have a Semitic descent because he writes that "they are probably a very ancient Libyan group whose original home was Egypt or Asia." Another author who had commented on the origin of the Fulani is D. J. Stenning who described them as:

> 'not basically of Negro stock, although it is clear that through the centuries, Fulani population interbred in various degrees with the Negro population among whom they are dispersed.'[5]

The Fulani themselves have traced their origin through the *Shurifian* dynasty of Morocco to 'Uqba bin Nafi', the 7th century Arab conqueror of North America. Both the 19th and 20th century writings of the Fulani are suggestive of their Arab connection.[6] These are not the only speculations that have been made with regards to the origin of the Fulani. A summary of the kind of controversy and conflicting views about their origin is given by A. H. M. Kirk Greene in the following words:

> The remarkable Fulani race has given rise to much scholarly controversy as to their origin, on which no definite theory has been proved. One claim is that they are of the same Polynesian stock that colonized Madagascar, another connects them with the Zingari on gypsies of Europe and traces both races back to a common Indian origin; while a third imaginatively relates them to the Huksos or shepherd Kings who were expelled from Egypt about the year 1630 B.C. There are still more fantastic hypothesis, ranging from a connection between them and the lost Roman legionaries to the ascription to the Fulani of the original colonization of Canada; certain it is that the lighter skin, thin lips, narrow nose, long straight hair and generally refined facial features of the Fulani indicate a non Negroid descent.[7]

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[4] C. K. Meek; The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, London, Oxford University Press, 1925, Rep. Ed, New York: Negro University Press, 1959, p. 2.
[5] D. J. Stenning: Savannah Nomads: A Study of the Wadaabe Pastoral Fulani of Western Borno Province, Northern Nigeria, London, Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 2.
[6] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction...
[7] Ibid, pp. 93 - 94.

Perhaps the origin of the Fulani will never be determined. Both the Fulani and those who write about them tend to look outside the African continent in the search for their origin. We are thus, back to the same old idea of Hermitic hypothesis to which the Hausa have been subjected. Whatever the mysterious origin was is of little importance to our study: what is more important to us is their infiltration into Hausaland and the changes they brought about.

Similarly, a definite date for the coming of the Fulani into Hausaland has not been determined. Perhaps this can be explained by the nature of their occupations. The Fulani who came to Hausaland were either pastoralists or itinerant Islamic scholars. The movement of people who engaged in either of those occupations cannot easily be regulated or determined. The pastoral Fulani would move from one place to another depending upon the dictates of nature. Lack of sufficient rainfall and good pasture would undoubtedly determine their movement from the north into the savannah region of the Hausaland. Moreover, unfavourable regimes that imposed heavy taxation could also be a factor to stir their movement. H. A. S. Johnston tells us that during the course of the Fulani movement from Senegambia to Hausaland, they had always avoided direct confrontation with the local peoples. Whenever they were faced with a problem such as heavy taxation or discovered that an area was not good for their cattle, they migrated further south.[8] Therefore, one could say that their movement was basically prompted by economic motive.

Likewise the movements of the *Toronkawa* scholars were dictated by several circumstances. The collapse of an empire or a state that used to harbour Muslim scholars would

[8] H. A. S. Johnston: The Fulani Empire of Sokoto... p. 22.

most certainly cause them to disperse and look for better opportunities elsewhere.[9] Again, the news of a potentially promising area for Islamic propagation could easily attract the Muslim Fulani scholars. Considering the variety of factors that could spark off movement among both groups of the Fulani, it will be very difficult to say, with any degree of certainty, the precise time they first came into Hausaland. However, the Kano chronicle records the first appearance of the *Wangarawa* Fulani in Kano in the reign of *Sarki* Yaji (1349 -85). D. M. Last on the other hand, suggested the 15th century as the most probable date for the Fulani infiltration into Hausaland.[10] And according to Alhaji Junaidu, the date was 500 A.H which coincided with the year 770 A.D.[11] It is however our feeling that, the date of the first appearance of Fulani in Hausaland was most likely in the 11th century after the defeat and invasion of the Ghana empire by the Moroccan Almoravids in 1076 A.D. This invasion caused a great deal of dislocation of people in the southern Saharan region. As the Fulani inhabited the marshy areas of the Senegal River area at that time, they would no doubt have been affected by the massive movement of people southwards. It is very possible that at this time, the pastoralist Fulani moved further south into Hausaland to avoid the commotion that might have occurred in the Senegal River region. The coming of the orthodox Muslim Fulani, however, should be related to the appearance of Islam in Kano in the second half of the 14th century.

The presence of the Fulani in the Hausa states created two major areas of confrontation even before the 19th century jihad. The first was a socio - economic problem that developed as a result of confrontation between a sedentary agricultural society and a nomadic pastoral people.[12]

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[9] The Spread of the *Wangarawa* Fulani into Hausaland was chiefly due to the destruction of the Empire of Songhai by the Moroccan Almoravids in 1076. See J. O. Hunwick, 'Songhai, Borno and Hausaland in the 16th century' in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (Eds) History of West Africa, Vol. I ... pp. 264 – 301.
[10] D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate, Longman, London, 1967, p. LXIII.
[11] Alhaji Junaidu, *Wazirin* Sokoto; *Tarihin Fulani*... p. 8.
[12] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction... p. 95.

The main occupation of the Hausa (or the group that the Fulani met) as noted in the previous chapters was agriculture. It was therefore natural that the coming of the pastoral Fulani would affect the life as well as the economy of the Hausa people. For instance, the Fulani cattle provided the much needed manure for the agricultural society and consequently better yields were realized. Again, the *jangali* became a new source of income for the Hausa states. On the other hand, the cattle devastated the crops when they were allowed to feed on the farms before the harvest. It was apparently for this reason that the Hausa governments introduced strict measures to ensure that the Fulani did not loose their cattle into the Hausa farmlands. The measures taken included; the confiscation and sometimes killing of any cattle found around the farm lands.[13] This was obviously a harsh punishment especially since the whole existence of the pastoralist Fulani centered on their cattle. It was this that pushed the non - Muslim pastoral Fulani to join the jihad in support of their Muslim brothers. We may also speculate that some Hausa peasantry fought against the Muslim Fulani during the jihad not so much to defend their rulers but only as a means of revenging the Fulani cattle destruction of their crops.[14]

The second area of disagreement was politico - religious and it was the one that brought about the jihad. The Fulani Muslim scholars found life intolerable in the society because it was in direct conflict with what they believed to be the ideal Islamic way of life. It is true that Islamic scholarship had spread among the people of Hausaland as early as the 15th century and some of them had accepted Islam peacefully.[15] A number of Arab and Fulani scholars had visited

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[13] Ibid, p. 96. The severe measures taken to protect the crops from possible destruction by the cattle were one of the accusations of the Jihad leaders against the Hausa administration. For a detailed Fulani accusation against the Hausa rulers, see Uthman Dan Fodio *Kitab - al Farq*, pp. 558 79.

[14] Ibid.

[15] H. M. Maishanu: The Evolution and Development of Historical Scholarship in Northern Nigeria, PhD Thesis, Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto, 1998. p. 121. Even Uthman Dan Fodio did not deny the fact that long before the Jihad, some Hausa people had accepted Islam through peaceful means. See his *Tanbih al - Ikhwan ala Ahwal Ard al - Sudan*, pp. 10- 15. However with time, the Hausa Muslim converts indulged in moral laxity especially their rulers who became idolaters. Their territories therefore became an abode of war (*Dar al - Harb*).

Hausaland especially towards the end of the 15th century when Islam predominated in the Songhai Empire. The visit of Al - Maghili to Kano and Katsina was one of such occasions during which the people of Hausaland were introduced to the Islamic religion and Muslim scholarship.[16] In addition, M. S. Zaharadeen pointed out that "the Hausa scholars were in constant touch with the Saharan centers of learning, such as Timbuktu and Jenne".[17] After the collapse of Songhai Empire, the intellectual orientation of Hausaland began to come directly from the east, notably from Egypt.

However, all these did not facilitate the total Islamization of the society. Neither did it stop the rulers from mixing Islam with their traditional African beliefs. It was not uncommon therefore, to find a ruler performing the daily Islamic practices at the same time keeping a talisman which he believed to be his saviour. To the orthodox Fulani Muslims, this kind of syncretism could not be tolerated. To them, there was no half way between belief and unbelief or between Islam and paganism. They could not compromise anything with Islamic law which they considered final authority. Any deviation from the orthodox way of life could not be sanctioned by the Fulani scholars. As far as they were concerned, the Hausa Kings were more or less unbelievers because they "turned against the way of God and raised the worldly banner above that of Islam".[18] For this reason, the entire Hausaland was an abode of war (*Dar al - Harb*) and therefore not fit for any good Muslims to reside in. In that situation, the orthodox Fulani found that they had only three alternatives; first, to preach Islam until the people agreed to adopt the Islamic legal system and stop their syncretistic tendencies; second, to perform *hijrah* (the flight of the Muslims from the land of unbelievers); and third, to fight a jihad in order to

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[16] Ibid, A.Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of ... pp. 338 - 9; K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate... pp. 77 –78.
[17] M. S. Zaharadeen: Abd Allah Ibn Fodio's Contribution to the Fulani Jihad in the 19th Century Hausaland, PhD Thesis, McGill University, 1976, p. 102.
[18] Uthman Dan Fodio; *Tanbih al - Ikhwan*, p. 12.

enforce an Islamic theocracy. All the three alternatives were applied by the orthodox scholars as will be seen in our subsequent discussions.

5.3 - Philosophy of the Jihad in Hausaland:

The basis of the philosophy of the Jihad in Hausaland was the desire to return to the original Islam and to strictly observe its customs and traditions as well as its divine legal system. It was therefore a revivalist movement as opposed to a reform movement which in most cases is directed to adjusting Islam to conform to the demands and needs of contemporary societies. The model of the 1804 Jihad leaders as suggested by J. R. Willis, "was the unalterable law of Allah and the unchanging *Sunnah* (tradition) of Muhammad, the messenger of God."[19] Their utmost objective therefore was to establish Islam on the same pattern as that which was obtained during the life of the prophet Muhammad and that of the first four orthodox caliphs (*Khulafa al - Rashidin*). They were thus, vehemently opposed to the idea of secularization which rendered Islam only as a religion of the individual rather than a religion of the state.

In line with this was also the underlying belief among the Muslims in general of the sayings (*Hadith*) of the prophet Muhammad. It was believed that the prophet had predicted that at the turn of every century of the Muslim era, there would appear a reviver (*mujaddid*) who would come to revive Islam and free it from the entanglement of worldly kinship.[20] The *mujaddid* would establish a pure, unadulterated Islamic state and his features are believed to be one who:

> Commands what is right and forbids what
> is disapproved of and reforms the affairs
> of the people and judge justly between them.

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[19] J. R. Willis; '*Jihad Fi Sabil Allah*: Its Doctrinal Basis in Islam and some Aspects of its Evolution in the 19th Century West Africa.' Journal of African History (JAH), Vol. 8, 1967, pp. 394 – 415.
[20] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction… p. 100.

in contrast to the characteristics of the other
learned men of his age.[21]

The *mujaddid* according to tradition would be followed by the rightly guided one (*mahadi*) who would appear during a period of chaos and disorder and who would signal the coming of an end of the world. By the end of the 18th century therefore, there was this awareness of the coming of a *mujaddid* who would pave the way for the expected *mahadi*. The *ulama* (learned men) felt it their duty to prepare the ground for the coming of the *mujaddid* and hence the proliferation of itinerant preachers all over the Hausa states. It was therefore the *ulama* who addressed themselves to the task of reviving Islam and its overall propagation.

It was therefore among the *Ulama* rather than among the rulers that the *mujaddid* was to appear. It was Uthman Dan Fodio who was the brain behind the 19th century Islamic revolution in Hausaland. He was assisted by his brother, Abdullahi and son, Muhammad Bello. Even before Uthman was born, a Fulani woman saint Umma Hani had prophesied about his coming and the movement he would lead. In *Infaq al - Maysur*, Muhammad Bello records that the woman saint had predicted that:

There would be in this land of the Sudan
(Hausaland), a saint who would revive
Islam, promote the *Sunnah* and establish a
Community. He would be followed by those
Who agreed with him and his fame would spread
Far and wide. His commands would be headed
And observed by the noble as well as the common
People, so those who would follow him would be
Known as the *Jama'a* (community) and their
Characteristic would be that they would not rear
Cattle like the rest of the Fulani. Whosoever was
Fortunate to witness the appearance of this saint,
Should follow him without question.[22]

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[21] Uthman Dan Fodio; *Siraj al - Ikhwan fi dhamm ma Yuhtaj fi Hadha al – Zaman* Partly translated by M. Hiskett in 'An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the 16th to the 18th Century', Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS), Vol. 25, 1962, p. 54.
[22] Muhammad Bello; *Infaq al Maysur*... pp. 29 – 30.

On the basis of this prophesy, the advent of Uthman Dan Fodio was being awaited at the end of the 18th century by the orthodox scholars who were very enthusiastic to bring about some Islamic reforms. At this juncture, we deem it fit to deviate a bit further to know the sort of character of the jihad leader that was capable of defeating the ruling aristocracy and establishing an empire (Sokoto Caliphate) which ruled northern Nigeria for nearly a whole century (1804 - 1903). It should be noted that even the British occupation in 1903 did not totally displace the Fulani from their position of power which was established as a result of this jihad.

The Shehu[23] Uthman Ibn Muhammad Fodio Ibn Uthman Ibn Salih was born in December 1754 at Maratta in *Birnin Konni*, a territory of the powerful Hausa state of Gobir. He belongs to the *Toronkawa* Fulani family group who were said to have migrated from the Futa Toro area in about the 15th century. They first settled in *Birnin Konni*, about 70 miles west of Gobir the capital of *Alkalawa*. Early in Shehu's life, his family moved to Degel to the south - west of *Alkalawa*. Degel was a fertile area because it was closer to the river Rima, the only major river in the whole region. As traditionally among the *Toronkawa* clan, the Shehu spent his early life in the study of Islam and its institutions.[24] He first studied the Qur'an from his father Muhammad Fodio who was himself a scholar and a teacher of high reputation. Having acquired a sound knowledge of the Qur'an, the Shehu began visiting learned men within this locality and even beyond in order to study other branches of the religion.[25] Among his famous teachers, were his

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[23] Shehu, is the Hausa version of the Arabic word *Sheikh* meaning a learned man, an elderly person or the head of a village community. In the case of Uthman Dan Fodio, the first meaning applies.

[24] For a complete educational career of the Shehu, see Abdullahi Ibn Fodio, *Ida' al Nusukh man Akhadhtu anhu min al Shuyukh*, edited and translated by M. Hiskett under the title of ' Material Relating to the State of Learning among the Fulani Before their Jihad'. BSOAS 19, 1957, pp. 550 – 78; A. Y. Abubakar; The Evolution and Development of p. 340.

[25] In the past and in fact up to the present time, the procedure of Islamic scholarship in West Africa is that each teacher specializes in particular field of study. Thus, students would have to visit different teachers to learn from their specialties. For instance both Uthman Dan Fodio and Abdullah studied Hadith (traditions of the prophet Muhammad) under Muhammad Ibn Raji who specialized in the study of canonical collections. See Abdullahi Ibn Fodio, *Ida al – Nusukh* … also his *Tazyin al – Waraqat*, pp. 94 – 95.

uncle Usman Binduri and Shehu Jibril B. Umar, a very strict Berber Muslim whose preaching was said to be extremely rigorous.[26] It was Usman Binduri who injected into the Shehu the idea of "enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong" which is the basis for all Islamic revivalist movements.[27] Shehu Jibril on his part initiated the Shehu into the mystic orders of *Qadriyyah, Khalwatiyyah* and *Shadhiliyyah.*[28] Furthermore, it is said that it was Jibril who presented the Shehu with a flag which he brought on his return from his second pilgrimage. The flag was a kind of license which authorized one to carry out a jihad against the unbelievers. Finally, it was Jibril who first paid allegiance to the Shehu even before the latter formally declared his jihad. It should be noted here that Jibril had earlier made unsuccessful attempts to wage a jihad among the Tuareg people of the southern Sahara.[29]

At the age of twenty, the Shehu qualified as a teacher after receiving a diploma (*ijazah*) from each of the many teachers under whom he had studied. So he came back to his home town of Degel and opened up his own school for the benefit of the local people. Within a short time, the number of his pupils became very substantial.[30] Students flocked to Degel from neighbouring towns in order to study under the young outstanding scholar and teacher. After a while, the Shehu began to extend his preaching activity to bigger towns like *Birnin* Kebbi and Zamfara where Abdullahi records that the inhabitants "had not smelt the scent of Islam".[31] Undoubtedly, the Shehu's fame and especially his increasing popularity could not be left unchecked by the Hausa rulers of Gobir. He was thus, viewed with great suspicion and certainly as a potential

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[26] Muhammad Bello; *Infaq al – Maysur*... p. 26.
[27] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction ... p. 103.
[28] B. G. Martin; Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th Century Africa... p. 18.
[29] Alhaji Junaidu; *Tarihin Fulani* ... p. 17.
[30] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction... p. 104, H. M. Maishanu; The Evolution and Development of... p. 190. and K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy of... p.80.
[31] Abdullahi Ibn Fodio; *Tazyin Al – Waraqat*... p. 86, H. M. Maishanu; The Evolution and Development of... A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of... and K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy in... p. 75.

threat to the rulers. From this time onward, the relationship between the rulers and the orthodox Muslims took a different form.

Thus, the Shehu began his preaching career in 1775 when he was about twenty years old. His scholastic excellence and piety attracted many students to his headquarters of Degel. Moreover, his kind heartedness and his forcefulness in preaching together with his good public relations made his lessons and sermons even more attractive.[32] Within a short time, his followers who later came to be known as the *jama'a* (community), multiplied and at the same time, the area of his preaching activity widened. The Shehu's public lectures were not only restricted to the men folk but he also felt it necessary to include the women as well. He was of the opinion that there was less evil in mixing the sexes for the purpose of education than to leave the women in total ignorance.[33] He also felt it his duty to extend his teachings to the aristocracy. He therefore paid a visit to the King of Gobir, Bawa Jan Gwarzo, in order to teach him the true religion and advice him to establish the Islamic legal system.[34] Although Bawa did not accept the Shehu's admonitions, he nevertheless very well understood him. This may be explained by the fact that Bawa, being in his mid seventies, did not wish to engage in any open confrontation with the Shehu and his ever growing community.[35]

At this stage, the Shehu did not openly declare his opposition to the King of Gobir. He was however, not afraid to preach vigorously the idea of "enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong". The failure to win over Bawa did not discourage him either; instead, he intensified his preaching activity especially in the Zamfara area where opposition to the government of Gobir

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[32] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction... p. 105.
[33] Abdullahi Ibn Fodio; *Tazyin al – Waraqat*... pp. 87 – 88. According to M. Hiskett, many of the Fulani women 'became scholars and mystics equal in learning and piety with their men folk, a state of affairs unequal elsewhere in the Islamic world of the day' M. Hiskett; The Sword of Truth... p. 26.
[34] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction ... and H. M. Maishanu; The Evolution and Development of ... p. 191
[35] Ibid.

was more pronounced. His status as a *mujaddid* had risen in the eyes of the Muslim population when five years later, in 1788, the King of Gobir, Bawa, invited all the scholars in his kingdom for the *Eid – al - Kabir* festival at a place called Magami.[36] Shehu Dan Fodio successfully emerged out of a public confrontation with the formidable *Sarkin* Gobir, Bawa Jan Gwarzo. In the presence of about one thousand (1,000) scholars (*Malamai*) assembled for the *Eid al - Kabir* prayers, the Shehu went against convention by refusing to accept *Sarkin* Gobir's gift of about five hundred (500) *Mithqals* of gold. Tradition says that the Shehu refused his share of the gifts but made five requests some of which touched on basic issues relating to the authority of the *Sarkin* Gobir as follows:

1. That he should be allowed to call people to the religion of Islam in the Gobir territory unmolested,

2. That the government of Gobir should not stop anyone from joining the Shehu's community if he or she chooses to do so,

3. That all men wearing turbans and women wearing veils should be treated with respect by the authorities,

4. That all political prisoners be set free and

5. That subjects or commoners should not be burdened with uncanonical taxes.[37]

This incident at Magami brought him out further as a *mujaddid* along the lines prophesized by that powerful influence on Islam in this area, the Sheikh Abd al – Kadir al – Maghili, who stated that:

"..... at the beginning of every century, God will

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[36] Y. B. Usman; The Transformation of Katsina c. 1796 – 1903: The Overthrow of the *Sarauta* System ... p. 241; A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of ... K. S. Chafe, The State and the Economy in ... p. 75.
[37] A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of ... H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction ... p. 106 and H. M. Maishanu; The Evolution and Development of ... Pp. 191 – 192; see also H. F. El – Masri, 'The Life of Uthman Dan Fodio.....' p. 441 and Alhaji Junaidu: *Tarihin Fulani* ... p. 12.

> Send a learned man to the people to renew their faith.
> And the characteristics of this learned man in every
> Century must be that he commands what is right and
> Forbids what is disapproved of, and reforms the affairs
> Of the people, and judges justly between them, and assists
> Truth against vanity and the oppressed against the oppressor.
> In contrast with the characteristics of other learned men of
> His age."[38]

It was most surprising that all the requests were granted unconditionally. This implies a kind of de - facto recognition of the Shehu's community. The Shehu did not hesitate to use the opportunity to intensify his attack on the administration and the society at large. Although he did not deny the fact that many of the rulers had earlier accepted Islam peacefully, he was of the opinion that they were unbelievers because of their syncretism. In his *Tamyiz – al – muslimin min al-kafirin*, the Shehu defines the Hausa rulers as:

> The group that mixes heathen practices
> With those of Islam. They are those who
> Have accepted Islam but have not abandoned
> Their heathen practices such as veneration of
> Rocks and trees by sacrifice to them.[39]

Apart from mixing Islam with paganism, the rulers were also accused of imposing uncanonial taxes. Particular among them were the *jangali*, the tax on merchants and the levy on those who refused to serve in the army.[40] The Shehu's attacks were not only directed against the ruling class but also against the scholars who supported them. According to him, the scholars were in fact supporting the syncretism of their rulers by remaining within the corrupt system and making no effort to bring about reforms. Other matters raised by the Shehu included his

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[38] Y. B. Usman; The Transformation of … p. 242.
[39] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction …
[40] Uthman Dan Fodio; *Kitab al – Farq*… pp. 567 – 568.

denunciation of some official titles such as *Galadima, Uban Dawaki* (chief of the horses) and *Yari (*chief of the jail).[41]

As long as Bawa was alive, the Shehu enjoyed a period of toleration, for Bawa upheld the concessions he granted the community. Apparently, he was avoiding a civil war in his own state so as to pay attention to external threats for towards the end of his reign; he suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Katsina forces. According to Abdul Kadir B. Al-Mustapha, the Katsina war which cost Bawa the life of his son, was the last demoralizing blow to the aged king. He died a year after Katsina's successful war against the Gobir forces.[42]

With the death of Bawa in 1790, the relationship between Shehu and the palace of Gobir took a different form. The subsequent Gobir rulers were young and weak and according to sources, they were manipulated by the venal scholars who surrounded them. The palace scholars were jealous of the popularity and the freedom accorded to Shehu. Some of them accused him of self seeking and hypocrisy.[43] Muhammad Bello records that it was those scholars who instigated King Nafata to reverse the decision of his late brother.[44] The new king thus, issued an order abrogating the five concessions that the Shehu secured from Bawa. The decree ruled out the conversion of anyone who did not inherit Islam and the wearing of veils and turbans was also prohibited. Until then, veils and turbans served as a kind of identity for the Shehu's community. Finally, with the exception of the Shehu, the new decree prohibited any other person to engage in preaching.[45] In a way, Nafata was attempting to return Islam to its former status of an individual cult. Moreover, the new measures were probably taken in order to stop the community from

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[41] Ibid, p. 569. The interesting thing was that some of these titles, especially that of *Galadima*, were retained after the successful completion of the Jihad. According to Alhaji Junaidu however, the Shehu was not against those titles per se. Rather he was against the behaviour of the holders of those titles in the Hausa era.
[42] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction … p. 107.
[43] Muhammad Bello; *Infaq al – Maysur*… pp.34 – 36.
[44] Ibid, p. 69.
[45] Abdullahi Ibn Fodio; *Tazyin al – Waraqat*… p. 107.

creating a state within a state. Since the time of Bawa, the Shehu and his followers had lived a separate entity from the rest of the people of Gobir. They were not governed by the state laws and regulations. Their leader was the Shehu and their ideals purely Islamic. Now that all these freedoms and privileges had been curtailed, the community was once again officially reintegrated into the society of Gobir. They therefore, had only two choices, either to accept the new order or to rebel against it and so declare an open confrontation with the authorities. Convinced as they were of the cause, the community naturally chose to rebel against the new order.

By this time, the Shehu's group had grown very large. They comprised both Fulani and Hausa who for one reason or the other, had become dissatisfied with the Gobir administration. Many subjects of the Gobir king joined the Shehu and this was of great concern to the new king of Gobir, Yunfa. He felt he could not just sit quietly and watch his subjects rebelling against him and in support of the dissident group. (Hitherto, the Shehu's community was generally identified with the Fulani). The new composition of the community therefore, further aggravated the already strained relations between the Shehu's followers and the Hausa aristocracy. It was at this time, according to Abdullahi, that a general persecution of the community was declared. The first victim was Abd al- Salam, a Hausa scholar who led some discontented Hausa elements to join the Shehu.[46] Abd al- Salam and his followers emigrated from Gobir and established themselves at Gimbana in *Birnin* Kebbi territory. He was therefore attacked by the forces of Gobir and though he escaped, many of his followers were captured as slaves. They were however, freed after the Shehu had intervened.[47]

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[46] A. Y. Abubakar: The Establishment and Development of ... p. 342; H. I. Sa'id: Revolution and Reaction ... p. 109; and H. M. Maishanu: The Evolution and Development of ... p. 194.

[47] There are two conflicting views regarding the manner by which the prisoners were set free. Some sources reports that the Shehu petitioned to the king of Gobir who ordered the release of the prisoners. Other sources however,

It was at this time, according to D. M. Last, that the Shehu wrote his *Masa'il al - Muhimmah* in which he stated the obligation of emigration (*hijrah)* and jihad against the non - Muslim states.[48] On the basis of this, the Shehu and his followers decided to emigrate from the land of Gobir which to them had qualified as a perfect *dar al - harb.* The King of Gobir realized that this wave of emigration was detrimental to the progress of his state. The state would suffer economically since there would be less people to pay taxes. The decrease in population would also make the state weaker among the warring Hausa states. Already the effect of many people joining the Shehu had manifested itself by Gobir's recent military defeat in the hands of Katsina forces.[49] Furthermore, allowing the community to emigrate was tantamount to giving in to their rebellion which the King of Gobir was not willing to do. He therefore, sent a message to the Shehu to inform him that he alone and his immediate family could emigrate and the rest of the people should remain. This was unacceptable to the Shehu whose followers were a kind of extended family to him and so he replied saying, "I will not forsake my community but I will leave your country, for God's earth is wide".[50]

The Shehu sent out letters, from Magabshi, to the rulers of Katsina, Kano, Zazzau and others in the region. In these letters, the Shehu is said to have explained to them that he was striving to revive the *Sunnah* and establish the *Shari'a* by destroying *bid' a* (innovations) and that he was on the side of truth against falsehood. He asked them to be sincere Muslims and to stop all the practices forbidden by the *Shari'a*, and requested that they help him in his jihad. He told them not to be deceived by the rumours spread by his enemies into helping them against

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report that it was Abdullahi Ibn Fodio who organized an army, intercepted the Gobir warriors, and freed the captives. See D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate... pp. 14 - 15, and H. M. Hiskett; The Sword of Truth ... pp. 71 - 73.

[48] D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate ... p. 13.

[49] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction ...

[50] Abdullahi Ibn Fodio; *Tazyin al - Waraqat*... pp. 70 - 71. See also Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al - Maysur* ... pp. 67 - 68 and Uthman Dan Fodio; *Tanbih al - Ikhwan* ... p. 44.

him; and warned them that joining his enemies will only bring calamity upon them, as Allah has sworn to help the believers and defeat the unbelievers. When the messengers of the Shehu delivered the letters, it was said that *Sarkin* Katsina Bawa Dan Gima, read and then tore it up with anger and contempt; the *Sarkin* Kano, Alwali, on the other hand, wavered before rejecting it, while *Sarkin Zazzau* Isiyaku Jatau accepted the requests of the Shehu but found himself opposed by some of his people.[51]

As such, the community (*jama'a*) decided by the 21st of February, 1804 to move to Gudu, some forty miles southwest of present day Sokoto. Although Gudu was not as fertile as Degel, it was a more ideal place for the militant group which the community *(jama'a)* had by then, become. Gudu had a kind of natural fortress with steep ridges surrounding it providing protection for the *jama'a* to organize themselves for the impending show down with the rulers of Gobir. Soon after they reached Gudu, the *jama'a* paid allegiance to the Shehu and elected him as their leader with the title of *Amir - al - Mu'uminin* (the commander of the faithful).[52] By now, the community had become heterogeneous but they all shared a common goal: they all wanted to fight the unbelievers and establish an Islamic theocracy. The stage was thus, finally set for a show of force. Already the Shehu had advised his followers to start collecting arms apparently in preparation for the jihad.[53]

The selection of Uthman as the *Amir al - Mu'uminin* was the final act that severed all formal relationships with the authorities in Gobir. The *mujahidun* had now declared themselves independent of Gobir or any authority. The *Gobirawa* pressed hard upon Shehu and his community at Gudu, and there were several skirmishes until the *mujahidun* seized the initiative:

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[51] Y. B. Usman; *The Transformation of* … pp. 253 -54.
[52] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction … p. 110, H. M. Maishanu; The Evolution and Development of … p197 and K. S. Chafe; The State and the Economy of … p. 82.
[53] Ibid.

sacking Matankari, a town whose inhabitants had on several occasions raided Shehu's community, as well as *Birnin Konni*. It was when the *mujahidun* were in Konni that they had information that *Sarkin* Gobir, Yunfa at the head of a large army, was on his way to attack Gudu. Thus, the *mujahidun* hurriedly went back to defend it.[54] It was then that the battle of *Tafkin Kwatto* took place.

The battle of *Tafkin Kwatto* was the major military engagement thus far, between the belligerent groups. The Gobir army was personally commanded by *Sarkin* Gobir, Yunfa while Abdullahi was at the command of the *mujahidun*. The *mujahidun* were far outnumbered and ill - equipped, yet, they were able to carry the day. The Gobir army was routed and Yunfa fled while the *mujahidun* gathered a lot of booty. This decisive defeat was a morale booster to the Shehu and his *jama'a*. After this battle, the Shehu wrote the *Wathiqat Ahl - Sudan* which was widely circulated throughout Hausaland and beyond.

The *Wathiqat Ahl-Sudan*, it has been said, represented the formal declaration of jihad by Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. It embodied all the major points raised in the *Masa'il al - Muhimmah* and much more. In it, it was indicated that the status of a country is that of its ruler. If he is a Muslim, his country or town is a Muslim country and if he is not, so also his country or town; and that it is unlawful of Muslims to live in a non - Muslim country. That Jihad against non - Muslims including renegades is compulsory and the seizure of government from them is lawful.[55] These and similar issues raised in the *Wathiqat Ahl - Sudan* brought about serious agitation in the minds of many people throughout the length and breadth of Hausaland.

Therefore, the victory at *Tafkin Kwatto* together with the impact of the *Wathiqat Ahl - Sudan* increased the support for the Shehu and convinced many not only of his sincerity but also

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[54] Muhammad Bello; *Infaq al – Maysur* ., pp. 72 – 74.
[55] Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio; *Wathiqat Ahl – Sudan* quoted in Ibrahim Imam, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1966, pp. 26 – 27.

certainty of victory. As such, many people who were sitting on the fence decided to take sides: admirers, students and disciples all flocked to Shehu's standard and swelled the Jihad army, some came to receive permission and blessing to carry on with the jihad in their own localities. Rulers of the major Hausa states in the area, acting in consonance with and advices of *Sarkin* Gobir, Yunfa stepped up pressure against Shehu's supporters and soon the whole of Hausaland was engulfed in the Jihad.

A great corpus of literature, written by the principal actors of the Jihad, notably the Shehu, his brother Abdullahi and his son Muhammad Bello exists to tell us precisely the motive of the leaders in waging the jihad.[56] In *Kitab al – Farq*, for instance, the Shehu summarizes for us the evils of the pre – jihad states of Hausaland and sets forth the theoretical framework of an Islamic government. Among the abuses which characterized the government, the Shehu mentioned the selling of justice to the highest bidder, bribes and sweeteners for access to the rulers or for the acquisition of favours from them, the imposition of illegal taxes like the cattle tax (*jangali*) and other market taxes. He also accused the rulers of seizing property without compensation and appropriating any animal which strayed into their own herds, while their own herds were allowed to stray and cause damage to cultivated land. They paid no attention to the welfare of their own subjects and 'shut the door in the face of the needy'.[57] They delayed payment of their debts and seized property of those who died while passing through their country. The Shehu did not limit himself only to those social grievances, for he continued with equal vehemence to criticize other practices which touched on the principles of Islam. For example, the persistence of the rulers in

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[56] For an appreciation of the great corpus of literature available on the jihad and related matters, see M. Hiskett and A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Arabic Literature of Northern Nigeria to 1804, a Provisional Account', BSOAS, Vol. XXV; H. F. C. Smith, 'Source Material for the History of the Western Sudan', JHSN, Vol. 1, no. 3, 1958, and NHRS (Northern History Research Scheme) First and Second Interim Reports, 1966 and 1967; D. M. Last; 'Arabic Source Material and Historiography in Sokoto to 1864' and 'Arabic Source Material and Historiography in Sokoto since 1864' in B. A. C. D, Ibadan, 1, 2, 1965 and 1, 3, 1965 and Arabic Manuscripts in the National Archives, Kaduna, B. C. A. D. Ibadan, 2, 1966.

[57] M. Hiskett; *Kitab al - Farq* (trans) BSOAS, 1960, P. 569.

pagan practices, the putting of dust on the head as a form of deference to superiors, the indiscriminate use of musical instruments and all kinds of ostentation, luxury and self indulgence.[58] The wide range of such criticisms of the governments appear with remarkable consistency in many of the works of the jihad leaders, revealing the sincerity of their motive and the totality of the reform which they would wish to introduce, reforms which would seek to establish the *Shari'a* as the governing principle in all aspects of life.

The Jihad thus, spread into wider areas of the northern Nigerian area. Twice for instance, Ngazargamu, the capital of Kanem - Borno, was sacked by the Jihadists and by the time a stalemate was reached, a substantial part of Borno was curved into the emirates of Hadejia, Katagum and Misau. The Jihad led to the demise of the centuries old Seyfawa ruling dynasty and the emergence of Muhammad Al – Amin el - Kanemi[59] whose descendants later took over the reign of government in Borno. El - Kanemi, a scholar of considerable standing as he was, was to engage the jihadists, especially Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio and Muhammad Bello into a debate over a wide range of issues concerning the jihad, in particular on the legality of the jihad against Muslim states in general and Borno in particular. This debate was later documented by Muhammad Bello in his *Infaq al - Maysur*.[60]

Downwards towards the Bauchi - Plateau, Zaria, Benue and Gongola River, a whole chain of emirates; Bauchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Muri and Zazzau emerged. In the south - west, the emirates of Nupe, Agaei and Lapai were established. The jihad wars coincided with the collapse of the old Oyo Empire and the emergence of Ibadan, Ijesha and the incorporation of its

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[58] For a detailed account of such condemnations, see Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio; *Kitab al – Farq*, BSOAS, 1960; *Ihya al – Sunnah* Cairo, 1962, and *Bayan Wujub al – Hijrah*, El – Masri, PhD. Ibadan, 1967.

[59] Muhammad al – Amin bin Muhammad El – Kanemi, a new comer to the Ngala area – south of Lake Chad, had settled in the community and was teaching and performing various religious duties. His broad and sound educational background had attracted a sizeable number of students; he had , moreover, married a daughter of the Mai of Ngala, which suggests that he had achieved considerable status locally. For detail, see L. Brenner; The Shehus of Kukawa: A History of the El – Kanemi Dynasty of Bornu, Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 33 -34.

[60] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction …

northern province of Ilorin into the Sokoto Caliphate. In most of these places, the jihad continued well into the 1840's while in the metropolitan area, annual military actions were being embarked upon against the remaining die - hard of *Kabbawa, Gobirawa and Katsinawa* of Maradi. In the annual expeditions, all the emirates of the Caliphate were supposed to take part by sending a contingent under the command of the emir. The general command of the army was often assumed by the *Amir al - Mu'uminin* unless he delegated it to any of his lieutenants.[61]

5.4 - Interpretations of the Jihad:

There are divergent interpretations regarding the 1804 jihad led by Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. Some writers share the view of the leaders of the jihad in that it was basically the desire on the part of the leaders to establish a purer Islam purged of all pagan beliefs and practices. M. A. Al-Hajj, for instance, is convinced that the jihad stemmed from a purely religious motivation. He has the following to say:

> While admitting that there is always an
> Interplay of different forces in any revolution,
> I venture to suggest here, that the jihad of Uthman
> Dan Fodio was primarily religious in character.[62]

Another author who maintains the same view as Al - Hajj is W. J. Gowers. Although his main source was apparently oral tradition, he is nevertheless, emphatic in his interpretations of the jihad:

> What is described by native as the 'Jihad',
> Was the rising standard of the revolt by
> Othman Dan Fodio against the non - Muslim rulers
> Of Gobir, in defense of his co - religionists, whether Hausa
> Or Fulani. It was not in any sense a conquest of the Hausa
> Race by the Fulani, indeed the Hausa adherents of

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[61] K. S. Chafe; The State and the Economy in …
[62] M. A. Al – Hajj; 'The Fulani concept of the Jihad: Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio', *Odu*, 1, 1964, p. 45.

Othman were probably as numerous as his Fulani Followers.[63]

It is true that the rulers of Gobir and of the other Hausa states were viewed by the Shehu as unbelievers. In those states, Islam was only a religion in name but the actual observance of its practice was mixed with the traditional customs. The legal system in particular, was contradictory to the ideals of the orthodox Muslims. As such, the orthodox Muslims view their conditions as similar to those of the Muslim subjects of a non - Muslim state (*dhimmis*). They were made to pay taxes to a non - Muslim suzerain, a situation which is in direct opposition to the divine law of Islam.

There is no doubt therefore, that at the end of the 18th century, the Hausa states were not the kind of ideal states which the orthodox scholars wished to establish. In fact, the Hausa states had never experienced an Islamic theocracy. The Islamic fervor of the closing years of the 15th century had only helped to introduce the religion to the region. It never succeeded in displacing the traditional beliefs and customs of the people. As Marilyn Waldman rightly suggests, the motive behind the 15th century conversion to Islam by rulers like Muhammadu Rumfa, were opportunistic in nature.[64] Muhammadu Rumfa was both a good Muslim and an embodiment of the traditional culture and belief. He introduced *kame* and had one thousand wives but at the same time he built mosques and encouraged Islamic learning. He was therefore an example of a syncretist. It is amazing however, that his syncretism was overlooked by al – Maghili[65] who was

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[63] W. F. Gowers, 'Gazetteer of Kano Province' in Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 4 volumes. Introduction and Preparatory Note by A. H. M. Kirk – Greene, Water low and Sons, London, 1921, Rep. Ed. Frank Cass, London, 1972.

[64] M. R. Waldman; "The Fulani Jihad: A Reassessment".JAH, Vol. 4, 1965, p. 336.

[65] Al – Maghili (c.828 – 909) was one of the earliest scholars who visited Hausaland in the early period of the spread of the Islamic religion. His full name is Abu – Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Abdulkarim Ibn Muhammad al – Maghili. Born around 828 A. H (1425 A. D.), he grew up in the town of Tilisman. He was said to have visited Katsina during the reign of King Ibrahim Maje who ruled Katsina from 1494. He also visited the ancient city of Kano. See H. J. Gwarzo, "The Life and Teachings of al – Maghili" PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1972, p. 63. Al – Maghili

known to be the most radical of all the Islamic preachers of West Africa. The case of Muhammadu Rumfa indicates to us that even at the very beginning, Islam came to Hausaland in a syncretist form. The rulers had never known what was meant by the ideal Islamic state. To them, the new concept for which the Shehu and his *jama'a* were agitating was nothing more than a rebellion against their established authority.

Another group of authors have given the jihad an ethnic interpretation. They maintain that the Fulani used Islam as a "pretext for the acquisition of worldly power." The leader advocate for this group is S. J. Hogben who feels that the jihad:

> ...had as its confessed object the purification Of the Muslim religion, and it was directed Against the corrupt rulers of Hausaland, who had been supposedly oppressing or ignoring the rights of their Muslim subjects. In reality, it was originally a national fight of the Fulani, both Muslim and pagan, against the forces of Yunfa - the King of Gobir who had decreed their extermination only after the victory, when the pagan Fulani, who had borne more than their full share in order to achieve it, had retired to their flocks and herds. Did the Mallams who had been the leaders, exploit the opportunity under the cloak of religion to oust their native rulers and put themselves into their places with Uthman Dan Fodio at their head. Hence forth, the movement was no longer confined to a particular race, yet from its very nature it appealed more strongly to the fanatical and more highly strung Element in the Fulani clans.[66]

The ethnic interpretations like the religious one, is equally plausible. There are certain indications, even in the Fulani writings that can lead to such a conclusion. For example, in section ten of *Masa'il al - Muhimmah*, the Shehu categorically objected to the enslavement of his

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played a prominent role in teaching, preaching and the publication of some literatures all in an effort to ensure the spread and establishment of Islam in Hausaland. He was said to have been responsible for the conversion of King Ibrahim Maje of Katsina to Islam.

[66] S. J. Hogben; The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria, Oxford University Press,1930, p. 73.

fellow Fulani because according to him, the majority of them were Muslims.[67] Again, when the Shehu was at Degel, his brother Abdullahi was calling upon the Fulani to join the movement because they were the "most fitted" to do so.[68] Furthermore, in *Infaq al - Maysur*, Muhammad Bello records that soon after the outbreak of the war, the Fulani deserted the Gobir army and joined the Shehu's group.[69] All these are indications to suggest an ethnic awareness among the Fulani during the jihad. In fact, even after the successful ending of the jihad, as D. J. Stenning points out:

> ...the Fulani rulers added to their proselytizing
> Zeal, an ethnic consciousness derived no doubt
> From their long history as alien minorities
> Among the Negro population of the western Sudan.
> In their tribally heterogeneous kingdoms, they preserved
> Many features of the earlier administrations, but
> Interpreted them in accordance with their own
> Notions of ethnic dominance.[70]

Another factor that could have led Mr. Hogben to reach his conclusion is that at the end of the jihad, it turned out that there was only one Hausa among the thirteen provincial emirs as they came to be known, all the other twelve were of Fulani origin. A third view is that of those who see the movement as a political uprising resulting from the oppressive rule of Hausa kings over their Muslim subjects be they Hausa or Fulani.[71] To this group, the jihad was neither a religious nor a racial movement but only a revolt of the oppressed people who were struggling to free themselves from a feudal aristocracy. Apparently, this group is carried away by its misconception of Islamic revolution. By its nature, any Islamic revolution is both political and religious since there is no separation between the church and the state (in Islam). For this reason,

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[67] Uthman Dan Fodio; *Masa'il al – Muhimmah*... p. 14.
[68] Abdullahi Ibn Fodio; *Tazyin Al – Waraqat*... p. 98.
[69] Muhammad Bello; *Infaq al – Maysur*...p. 74.
[70] D. J. Stenning; Savannah Nomads ... p. 17.
[71] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction ... p. 114.

to explain the jihad solely as the rise of the oppressed people against their oppressors, appears to be an oversimplification of very complex issues. Finally, there are those who explain the jihad as "an intellectual movement involving the minds of the leaders, a conception of the ideal society and a philosophy of the revolution"[72]

From the foregoing, it is clear that a final assessment of the jihad has not yet been determined. The door is still open for further speculations towards achieving the "historical truth" of this massive movement. The only problem as M. G. Smith puts it is:

> ...whether such a "historical truth" can be Discovered at this stage, or would get a fair *Hearing if it were. Clearly,* an *individual's* View of this jihad is closely related to his *ideological preference and his* personal Experience in recent Fulani administration.[73]

Our sources for this jihad are one - sided. They are books and pamphlets left behind by the leaders of the revolution. While we do not doubt the sincerity of the jihad leaders in their endeavour to spread true Islam, it is possible to speculate that one of their interests also was to search for loop holes to condemn what they termed as the pagan practices in the administration of Hausaland. In this regard, they found the legal system to be the most vulnerable area for their attack. However, as we pointed out earlier, the Hausa states had never been theocratic states before the 19th century. They were simply African kingdoms whose rulers were meant to enjoy both temporal and spiritual powers, they needed to possess, or at least pretend to possess some supernatural powers in order to impress their subjects. The introduction of the *dirki* in Kano at the end of the 16th century for instance, could be seen as only to increase the spiritual powers of

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[72] A. Smith: " A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Revolution of the 19th Century", JHSN, Vol. 2, 1965, p. 175.

[73] M. G. Smith: "The Jihad of Shehu Dan Fodio: Some Problems", in Islam in Tropical Africa: Studies presented and discussed at the fifth International African Seminar, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, January 1964, edited with introduction by I. M. Lewis, Foreword by Darryl Forde, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, pp. 410 - 11.

the king. The jihad leaders who desired to establish a sound Islam, had every right to condemn the Hausa administration and present their case strictly from a religious point of view. Historians, however, should be more critical. There is a need to reconsider the case of the Hausa rulers and to stop using the ideals of the jihad as a yardstick for evaluating their performances. The lack of sufficient source material on the history of the Hausa is a major problem and this has made any assessment of the jihad one sided and therefore incomplete. Moreover, assessment has always been restricted to consideration of the situation in Gobir alone; the other Hausa states have always been taken for granted to have presented the same situation in Gobir state. However, each of these states had its own peculiarities and what may have prompted the jihad in Gobir may not necessarily apply to the rest of the Hausa states. In fact, the Fulani of those states merely copied the ideologies of the movement from its leaders and transplanted them in their own localities.[74] As such, this indicates that an adequate assessment of the jihad requires a thorough examination of the situation not only in Gobir but also in the remaining Hausa states. In this absence of written sources about the early history of the Hausa rulers, some of their physical achievements may throw some light over their past history. The building of palaces, markets, and fortified cities are all to the credit of the Hausa dynasty. Their economic contribution is also noteworthy; they opened trade routes which brought numerous merchants into the markets of Hausaland and Muslim scholars. No doubt, all these things suggest a high level of civilization and a coherent administration.

As has been shown in the preceding pages, the jihad movement in Hausaland had far reaching repercussions in other areas. However, since our area of study at the onset of the jihad was in *Kasar* Bauchi and later transferred to *kasar* Zazzau, we shall endeavour to look at the jihad in our area of study in relation to the two areas. Since the time it was transferred to *kasar*

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[74] H. I. Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction… and H. M. Maishanu; The Evolution and Development of …

established where an Islamic school even flourished at Jarkasa. Both Mallam Isiyaku and Mallam Adama - teachers of Yakubu - were said to have lived there and taught.[77] In Miri too, there were several Fulani scholars to whom many Fulani students had gone for religious instructions. Similar traditions of Islamization may be found in the Toro / Zaranda region (the supposed place where the founders of Lere found abode when they left Dan Alhaji for *kasar* Bauchi as mentioned in our chapter one), in which several Fulani communities had lived for centuries. Prominent among the Muslim Fulani of Toro for instance was Mallam Ohoji who is said to have studied under the Shehu. On his return from his studies, he is said to have preached among both the non - Muslim Fulani and non - Fulani peoples, condemning their practices. It is said that his preaching caused so much vexation among the non - Muslim communities that they attacked and killed him. His sons Umaru and Aliyu are said to have escaped to Zaranda and to have finally joined Yakubu at Inkil. Another Fulata - Borno, Mallam Muhammadu Kusu (in - law to Muhammadu Dabo Titi the founder of Lere as previously mentioned) is also said to have been a famous scholar, teaching students in both Toro and Zaranda.[78]

Moreover, among the Gwok Fulani of Wuro Mayo, a flourishing Islamic community had existed prior to the jihad. Hassan B. Giwa, the first *Madaki* of Bauchi is said to have undergone a thorough programme of Islamic education which took him to Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. That he undertook such training is supported by documentary evidence. In a letter which he addressed to his uncle Mudu B. Zakariyya, Hassan perhaps writing from Degel while he was with the Shehu, expresses his intention to stay with the Shehu so as to benefit from his blessings until such time as he was able to complete the study of *Mukhtasar al-Khalil* when he would return home. This

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[77] It has been confirmed that Yakubu learnt from these scholars and it should also be noted that even in the case of Danfodio who spearheaded the entire jihad was only encouraged by his teachers such as Jibril who even paid allegiance to him, so it is not mandatory that Isiyaku and Adama must lead or conduct a jihad before Yakubu.
[78] Ibid p. 349.

letter indicates clearly the appeal which the Shehu had in *kasar* Bauchi prior to the jihad and also the continuous line of communication that existed between the region and Hausaland.[79] For a better understanding of the location of these areas see appendix (map on Fulani settlements prior to the jihad).

It is thus; easy to imagine what impact the revolutionary ideas of the Shehu might have had among the discreet Muslim elements in *kasar* Bauchi. While in Hausaland and Borno, the jihadists were involved in the niceties of definition as to whether the rulers were Muslims or not, in *kasar* Bauchi, no such dilemma could have confronted their eyes. Here, government and society was non - Islamic pure and simple. It is however, true that among certain societies such as Miri, Ganjuwa, Lere and Lafiya (which up to the middle of the 19th century formed a part of Bauchi),[80] Islam had established some foothold among the ruling classes but this was only partial as the chiefs also indulged in various non - Islamic practices. In the eyes of the jihadists therefore, such chiefs were syncretists and subject to more serious charges than even the wholly non - Muslim peoples.[81] Hence, the relevance of the Shehu's dictum: "The government of a country is the government of its king without question. If the king is a Muslim, his land is Muslim, if he is an unbeliever, his land is same". Under such conditions, jihad was not only desirable but compulsory among the Muslim subjects.

However, it should be noted that *kasar* Bauchi prior to the 19th century, had contained a multitude of segmented social and political organizations. This meant that the nomadic Fulani had to deal with not only one chief but also with a number of other chiefs in the course of their movements in search of pasture. Since agreements had to be reached between the *Ardo* and each of the territorial chiefs on whose lands they grazed at any particular time and payment made to

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[79] Ibid p. 350.
[80] J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu (eds); The Sokoto Caliphate... p. 182.
[81] A. Y Abubakar... p. 351.

them in return for permission and protection, many of the nomadic Fulani thus, suffered from frequent taxation. For instance, the Gwok Fulani are said to have paid an annual tribute of ten cattle to their Jarawa overlords. Apart from the payments that the Fulani had to make for grazing rights, they also had to meet various demands for cattle by their overlords particularly on annual festivals or important rituals when sacrifices were to be made for their gods and ancestors. Many of the nomadic Fulani for instance, were said to have left Ganjuwa and Miri as a result of the heavy extortions of cattle to which they were perennially subject. Giwa, the father of *Madaki* Hassan, is said to have moved out of Ganjuwa and established camp among the Jarawa for the same reason.[82]

But perhaps, the major factor which might have influenced the Fulani as a group irrespective of religious, economic, or political considerations to welcome or participate in the jihad was the atmosphere of insecurity that prevailed throughout the region prior to the jihad. Owing to the nature of the political condition of the region, no single chief could guarantee security of life and property beyond a very limited stretch territory. The chiefs themselves had to reckon and often fight both internal and external enemies. Even within the same political community, certain lineages often combined to fight against others on such issues as rights over agricultural land, marriages, rituals or homicide. In many of such conflicts, it was the neighbouring Fulani cattle herders who were often most hard hit. Their cattle would be raided and seized by the enemies of the group with which the Fulani were in alliance with at that material time.[83]

This state of insecurity not only affected the Fulani elements of the region but also other people such as the Hausa and Kanuri who lived there often as traders, dyers and iron workers.

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid, p. 353.

For trade and commerce to prosper, it was necessary for peace and stability, law and order to prevail throughout the region. As none of the states had the strength or capacity to guarantee these conditions, trade was thus a hazardous and expensive business, merchants having to supply protection both for their lives and property against raids and ambush. It is said that large caravans involving hundreds of people had to be organized before people could move from Fali to the Benue valley. Even in the 19th century, caravans had to travel under heavily armed escorts often involving the Chief of Fali himself. Hence, a jihad which would usher in a period of peace, security and strong government would be of great attraction to such merchants and adventurers especially when the prize of victory was booty in the form of slaves and maidens, articles of great value in Hausa land and beyond.[84]

5.5 - Preparations for the Jihad:

The precise date on which the jihad began in *kasar* Bauchi is still a matter of conjecture. Most of the sources tend to begin the story of Yakubu's jihad with a letter of appointment from the Shehu and proceed to enumerate the areas conquered by the Jihadists. But there appears to be some discrepancy regarding the time and circumstances in which the Shehu issued the flag to Yakubu, while it is believed in the Bauchi traditions that the Shehu instructed Yakubu (who had been with him for years learning the religion and even accompanied him on most of his preaching tours and in some versions of the traditions he was with the Shehu up to the eve of the jihad)[85] to return home and prepare his people for the jihad at the start of hostilities with the rulers of Gobir. Sokoto traditions claimed that Yakubu who had been with the Shehu during the

[84] *Ibid*, p. 355.
[85] Ibid, pp. 357 – 63.

initial stages of the jihad, had participated in the major campaigns and indeed had remained there up to the foundation of Sokoto in 1809.[86]

It is probable therefore, that by 1804, Yakubu had completed his studies with the Shehu and had returned to his country just as Buba Yero of Gombe and others would appear to have done at this period. On his return, he is said to have established himself at the foot of Warunje hill, an area situated about three miles to the north - east of the present Bauchi town. This area was then inhabited mainly by the Gerawa and some Fulani who had settled in the area with their cattle and slaves. While there, Yakubu engaged mainly in teaching and preaching. In the course of his preaching activities, he is said to have travelled widely in the region involving various hazards.[87]

However, it seems probable from the length of Yakubu's pupilage with the Shehu that he adopted the technique which he learnt from his master.[88] It is also probable that he gained some adherents from the Gerawa community in Tirwin and the environs of Warunje hill. Whatever the case may be, the significance of such tours was that they gave Yakubu the opportunity to familiarize himself with the different areas in *kasar* Bauchi and of establishing personal contact with them.

It was perhaps against this background that Yakubu received the news of the jihad in Hausaland, of the appointment of Shehu Uthman Danfodio as *Amir – al - Mu'uminin*, of the initial success of the forces of the *jama'a* at *Tafkin Kwatto*, of the messages of the Shehu urging all believers to rally in support of "the truth against falsehood", and perhaps even of the meeting

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[86] Ibid p. 365.
[87] For details of these hazards amidst which Yakubu preached especially in the non - Muslim communities see Ibid. pp. 365 - 67.
[88] Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al – Maysur*... pp. 42 - 62. He discussed at length the method and content of the Shehu's preaching.

in *Birnin* Gada between Muhammad Bello and the eastern leaders of Hausaland.[89] As such, Yakubu began to make preparations for the long journey to the Shehu so as to pay his allegiance and to receive the flag that would legitimize a jihad in *kasar* Bauchi. It is said that he made a series of journeys to the scattered Muslim settlements in the area and held discussions with their leaders. These consisted of the following; Lawal Ibn - Isiyaku (the son of his deceased teacher), Faruku (the leader of the Jahun clan at Birshi), Abdu Dumi (the clan head of the Fulani in Yuli), Muhammad Yero (of the Ganjuwa lineage at Felu), Hammadi (of the Ganjuwa lineage at Jetar) and Hassan Ibn Giwa (of the Gwok Fulani of Wuro Mayo and Jenbil) and perhaps Mallam Idrisa of Zungur and Mallam Badara of Kirfi. With these men, Yakubu set out on his journey about 1806 -1807 through Toro where he was joined by Muhammadu Kusu (the leader of the Wunti Fulani and the supposed in – law of Muhammadu Dabo Titi the founder of Lere) and reached the Shehu perhaps at Gwandu.[90]

5.6 - The Declaration of Hijrah:

On his return to Bauchi region after the receipt of a flag from the Shehu (c.1805-1807),[91] Yakubu is said to have made a general appeal calling upon all Muslims to join the jihad and to emigrate with him to Inkil. In making this call for *hijrah*, Yakubu thus, sought to organize his government in the Bauchi region in accordance with the precept and precedent of the Shehu in Hausaland. The call to migrate to Inkil thus, marked the beginning of a new era of activity - the main objective being to facilitate the withdrawal of the believers from the territory of war

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89 Although only the leaders from Kano are mentioned, it is clear that many others attended (*Infaq ul -Maysur* p. 104). There is no evidence that Yakubu attended the meeting.
90 On Shehu's sojourn in Gwandu, see D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate... pp. 33-37.
91 For detail on the manner in which Yakubu received the flag from the Shehu, see A.Y. Abubakar ... pp. 368 - 75.

(*dar – al harb*) in which they had previously been scattered, to identify, segregate and affirm the solidarity of the *mujahidun*, to assess their strength and mobilize them into battle.

Yakubu's call for *hijrah* would seem to have attracted a considerable measure of support among the Muslim elements in the region. Apart from the clan leaders mentioned above consisting of about forty one people, many others answered his call.[92] These included some of the Hausa elements in Miri and Ganjuwa, together with the Fulani of Kirfi under the leadership of Mallam Barge.[93] Although the Gerawa are said to have turned a deaf ear to Yakubu's call for jihad, there is evidence to suggest that a considerable proportion of those in Tirwin responded favourably to him. Both his senior brother Dosa, the chief of Tirwin and his junior brothers were said to have helped him in the building of houses at Inkil for the settlement of the immigrants (*Muhajirun*).[94] Most of the supporters migrated with their families, slaves and cattle so that within a relatively short time, the following of Yakubu swelled in number. The numerous slaves on the hills of Warunje (derived from *ringi*) also increased the size of the community.

After the establishment of Inkil as a military base for the campaigns of the Jihad, Yakubu is said to have organized his community on a war footing. It would appear that he first of all formed a council consisting of all the clan leaders who henceforth became his generals. The most important of such men were Faruku (the clan head of the Jahunawa), Hassan B. Giwa (of the Gwok), Abdu (of Yuli), Muhammadu Kusu (of Wunti / Toro), and Hammadi Ibrahim, (of the Ganjuwa) e.t.c. Muhammadu Barge (the clan leader of the Dewu Fulani of Kirfi) is also said to have joined Yakubu with a considerable number of men and horses. These leaders pooled their resources to ensure that there was enough provision for food and weapons. Not only did they

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[92] A. A. Sambo; *Tarihin Bauchi a Hausance*, 1971.
[93] A.Y. Abubakar ... p. 376.
[94] Ibid.

move a large proportion of their cattle to Inkil to ensure their protection against the raids of the enemy, they also utilized them to buy some horses from the merchants in Hausaland.

With the community in Inkil behind him, Yakubu sent a series of messages to the rulers of the region ordering them to accept one of the three alternatives: conversion to Islam, payment of *jizya* in token of submission to the status of *dhimmis* (protected people) or war. Although it is not clear how many of the chiefs accepted these terms initially, but there is evidence to show that a great number indicated their submission prior to the beginning of hostilities.[95] As a great number of them also refused to accept any of the alternatives presented to them, Yakubu then began to embark on military confrontations in c. 1807[6]

Owing to the scarcity of sources, it is impossible to establish the chronology of the campaigns of the jihad in Yakubu's reign with any degree of accuracy. The difficulty is all the greater considering that almost all the territories which came under the rule of Bauchi were conquered in the reign of Yakubu. However, for the purposes of clarity, the period of the campaigns could be categorized into three phases. The first phase, beginning in 1807 witnessed the subjugation of most of the petty chiefdoms which roughly lay within the area of effective Fulani settlements, ending c. 1815. The second phase commencing from c. 1815 – 1820, during which most of the territories of the south would seem to have been conquered, and the third phase which perhaps began with the conflict in the Dass region in 1820 and continued until the end of Yakubu's reign, was the period in which Yakubu consolidated his conquests and delimited the frontiers of the emirate on a permanent basis.[96] However, we shall only look at the second phase of Yakubu's campaigns and conquests which relates to our area of study or under which our area of study was conquered.

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[95] Prominent among these were the chiefs of Ganjuwa and Kirfi.
[96] The date at which the jihad began can only be guessed on the basis that Yakubu reigned for forty (40) years and died in 1847. For detail, see Abubakar…pp. 357 – 379.

Yakubu is said to have prepared a large army consisting of the Fulani of Zaranda and probably Toro and encamped on the foot of the Zaranda hill where he is said to have attempted to cut off the water supply.[97] From Lere, he sent a portion of the army under the command of Muhammadu Kusu who being the leader of the *Wuntawa* (including the Zaranda Fulani) would be most suited to undertake such an expedition. Having enforced the submission of the *habe* of Zaranda, he proceeded with the support of the Ganjuwa Fulani under Hamman Yaro to conquer the surrounding areas of Felu, Geji and Bolun. Having acquired these, Yakubu then probably marched westwards to Toro where he acquired more reinforcements with which he conquered the settlements of Ribina, Fobur, Fedare, Fursum and Sanga. It is also probable that he subjugated the peoples of Kwandon Kaya at this time. He then marched northwards and brought the peoples of the Dilimi valley such as the *Gurawa, Bombarawa and Gerumawa* of Dilimi to submission.[98] Having achieved these territorial conquests, he then returned to Bauchi. By this time, the population of Bauchi had increased so much with immigrants, refugees and slaves as well as traders. Similarly, it would appear that the central area of the Bauchi region had virtually been won over to the jihad thereby increasing the resources of the nascent state both in fighting men, weapons and horses.[99]

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[97] Although the traditions are silent as to the number of people constituting the army, but the tradition of all jihads is that the number constituting the enemy force including the weapons usually outnumber that of the jihadists just as it is the case with the Danfodio army and even that of the prophet of Islam.

[98] Traditions from these settlements all attested that they were conquered by the forces of Yakubu in the course of his jihad.

[99] It is claimed that on Yakubu's return to Inkil (after the first phase of the campaigns), preparations were begun for the construction of more permanent settlement with four gates on a site within a few miles from Inkil which was more favourable in terms of agriculture and water supply, it was eventually named Bauchi. Although the name Bauchi according to Abubakar gained its specifity, usage and wide currency from the early years of the jihad, i.e during the early years of the 19th century. It then became generally applied to the whole area which Yakubu established, an emirate which stretched from the boundaries of Kano and Misau to the north, Zaria to the west, Gombe and Muri to the east and the Benue valley to the south. And with increase in population as a result of territorial conquests, the town was expanded from four to nine gates. For details, see Abubakar... pp. 381 – 383.

Having established and strengthened his position in Bauchi, Yakubu prepared a large army and set out on an expedition southwards. Presumably, he went through the settlements of the Jahun and Gwok Fulani where numerous elements, attracted by their clan leaders - Mallams Idrisa, Hassan, Mumini and Alasan joined the expedition. It is also possible that they were reinforced by the forces of the chiefs of Zungur, Kirfi and Fali who had already paid allegiance to Yakubu. With these supporters, Yakubu is said to have passed through the Bankalawa settlement of Din, which submitted to him without a fight, and to have encamped at Bar, from where he launched an expedition against the Jarawa of Bununu. After some skirmishes, the chief is said to have fled to Wabtan, following which Yakubu is said to have set fire to the palace, gained the submission of the town and appointed the brother of the runaway chief as the new chief.[100]

From there, Yakubu proceeded south - westwards and launched an attack on the state of Lere c.1815. Several versions exist as to the course of the invasion. One of the versions claims that no fighting took place between the two armies, and that the reigning chief, Jan Hazo simply fled from the town of Lere to Sara, leaving his brother Al - Hassan to negotiate peace terms with Yakubu, thereafter being appointed by him and recognized as chief. Another version and the more plausible one, states that Yakubu encamped at Kardam from where he sent messages to the chief of Lere demanding his submission, the chief, Jan Hazo however, refused to come to terms, following which Yakubu laid a siege on the town. It is said that Yakubu encountered heavy resistance and for some days the armies of Bauchi were kept at bay. After a period of several days, the beleaguered inhabitants became so desperate that the chief and most of the nobility

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[100] A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of ...

took refuge among the neighbouring Sayawa of the Sara hills. Yakubu then captured the town and appointed Al - Hassan, one of the claimants to the throne as chief.[101]

Having conquered Lere, Yakubu then subjugated the neighbouring settlements of Sayawa, Sigidawa, Bijimawa and Barawa and proceeded further to the west and south using Lere as a base. Perhaps marching along the valley of the Lere River, he went south – west ward and conquered the Pyemawa of Gindiri and other settlements including perhaps Mongu and Bukuru to the north.[102] For a better understanding of the processes of the jihad, see appendix (map on the jihad in Bauchi).

At this juncture, it should be noted that since most of the *mujahidun* were Fulani living in separate settlements scattered all over the region, numerous bases were thus, available for military operations against the enemy. And these settlements were located in areas extremely favourable for the prosecution of the campaigns. Situated as they were along the banks of rivers and on fertile land, they offered adequate provision for the armies of the jihad on their march to the enemy almost in any direction. By their control of such areas, they were also able to cut off the water supply of the hill peoples, such as Yakubu is said to have done in the course of his expedition against Zaranda and Buli. Under such circumstances, it would be difficult for the enemies to cut the supply lines of the army. The Fulani settlements also supplied bases of recruitments and reinforcements.

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[101] It is probable then that Lere at the period of its conquest by Yakubu was not under the leadership of the Fulani as indicated in our previous explanations that some of the Fulani groups lived as subjects of the non - Fulani territorial overlord in whose lands they settled or nomadised. It is also probable that the area, due to its geographical location took the name Lere, while its leader and most likely majority of the population were non - Fulani. However, the Fulani as a group ought to have their leader and that was either Muhammadu Kusu who was Dabo Titi's in - law as the Bauchi traditions has it or Muhammad Dabo (Titi) as the Lere traditions indicates.

[102] A. Y. Abubakar; The Establishment and Development of ... p. 386. Bukuru (in Jos) and Inkil (in Bauchi) later served as boundaries of Lere with the two areas.

After settling down and with the re - organization[103] of the whole area which thus gave birth to the Bauchi Emirate, and to further strengthen the authority of the central government by improving the general standard of administrative effectiveness and efficiency. Yakubu invested certain areas with considerable autonomy. These were the vassals of the first rank, of which there were about nine of them namely: Kirfi, Fali, Ganjuwa, Zungur, Jama'a, Toro, Lere, Lafiya and Darazo. The creation of these areas as vassal states of Bauchi with special powers in the administration of the emirate was partly the result of their political and religious antecedents prior to the jihad and partly the result of their geographical location. As we have seen, Kirfi, and Ganjuwa had traditions not only of centralized administration but also of Islamization prior to the jihad. They had also played an active role in the jihad by their supply of both the human and material needs of the jihadists. Similarly, Zungur, Jama'a and Toro had been centres of Muslim and Fulani concentration prior to the jihad and supplied a considerable number of leaders in the jihad. In the case of Lere and Lafiya however, which had both offered stiff resistance to the jihad, the geographical factor would seem to have been paramount in their acceptance as vassal states.[104]

In addition, these vassal states differed from the other territorial chief ships in several ways. For instance, although the principle of hereditary succession governed the selection of both groups to office, the vassal states had a body of important officials known as *Sarakunan karaga* who made the choice but subject to the emir's approval. They also enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, being authorized to create their own machinery of government on the model of the

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[103] For a detail explanation on the organization of the entire Bauchi area prior to the jihad since it is not the subject of study, see Abubakar…
[104] Ibid, pp. 479 - 80.

emirate, empowered to collect taxes, maintain their own armies and to wage the jihad by themselves though often with prior approval of the emir. They were also empowered to set up their own judicial system, though serious cases involving execution or mutilation were often to be referred to the capital. They were however, obliged to join the campaigns of the emir, to send a portion of the taxes particularly *jizya* to the capital and to obey whatever the emir may order from time to time. But perhaps, the most distinguishing characteristic was that while minor chiefs controlled only their communities, the vassals of the first rank had other smaller settlements of their own (under them) and controlled sizeable territories.

At this juncture, we deem it fit to recount how Lere formally in *kasar* Bauchi was later (with the jihad) transferred to *kasar* Zazzau. Muhammad Dabo Titi the founder of Lere was initially at Dan Alhaji and later travelled to the southern part of Bauchi territory. They fought, defeated and subjugated the *sayawa* near present day Tafawa Balewa, and built a walled town, naming it Lere in the late part of the 18th century.[105] Nonetheless, the people of Lere paid allegiance to the *habe* ruler of Bauchi and it remained so until after the jihad in Bauchi when Mallam Yakubu, the first Emir of Bauchi and Dabo Titi had a misunderstanding and so the area was later transferred to Zaria which led to its renaming as Leren Zazzau.[106] Meanwhile, Muhammad Dabo (Titi) retained his pastoral lifestyle and moved from the Dan Alhaji area probably because the area was already inhabited by non - Fulani or non - Hausa to the precincts of Zaranda hills, where he met a Fulani confederacy. Later he dropped his nomadic way of life and embedded with Fulanin Wunti, who incidentally earned their name from the volcanic mountains that surrounded the region.[107] Muhammad Dabo (Titi) later assumed the leadership of

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[105] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle....
[106] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere Alhaji Umaru Muhammad....
[107] Ibid.

the Fulanin Wunti clan, which had several branches. He later move to Toro and founded his home in a place called Gyamzo. While in Toro, the Islamic jihad broke out in 1804 and Shehu Uthman dan Fodio offered Mallam Yakubu, one of his students, the flag to wage the holy war in Bauchi with the instruction that he sought the support and assistance of four Fulani groups in the region, namely, Ganjuwa, Yuli, Gok and Wunti, which he did and succeeded in defeating the hearthen groups of the region.[108] Mallam Yakubu thus, conquered and established the Bauchi emirate in about 1807 to 1814 and he offered traditional titles to leaders of the four Fulani clans that assisted him in the jihad. Muhammad Dabo (Titi) was given the title of *Sarkin Yaki* as head of Fulanin Wunti but later relinquished it to his in - law Muhammadu Kusu.[109] Their descendants still hold the title of *Sarkin Yaki* in addition to the district leadership of Toro and Lame.

Shortly after, a huge disagreement ensued between Mallam Yakubu and Fulanin Wunti under Muhammad Dabo (Titi) owing to the confiscation of one thousand (1,000) cattle by Yakubu as *zakkat*. Tension mounted and it became a very sensitive issue requiring the intervention of a superior arbiter. However, Dabo Titi viewed the confiscation of the cattle on the pretext of taxation not only as illegal but tantamount to an act of transgression which he vehemently opposed and was willing to fight Mallam Yakubu. The case was referred to Sokoto, and after a careful study of the matter, the Shehu (or his successor)[110] directed that Mallam Yakubu return the cattle back to Fulanin Wunti with instructions that they should thereafter give

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[108] Excerpts from Lere Chronicle..... While according to A.Y. Abubakar, it was Yakubu who went and met the leaders of the mentioned Fulani groups and sought for their support who in turn accompanied him to the Shehu who was then at Gwandu to pay allegiance. For detail, see A.Y. Abubakar pp. 368-72.

[109] J. S. Jatau: Historical Development... p. 3, also oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...

[110] This is because, Shehu Uthman Danfodio died in 1817 and all these misunderstandings took place at around the period, which means that it was Muhammadu Bello that solved the problem not the Shehu as claimed by the Lere chronicle.

the *zakkat*.[111] Dabo Titi however, expressed his fear that return of the cattle would create misunderstanding between Mallam Yakubu and himself. It was in this respect that he transferred his allegiance to his teacher, Mallam Musa of Zazzau.[112]

Shehu Uthman Danfodio (or his successor) granted Dabo Titi's request for transfer of allegiance, but suggested that Dabo Titi relocate to Bukuru, near present day Jos, where he would be made a flag bearer. Dabo Titi however, chose to stay under Mallam Musa and remain in his Toro country home to pursue pastoral pre - occupation.[113] Shehu Danfodio (or his successor) was surprised and sought to know why he (Dabo Titi) preferred to stay under Mallam Musa or his successor. Dabo Titi replied that he opted to remain with his teacher so that he would continue to learn from him and live a simple, nomadic life.[114] The result was that parts of Bauchi and Zazzau emirates were carved out and incorporated into the new Lere vassal state; marking the creation of Lere towards the end of the first half of the 19th century. As such, Lere covered a vast area of approximately 500sq miles within the present Bauchi and Plateau states. To the east, it stretched up to Inkil, which incidentally served as headquarters of Bauchi emirate before Mallam Yakubu established emirate leadership in Bauchi around 1814.[115] Also it extended to River Dilimi and Hwol (later Farar Gada) in Jos to the south, while to the north it stretched to Ririwai in Kano (within this geographical boundary were such groups as Lemoro,

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[111]Excerpts from Lere Chronicle... Also oral interview with Alhaji Aliyu *Sana'a*, retired farmer, aged 72, at his residence in *Kofar Fada*, Lere, on 01/05/09 and NAK/ZARPROF/907.

[112]Ibid. Also, A. Adamu, 'The Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and its Impact on Society and Economy: The Case of Zazzau in the 19th Century' in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu... vol. I, p. 99 and M.G. Smith; Government in Zazzau 1800-1950, Oxford University Press, 1960, p.138 where they all demonstrated that Mallam Musa Bamalle - the flag bearer of Zazzau has been to Zaria years before the Jihad where he learnt and taught Islamic Education.

[113]Ibid. Mallam Musa Bamalle was a personal friend and teacher to Muhammadu Dabo (Titi) and his brother Mallam Sambo where history records that Mallam Musa used to frequent Dabo Titi's camp while they were in Zaria before leaving for the Dan Alhaji area and later *kasar* Bauchi i.e. in the pre - jihad period.

[114]The Lere Chronicle records that the Shehu told Dabo Titi point black that 'this leadership that you decline to accept would in years to come be a source of conflict between your descendants and those of Mallam Musa.' This, the people (of Lere) interpreted to mean the deliberate relegation in sovereignty and status of Lere at the beginning of the 20th century i.e. after colonial conquest of Zazzau by the Zazzau emirate.

[115]A.Y. Abubakar; The Establishment of... p. 382.

Chokobo, Buji, Sheni, Kurama, Gure, Kahugu, Piti). The western boundary was the Lere River, widely known as River *Karami*.[116] The Shehu or his successor however, allowed Dabo Titi to remain in Toro, which did not go down well with Mallam Yakubu and so he asked Dabo Titi to move out of the area, when he refused, Yakubu marched his forces to Ribina, west of Toro, and made it part of his territory. Ribina was earlier under the ruler ship of Dabo Titi. Dabo Titi reported the matter to Mallam Musa, the emir of Zazzau, and sought his permission to fight Mallam Yakubu so as to reclaim his territory, but Mallam Musa urged him to move southwest of Toro and avoid armed conflict, which the Shehu has forbidden among his followers.[117] Dabo Titi moved his headquarters to a place called Kunka, then inhabited by a group called Lemoro and consolidated his country and subject as vassal of Zazzau. To pacify Mallam Yakubu, Lafia, which was earlier a vassal of Zazzau, was ceded to Bauchi as its vassal in about 1812 in return for Lere.[118]

It suffice us to say here that, all available evidence i.e. from both Lere and Bauchi indicated that Lere was a part of *kasar* Bauchi in the pre - jihad and in the early years of the Jihad before the transfer of allegiance from Bauchi to Zazzau and the subsequent founding and establishment of Lere in its present location. This is evident in the appearance of names of the various clans (in Bauchi traditions) which the Lere traditions featured. The same thing applies to the clan heads who assisted Yakubu in the jihad and although Muhammadu Dabo's (Titi) name did not feature, that of his in - law (Muhammadu Kusu) appeared as the head of the Zaranda /

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[116]J. S. Jatau... p. 2, G. J. Iliya... and NAK/ZARPROF/393.

[117]A. Junaidu: *Tarihin Fulani*. Zaria, 1957, p.15.

[118]Excerpts from Lere Chronicle... see also M.G. Smith Government in Zazzau... p.77. However, A.Y. Abubakar... p. 390, maintained that there is no evidence either in Bauchi or Lafia to support M. G. Smith's assertion that Lafia had been a vassal of Zazzau until its transfer to Bauchi in place of Lere. J.G. Nengel, in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu Sokoto Caliphate... shares the same view with Abubakar. It should be noted however that, all available evidence indicated the vassalage status of both Lafia and Lere both in the pre- jihad and post jihad era whether under Bauchi or Zaria. With colonial conquest, boundary adjustments were made and each took the position it occupy today.

Toro Fulani (otherwise known as Fulanin Wunti) which was the base of the founders of Lere. As such, it is obvious that Muhammadu Dabo was a head of a section of these Fulani who occupied the Zaranda hill since traditions have indicated that on their arrival, they met another group of Fulani in the area. So for him to have risen to lead all the group / clans as the Lere traditions explained appears not to be true. In addition, the Bauchi traditions are silent as to the reasons for the transfer of allegiance of the founders of Lere to Zazzau probably because only a section of them left *kasar* Bauchi while the other section together with the non - Fulani groups (inhabiting the area) remained and at the same time, the area still retain its name. Similarly, the meaning of the word Lere as indicated in the first chapter appears to be true since with the founding of a new place or settlement that has the same or similar features and characteristics with the one in *kasar* Bauchi, the name Lere was also given.

Therefore, at this juncture, we deem it necessary to turn our attention to *kasar* Zazzau and look at the roles played by Lere towards the conquest and or consolidation of the non – Muslim communities or areas who occupied the south - eastern part of Zazzau where Lere came to be situated.

5.7 - The Jihad in Zazzau:

The precipitating condition which prepared the ground for the jihad in Zaria otherwise known as Zazzau was the emergence of Makau as the King of Zazzau and the successor of Isiyaku Jatau in c.1808. This set the stage for a show down with the jihadists because soon after coming to power, Makau rejected with impunity all undertakings earlier made to the Shehu by his predecessor. This is demonstrated by the systematic reversals of all the reforms earlier

recorded by Isiyaku Jatau.[119] Makau's action seemed to be in response to pressure from certain powerful forces within the corridors of power that felt threatened by the reforms. According to local traditions, the Zaria king makers in connivance with some palace officials that were opposed to the reforms, presented Makau with some conditions as a pre - requisite for his appointment as the King of Zazzau.[120]

The conditions left him with two options; either to toe their line and get installed as the king or turn his back on them and carry on with his father's reforms and forfeit the throne. Makau opted for the former. Attached to this option were a number of strings. These strings were that he should deal with those responsible for influencing his father to make such reforms. He should recant to the religion of his forefathers and he should return all the fetish objects in their former places before their removal and conversion of their shrines into a mosque by his father.[121]

As if to prove his readiness and willingness to fulfill the above conditions, Makau immediately after his appointment, became highly antagonistic to the Muslim community particularly the *mallamai* class. For instance, he ordered for the arrest and detention of Mallam Muhammadu Lawal in Fadan - Fadan, which was an old *habe* house from where he was subsequently killed. Mallam Hamidu *mai jan riga* narrowly escaped death while scholars were generally barred from the *birni*. In short, Makau nullified all the reforms earlier made by his father, Isiyaku and became highly anti - Islam.[122]

The scenario created strained Makau's relationship with the Zaria scholars who reported the situation to the Shehu at Sokoto. In response, the Shehu formed a body of jihadists and

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[119] D. M. Last; A solution to the problem of Dynastic Chronology in 19th Century Zaria and Kano, Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN), Vol. III. No 3, 1966, pp. 461- 69. For detail on the jihad (and its causes in Zaria) see M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*... D. M. Last; The Sokoto Caliphate... A. Adamu in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; The Sokoto Caliphate... and a host of other literatures.
[120] U. Suleiman; A. History of *Birnin* Zaria from 1350 - 1902, M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 2007, p. 204.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

formally appointed Mallam Musa to lead the group. Armed with the full mandate of the Shehu, Mallam Musa and his teaming supporters marched to Zaria and succeeded in entering the city in 1808 with relative ease through the eastern gate known as *Kofar Bai*.[123]

In any case, it was clear that military tactics and strategy played a decisive role in the defeat of the *habe* rulers by the jihadists. These tactics were characterized by mobility, flexibility, adaptability, audaciousness and surprise. This is summed up by Smaldone:

> The Muslim guerillas capitalized on their
> Familiarity with the terrain of the country
> Side, taking refuge when necessary and
> Sailing forth when the opportunity presented
> Itself. In this way, the rebels (jihadists)
> Retained the initiative, avoided direct
> Encounter in unfavorable conditions, and
> Attacked when they were prepared for
> Battle on their own terms.[124]

The strategy outlined above seemed to be informed by the weak military position of the jihadists' vis-à-vis the military might of a state power like Zazzau. The effectiveness of the strategy could be seen in the ease and surprise that accompanied the defeat of the *birni*. The jihadists had completely avoided the forces of the *habe* rulers showing up only at places such as Durum and Hunkuyi. While this was going on, it appeared that some of the jihadists had already found their way to the *birni* or its vicinity in probably small numbers to avoid suspicion as well as waiting for an appropriate time to strike. Thus, the jihadists quietly entered the *birni* and took it over with little casualty. It is reported that the only casualty involved the *Salanke* who was entrusted with the care of the *birni*. He was killed around the *madaka* ward.[125] While this was

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[123] There are varying accounts on how the jihadists entered and captured the *Birni*. For detail, see D. M. Last: A solution to the problem of … S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk - Greene, The Muhammadan Emirates of Northern Nigeria… p. 177 and U. Suleiman, A History of Birnin Zaria… p. 206 - 07.
[124] J. P. Smaldone; Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate: Historical and Sociological Perspectives, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 35.
[125] U. Suleiman; A History of Birnin Zaria… p. 208.

going on, the *habe* ruler Makau was waiting for the arrival of the jihadists outside the city without knowing what has transpired inside the *birni*. Thus, the news of the surprise and decisive capture of the seat of power of the *habe* ruler was shattering and traumatizing not only to the ruler but to his forces in general. This therefore, broke the fighting morale of the soldiers and put them on flight. The king moved southward with his loyal followers closely behind him.[126] The rest of his followers scattered, while some moved to Lere, others moved to Atsam.[127]

Thus, the exit of the king and most of his title holders such as *Galadima, Wambai, Jarmai* and a host of others rendered the rest of the population incapable of putting up any resistance. As such, this scenario brought about the demise of the *habe* and the ascendancy of the Fulani leadership. Having taken over the *birni*, the jihadists hotly pursued the *habe* ruler and his followers up to Zuba where they founded the Abuja kingdom of Zazzau in exile. This is demonstrated by the fact that the emir of Suleja is today referred to as *Sarkin* Zazzau of Suleja.[128]

The successful capture of the *birni* by the jihadists in 1808 as mentioned earlier was an important landmark in the history of not only the *birni* but the entire *kasar* Zazzau. This is because it witnessed the demise of the *Sarauta* system and its replacement with the emirate administration involving the whole of the former Zazzau kingdom. As such, processes were set in motion for the political integration of the territories of *kasar* Zazzau into the new administration centered at the *birni*. This was because the urgent question that seemed to occupy the attention of the jihadists was the survival of their newly emerging community at the *birni*, which was surrounded by hostile communities that refused to surrender even with the fall of the *birni*. No doubt, this posed great danger for the newly established community. It was therefore politically and militarily expedient to bring all the territories within the former Zazzau kingdom

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[126] S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk - Greene, The Muhammadan Emirates of ... p. 72.
[127] J. G. Nengel et.al; History of the Chawai of ... p. 56.
[128] U. Suleiman; A History of *Birnin* Zaria...

under the control of the new administration. Thus, a period of consolidation and expansion commencing from 1808 began in earnest.

The process of consolidation and expansion of the emirate was prolonged and took place simultaneously.[129] It commenced with the areas surrounding the *birni* and then followed by the outlaying districts of the northern part of the former *habe* kingdom such as Haskiya, Gadaz, Girku, Kargi and the Gwari of Kusheriki which remained a stronghold of traditional beliefs and thus, hostile to the reforms.[130] Already, Kauru and Kajuru have been brought under the emirate administration in the course of the pursuit of the fleeing *habe* king - Makau.[131] With Zaria and its environs together with the outlying districts of the northern part firmly secured, Mallam Musa embarked on expansion south – eastward - where our study area is situated. However, it should be noted that by this period, Lere was under Bauchi, but we shall in our subsequent discussions, see the roles it played on its return to *kasar* Zazzau since we have already demonstrated why it was transferred from *kasar* Bauchi to *kasar* Zazzau. Mallam Musa was however, cautious not to launch direct attacks on some of the southern territories, instead, he encouraged the leading Muslim leaders in such areas to carry out intermittent campaigns against the communities and consequently, Jama'a was brought under Zaria as vassal state.[132] Soon Nasarawa and Doma were to follow suit. It was through these vassal states that Zaria's political domain reached as far as Benue. Thus, before the death of Mallam Musa in 1821, Zaria had developed into a metropolis with extensive networks of protective towns and villages surrounding it.

It should be noted however that in spite of the above exploit by Zaria, there were large areas that remained either in rebellion or unconquered throughout the 19th century. As such, with

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[129] M. G. Smith: Government in Zazzau… p. 147.
[130] U. Suleiman: A History of Birnin Zaria… p. 211.
[131] M. G. Smith Government in Zazzau … p. 29.
[132] S. Bala: History of Jama'a Emirate … pp. 148 - 49, U. Suleiman: A History of Birnin Zaria… and R. Adeleye: Power and Diplomacy in … p. 29.

the subsequent transfer of Lere from Bauchi to Zaria, one could say that even though the Jihad was almost completed, Lere still played a role towards the conquest of and or the consolidation of emirate leadership in the non - Muslim areas of Kahugu, Gure and Kurama.[133] It has thus, became clear (as argued in our previous chapters) that Lere or its founders certainly met other groups occupying (both the plains and the hills) the region, but because Mallam Musa and the founders of Lere knew each other long before this period (in Zaria) including the fact that they were probably from the same area (Malle or Mali), coupled with the experience of the jihad which the founders of Lere already had in the Bauchi region, made Mallam Musa or his successor to have issued a flag to the founder of Lere to assist in the consolidation of the emirate leadership in the mentioned areas.[134]

From the foregoing, it is therefore evident that by the end of the first decade of the 19th century, the two emirates of Bauchi and Zazzau were on the rise. The imperial expansion of the two emirates through conquest and incorporation of Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri settlements and their subsequent organization as vassal states by the end of the first half of the 19th century had important bearing on the non - Muslim societies around the Jos - Plateau. These societies gradually found themselves encircled by the (aggressive) vassal states of the emirate governments. It was mainly from these emergent vassal states that economic, political and military relations between the emirate powers and the different non - Muslim societies were

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[133] *Sarkin Lere Alhaji Umar Muhammad explained that it was Lere that assisted Zazzau (with a directive from the* emir) in subjugating the Kahugu. Because they were unlike other non - Muslim groups, warriors because they have never been conquered or defeated by other groups. This is corroborated by colonial reports and oral information obtained from the field.

[134] Although Lere was conquered during the second phase of Yakubu's campaigns in c. 1815-20, and sources *indicated that Mallam Musa died in 1821, it is also clear that the actual transfer of allegiance from Bauchi to Zazzau* took place in the last quarter of the first half of the 19th century. It is obvious then that (due to the mentioned factors) the transfer of allegiance and the issuance of a flag to the founders of Lere took place during the reign of Mallam Musa's successors and not during his time. Therefore, the actual roles played by Lere were not witnessed by Mallam Musa but by his successors. As such, the extent to which the Lere traditions linked the establishment and subsequent *development of the area is discernible.*

established. The nature and dimension of the responses of the societies to the extension of Islamic frontiers in the areas affected the relations between the different societies and the emirate governments. In short, by the middle of the 19th century, there were eleven vassal states, six of which were administered by the Zazzau emirate while five were under Bauchi emirate. Those under Bauchi were Toro, Lere, Kanam, Wase and Keffi while those of Zazzau were Lere, Kauru, Jama'an Danroro, Nasarawa, Lafiya and Doma.[135]

It was through these vassal states that the frontiers of Islam were extended to the predominantly non - Muslim societies of the central Nigerian area. However, the expansion of Islamic frontiers in the area was not always based on warfare but by peaceful means also. The responses of the societies to this extension varied from one group to the other and between them and the different vassal states. The nature and forms of responses depended largely on the pre - existing contacts with the Hausa settlements and the proximity of the societies to the administrative centres of the vassal states. Many of the societies were well known for their military prowess. Of significant consideration was the topography and accessibility of the settlement sites of the societies. Most of the non - Muslim societies located on inaccessible hills and mountain massifs used these as natural fortifications. Most of such societies responded by putting determined resistance against the emirate incursions. Thus, the relations between such societies and the emirates were for the most times hostile. However, conflicts were not the only forms of relations between such unassailable societies ensconced in the hill sites and the emirate powers as is often depicted especially in the colonial reports and literatures. While there were

[135] J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu, The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies ... pp. 182 - 3.

periods of violent confrontations, there were also long intervals of relative peace during which trade was conducted.[136]

A significant aspect of the vassal states was that, they were used by the emirate authorities as provision basis for launching military incursions against the different societies in the region. They also served as the main economic magnets around which the non - Muslim societies took their commodities for exchange with items brought there from the outside world.

In view of the above, conciliatory attempts were made to establish peaceful political and economic relations with such societies. When such attempts were successful, they led to the formation of *amana*. And once such *amana* relations were established between the non - Muslim societies on the one hand and the emirate powers on the other, as a rule, the parties were expected not to engage in any war. In theory, this was the rule, but in practice sometimes, a breach of trust or *cin - amana* in most cases led to open confrontation.[137] The term *amana* is an Arabic word meaning 'trust'. While in political parlance, the term refers to non - aggression pact entered into between Muslims and non – Muslims for the purposes of peaceful co - existence. In other words, it is the bond of amicable relationships that existed between the Muslims and many of the non - Muslim societies around or close to our study area. An important element of such bond was the payment of tribute (*jizya*) by the non – Muslim people to the emirate power. This payment of *jizya* by the non - Muslim people account for why the emirate states regarded the *amana* societies as being politically subordinate to them, while the *amana* societies on their own side did not consider the relationship as being politically subordinate especially since the emirate

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[136] J. G. Nengel; "Some Considerations of the Relations Between the Sokoto Caliphate and the Polities of Central Nigeria" in A. A. Idris and Y. A. Ochefu (eds), Studies in the History of Central Nigeria, Vol. 1, Lagos, 2002, pp. 577 - 94.

[137] J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu: The Sokoto Caliphate... p. 184. See also S. Bala: History of Jama'a Emirate... p. 134 and A. Y. Abubakar: The Establishment and Development of ... p. 377.

in turn, reciprocated by sending gifts of kola nuts and foods to the local chiefs during Islamic festivals (*Sallah* celebrations).[138]

It was in this regard that quite a number of the non - Muslim societies voluntarily entered into *amana* relations through the vassal states like Lere. For instance, as mentioned earlier, Zazzau had to go through Lere to bring Kahugu and Gure under the emirate leadership and they in turn agreed to pay tribute in agricultural produce and sometimes slaves.[139] Among the *amana* societies of Zazzau were the Chawai, Gure, Kahugu, Kuzamani, Gusu, Chokobo, Lemoro, Rumaya, Ruruma, Sheni, some Kurama and Buji villages. On the other hand, those groups who rejected both Islam and tribute payment were known as non - *amana* societies. It was against such groups that the jihad forces were free to direct most of their attacks. Some of these societies under Zazzau were Amo, Jere, Rishiwa, Piti, Rukuba, e.t.c.[140]

For instance, there were many societies that engaged the emirate forces in battle on their own steam discounting the small scale raids which were easily defeated. The Jere recount of a major battle with Zazzau emirate, which took place in 1877 during the reign of Mallam Abdullahi. The emir it was said, left Zaria with a large contingent, and also mobilized a considerable number at Soba and Lere vassal states. The Jere account admits that during the encounter, the enemy forces overcame them on the plains and chased them into their mountain fortress. The Jere warriors would have suffered a terrible defeat from their enemies but for the bravery of a certain woman who saved the society, she did that by pressing the nipples of her breasts from which myriads of bees flew out and stung the enemy forces. The stung of the bees

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[138] J. G. Nengel et.al; History of the Chawai of North Central Nigeria … U. Suleiman; A History of *Birnin* Zaria … p. 209 and J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; The Sokoto Caliphate… p. 184.
[139] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad… and oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Peter Gimba and Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kafur*) conducted separately.
[140] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad… and J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; The Sokoto Caliphate… p. 185. Their being non – *amana* societies does not mean they were not under Lere.

caused great pandemonium among the enemy thus, enabling the Jere warriors to descend on the invaders with great slaughter, only a few escaped. The news of the defeat of the emirate army spread like wild fire among their neighbours. This battle marked the last attempt by Zazzau against the Jere who maintained the reputation of being indomitable lions of Pengana polities.[141]

Similarly, the Amo and Rukuba also recount that besides the raids which were easily repulsed by them; their major encounter with Zazzau took place in 1890. This was in the reign of Mallam Yero. On their advance, the emirate forces encountered and defeated the Piti who were in turn compelled to accept *amana* relation. After scoring such a victory, the advancing forces penetrated right into the Rukuba territory but they were checked at Kumyen by mounted troops from Zagun. When the enemy forces next directed their attacks on the Amo, the latter's warriors made use of hot arrows which melted the coated shields worn by the enemies and set them ablaze. The casualties which the enemies suffered compelled them to withdraw from the area and completely avoided the Amo and Rukuba.[142]

5.8 - Conclusion:

The society of Hausaland on the eve of the jihad was rent by contradictions and conflicts, with both prosperity and social violence and increasing dislocation. Important groups were largely unrepresented in the state and were increasingly alienated from it. Certain Muslim scholars were able to articulate their grievances of many members of the society and gain their allegiance. The society was in such a state that even a very minor event could touch off a sweeping revolution. This is put forward by J. E. Philips as:

> Systems as large and as complicated as the earth's
> Crust, the stock market and the ecosystem can break

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[141] J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; Sokoto Caliphate... pp. 187 - 88.
[142] Ibid.

> Down not only under the force of a mighty blow but
> At the drop of a pin. Large interactive systems perpetually
> Organize themselves to a critical state in which a minor
> *Event starts a reaction that can lead to a catastrophic.*[143]

In the case of the increasingly complex and interdependent society of Hausaland, the one minor event was a slave raid by a prince of Gobir on the followers of a Hausa scholar, Abd al – Salam. In this raid, all the contradictions and grievances of the society came together, and an explosion was touched off that changed the history of West Africa forever.

Thus, the above situations and many more culminated into the jihad of 1804 led by Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. An analysis of the Jihad both in *kasar* Bauchi and *kasar* Zazzau in relation to our area of study demonstrated that the Jihad was a culmination of long years of social, economic, political and religious problems that bedeviled the society. The Jihadists addressed this issue by using Islam as the ideology for mobilization of the people. The jihad which started as a reform within the system in 1804 was to result into the overthrow of the *Sarauta* system in Zaria (and the entire Hausaland) or the gradual diminishing of the Dodo cult or ancestral worship as it applied to most areas in our area of study. This in effect, brought about the conversion of the former *habe* kingdoms into emirates. Therefore, the jihad brought about changes and or transformations in all spheres of life of the people which shall be central issue examined in the next chapter.

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[143] J. E. Philips; *Ribats* in the Sokoto Caliphate: Selected Studies, 1804 – 1903, PhD Thesis, University of California, 1992, P. 116.

CHAPTER SIX

NATURE OF THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY AFTER THE JIHAD

6.1 - Introduction:

The last chapter focused on the 1804 jihad in Hausaland which was championed by Shehu Uthman Danfodio. The jihad was central in the history of Hausaland in that it brought so many changes to the society which affected the people both socially, economically, politically and religiously. This chapter therefore, seeks to examine these changes as well as analyse how the people reacted to them. This is the more necessary if we are to have a better understanding of the changes or transformations witnessed by the polities in the entire Hausaland (including our area of study) or what later became northern Nigeria. Contrary to the views expressed by Adeleye[1] for the Hausa states in the 16th century where he said that such societies were stagnant because their major pre - occupation was war, it is important to note that the 19th century marked a period of changes where some of the changes were informed by both internal and external dynamics. Our focus will therefore be on both the social, economic, political and religious changes the Jihad brought to the communities in Lere.

6.2 - Hunting and Fishing:

As observed in chapter three, this was a major economic activity that brought about the foundation of new settlements, and the fusion of one clan group into another. By this period, it

[1] R. A. Adeleye, 'Hausa land and Bornu 1600 – 1800 A. D' in J. F. Ajayi and M. Crowder (Eds); History of West Africa Vol. 1, Longman, 1976, pp. 556 – 601.

was also observed that hunting had not become the preserve of any specialized group in the region. As a result of the search for hunting grounds and also because of the instability that was prone in Hausaland because of the persistent wars of conquest, a number of *Hausawa* have moved from their home land in search of hunting grounds which they found in *kasar* Lere. As was also indicated hunting with nets showed a simple but complex division of labour between the hunters and the beaters, which marked a major transformation in hunting as it was the period when a whole village or group of villages came together no matter their lineage or clan. This brought about cohesion among groups of distant origin, and marked the beginning of specialization between the beaters and the net carriers. In the first place, some of the beaters acquired the special ability of identifying which animals predominate where and at what season. Secondly, the making of nets became perfected as there was specialized group that made these nets.

However, by the middle of the 19th century because of population increase which resulted in the shortage of land, hunting grounds which were communally owned by the whole community were becoming agricultural lands. In effect, the household head had to leave some portion of land owned by the family fallowed to allow for some hunting activities. The changes that emanate from this were that instead of allowing for any member who made catches during the hunting expedition; they were expected to surrender all the catches to the celebrant. This change according to our informants was due to consideration by the whole village that since he had to put his land to fallow, it meant that he had to be compensated. The household head especially in the non - Muslim communities however, had the responsibility of providing the participants with much beer and food during the occasion.[2]

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[2] Oral interview with Mallam Sale and Mallam Auwal Hassan ...

The individuals who were always in the forests and caves in search of game and were brave at hunting expeditions were accorded very high recognition and by implication even though the main stay of the economy was still agriculture, such people became specialists in hunting and were regarded as such. Also, as the polities expanded, the Hausa and Fulani hunters who have migrated into this area mingled with them and formed themselves into a specialized group. As a result of this continuous process of fusion, the hunters were now able to sell some of their games in the local as well as long distant markets in the region. Although towards the end of the century, the only group that earned its living through hunting was the small pockets of Hausa settlers, almost all the hunters in *kasar* Lere took to hunting only at leisure periods and as such, did not become specialists per se. It should however be noted that, owing to the importance attached to hunting, there was a leader in each village that was responsible for organizing hunting expedition. In the non - Muslim communities, the leader consulted the oracles before hunting expeditions were carried out and the only area in which the leader demonstrated this leadership role was when he announced to the public that devastating animals were out and if it turned out to be so, he will then be highly respected. Some of the leaders did prove their worth and became leaders of the community at large.[3]

By this period (last half of the 19th century), fishing was the preserve of the men folk (whether young or old). The methods used in fishing were majorly through damming of the streams and sometimes by poisoning. However, a new innovation in fishing that evolved as a result of interaction with the Hausa was the use of hooks and nets. By the end of the 18th century, fishing was not done for commercial purposes, but with the jihad and subsequent immigration of the Hausa into the area, hooks and nets of various sizes and shapes were introduced. The catch

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[3] Ibid.

thus, became numerous and some of the fishes were smoked and traded in. The discussion on the hydrology showed that there were various grades of rivers in the region which allowed for fishing activities to be conducted. By the last half of the 19th century therefore, when these tools were introduced, there seemed to have been a division of labour whereby, only those that specialized in the activity participated and displayed fish in the markets nearest to them.[4]

Thus, hunting and fishing during the 19th century was transformed into an ancillary economy. This is because man started as a wanderer and then into hunting which helped him in identifying settlement sites and then subsequently settled to proper agricultural pursuits. And once agricultural techniques were improved upon, hunting then became a part time activity including fishing. A major transformation during the period in question therefore, was the introduction of new hunting and fishing techniques and the removal of restrictions on the rivers where fishing activities took place by the Caliphal administration. This made all rivers and all that it contains a public property that no clan or community could lay claim to it. The period was also one that began to witness the commercialization of some of the hunting and fishing products. As such, one could say that the jihad led to the transformation of the economic environment (since hunting and fishing constituted a part of the economy) to produce a free society.

6.3 - Agriculture and Land Ownership:

Land as has been demonstrated was communally owned, with the household head taking care of the land on behalf of the entire lineage or clan. This process continued but with some slight modifications. As has been shown, up to the 19th century, whenever a family settled in a

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[4] Ibid

particular place and started the cultivation of a particular piece of land, it became the property of the family who for continuous claim of ownership, have to show that the land belong to it by tracing the history of the settlement of that family or household in such lands.

With the jihad however and with the Caliphal administration in place, possession of land was recognizable when a certain individual bought that piece of land under cultivation. This however, did not seem to be regarded as land ownership but merely rights to ownership for use. Hence, the rule being that any person who cultivates a piece of land for the first time losses his rights to ownership if he neglects that piece of land, and the man who re - cultivates that piece of land claims the rights to its ownership. This policy was however inconclusive since the Muslim jurists are not unanimous in this decision.[5]

Every member of the community had the recognition of accessibility to uncultivated land under the permission of the ruler. These propagated Caliphate's land tenure policies however, recognized the authority of the rulers in land matters. Thus, a piece of land given by the ruler remains the property of the recipient even if it remains uncultivated. In addition, the land which is situated near population centres was firmly protected according to the Caliphate's endorsed land policy. Rights of ownership over pieces of land immediately surrounding the *gandirwa* were thus, more stable to the cultivator even if such piece of land is neglected by him, unless it elapsed over a long period of time and did not object to it being cultivated by another person. If the second cultivator does not know the original state of that piece of land before he cultivates it, he should be compensated for what he spends in bringing that piece of land under cultivation before he returns it to the original cultivator.[6]

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[5] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate... pp. 109 - 110.
[6] Ibid.

Accordingly, there are seven ways of bringing land under cultivation in order to warrant one's rights of ownership over it. These are: firstly, the drilling and the channeling of springs on a piece of land for cultivation purposes. Secondly, the removal of water from a flooded piece of land; thirdly, setting up a substantial building on the piece of land; fourthly, considerable planting on the piece of land; fifthly, cultivating by ploughing and breaking up the ground (sowing alone without overturning the soil does not constitute cultivation); sixthly, clearing the piece of land by cutting or burning its trees and lastly, breaking the stones on the land and leveling the ground and its steep slopes.[7]

However, there are certain areas which were considered public and should therefore not be brought under any form of cultivation. Such areas include the reserved space of the various *garuruwa* from where the people get their firewood and other forest resources or graze their animals especially if such an area could be reached to and fro in a day's journey. Individuals had exclusive rights over the reserve spaces surrounding their houses particularly their entrances, exists, outdoor stone benches, toilets, drainage and earth storage for building purposes. If a house is surrounded by other people's property, public utility system should be adopted and no one should be allowed to do anything that would cause any harm to his neighbours. Anyone who puts up a building on public paths or adds the pathway to his property should be prohibited from doing so. While any building on a pathway should be demolished even if it cause no harm to the generality of the community.[8]

Similarly, the Caliphate's land tenure policies recognized five categories of land. The first is the land taken by force which should neither be sold nor given to anyone but remains a property for the use of the community. The second, being the land whose owners concluded

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[7] Ibid. p. 111.
[8] Ibid. p. 112.

peace treaty with the Caliphate, and such land belong to its owners and should be allowed to do what they like with it. The third is the land whose owners become integrated into the Caliphate, and should be treated as the second category. The fourth is the land whose owners fled and was deserted by them, and such a land remains at the discretion of the ruler. While the fifth and last category is the land whose owners neither become integrated into the Caliphate nor entered into any peace treaty and if such a land passes into the possession of the Caliphate, its disposal stands at the discretion of the ruler.[9]

Thus, in all matters on land allocation, the position of the ruler to use his discretion is upheld. For instance, the ruler can grant a fief in any location of the Caliphate. The ruler or his deputy reserved the right to determine the use of the common land and the state owned land. Similarly, the ruler can reserve a common pasture for a particular livestock only. However, in these cases, there are four conditions governing the legality of such discretionary grants. Firstly, the land to be granted falls within the category in which the discretion of the ruler is unquestionable; secondly, the piece of land should be for the use of the Caliphate's members; thirdly, that piece of land should be an excess of what the people of the area use; and lastly, for the grant of public pasture, the livestock should be crucial to the security of the Caliphate such as horses used in jihad campaigns or camels carrying goods for the jihadists or animals belonging to the poor section of the community.[10]

Similarly, the considerable involvement of the ruling class, especially the *masu saruuta*, in economic activities could be attributed to a variety of reasons. The influence of the religious milieu of the period, especially in the first half of the 19th century, in relation to economic activities appears to have been an important factor. As has already been pointed out, the jihad

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[9] Ibid. p. 113.
[10] Ibid. pp. 113 – 114.

leaders especially Caliph Muhammad Bello, enjoined the emirs and other state officials to involve themselves in economic activities both for their own benefit and for the benefit of the society at large. He influenced the emirs both by personal example and through his writings. In his *Tanbih al – Sahib ala ahkam al – Makasibi*, for instance, Muhammad Bello quoted several authorities very extensively in order to underscore the importance of engaging oneself in productive and profitable economic pursuit. Here are a few quotations from the work:

> "Verily Allah likes that his servant be industrious .....It is also narrated that (the prophet) Isa Peace be upon him had met a man and he asked him: 'What are you doing?' He answered, 'I am worshipping'. He said, 'who is feeding you?' The man replied, 'my Brother.' The prophet (Isa) said, 'your brother is more Pious than you'..... Abu Huzaifa said 'the best of you Are those who did not abandon their world for the day of Judgment and the Day of Judgment for their worldly Activities'.....Abu Kalaba said, 'it is preferable for me To see you seeking your livelihood than to see you in the Corridor of a mosque."[11]

In line with this Caliphal policy therefore, the whole society (of Zazzau) became transformed and the policies became applicable to those Muslim communities directly under Lere, while the non - Muslim communities with whom *amana* relations had been established were treated as per the policy. Thus, the end result was that harmonious living was encouraged and people co - existed peacefully. For instance, Lere itself being a purely Muslim / Fulani community around this period integrated other people such as the *Hausawan* Kano, *Hausawan* Kebbi, *Bare - Bari* and some Kurama by allocating land to them both for permanent cultivation and settlement.[12]

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[11] A. Mahadi; The State and the Economy... pp. 571 – 73.

[12] Various interviews conducted with different people at different times and dates. They include interview with Mallam Alhassan Adamu (a *bakano*); Mallam Abdullah Umaru (a *babar - bare*); Mallam Sale Bako (a *bakabe*) and Mr. Dantani Yani. The integration was so much so that the families of the mentioned people held traditional titles of *Sarkin Marina*, *Sarkin Mukera*, and *Sarkin Ruwa* respectively within the administrative set up of *kasar* Lere.

On the other hand, by the end of the first half of the 19th century, agriculture had become the main stay of the economy of the people of *kasar* Lere. In this regard, emphasis was laid on harnessing the environment towards the realization of purposeful agricultural production. The development of agriculture seemed to have been encouraged as a result of the development of iron technology in the area when more and sophisticated tools were being made. The methods of terracing on the hills and hill slopes to shifting cultivation and bush fallowing continued but with some modifications. This was so because as the people continued the cultivation of the land, their knowledge of the local grain and its distribution, familiarity with the local trees, grasses and crop variation made the elders to continue to direct the production networks in their families. But as we have mentioned earlier, because of the continuous intersection of the elders with the local environment, they were able to determine which variety of crops will yield better on which soil. The family continued to be the basic unit of production with emphasis laid on the different forms of co - operative labour. Even though a form of slavery was in existence in the region, it is clear that no slave mode of production came into existence in the area. Rather, where a slave found himself into a household, he went to work on the farm with other members of the household, because by the middle of the 19th century, slave labour tended to be associated with only well developed class society particularly feudal lords. These however, had not developed among peoples of *kasar* Lere but were found amongst the *masu sarauta*. They were rather integrated into the various families they belonged to.[13]

In addition, taking cognizance of the ecology as we discussed in chapter three because of fear of crop failures, the multi - cropping of crops on a single plot of land became more intensive

[13] Oral interview with Mallam Boyi... Mallam Dantami *Ma'auni* (grain seller)... Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kafiar*) and Hajiya Habiba (a.k.a Kumbo). A typical example in the *gidan sarautar* Lere exists where the slaves were integrated into the family completely

at this period. This as we have mentioned, kept the household in a relatively comfortable position throughout the year since with the introduction of many crops on a plot of land even though crop yields may not be high; it showed clearly that they had varieties even if they were not in large quantity.

The resultant effect of the jihad on agriculture in the entire area that made up the Caliphate was explicitly addressed by the Caliphate administration. For instance, in some of the Shehu's writings, he explained the sources of finances for the Caliphate government: the prominent position of agriculture is firmly stated. As a result of the urbanization drive in the region following the establishment of the Caliphal administration, there was the need for intensive and extensive agricultural production to feed the increasing population as well as to stimulate other economic ventures.

In his book, *Al - ribata wa al - hirasa*, Muhammadu Bello encouraged the people to till the land in order to realize the full advantages of earning a living. In short, Muhammad Bello's instruction to his deputies (i.e. rulers of the metropolitan districts and the emirate) was that:

> Your main task is to make them (the *ribats*)
> Cultivated and prosperous, therefore you
> Should assign a plot of land to anybody
> Seeking one to develop.[14]

Thus, the Caliphate administration sought to encourage increased production in food and non - food crops through both upland and low land cultivation. The sedentarization policies pursued by Muhammadu Bello were meant to improve agriculture through its closer integration with livestock production.

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[14] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy of ... p. 117. Of course what applies to Lere here is the issuance of pieces of land to the so many people that practiced different occupations who came to settle in the area as attested by our informants as indicated in footnote twelve.

In essence, the Caliphate authority was vested with the control of land and its resources under the guiding principles of the *Shari'a*. The guiding philosophy aimed at achieving the overall economic well being of the Caliphate was propounded by *Sarkin Musulmi* - Muhammadu Bello through the founding of *ribats*.[15] This policy was to be augmented by promotion of commercial networks, industrial activities and sedentarization policies so that the agricultural, industrial and pastoral sectors would be integrated and the desired economic development of the Caliphate would be advanced.

6.4 - Animal Husbandry:

The keeping of animals has been perfected among the groups in *kasar* Lere because of the importance that the animals had on the community. Domestic animals played a significant role in the religious activities of the people as has been demonstrated. Moreover, by the turn of the century, the keeping of animals had also become a symbol of wealth among the people.

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[15] There are four words in Hausa for walled defensive fortifications: *Sansani*, *Kafi*, *Ribadi* or *Ribatsi* and *Birni*. *Sansani* refers to a temporary war camp with a stockade. Extended sieges could turn a *sansani* into a permanent town. Ibn Fartua, writing in 16th century Bornu, credited its introduction there to his sovereign, Mai Idris Alooma, but its history is really unknown. In Hausaland it may have been an old borrowing from Kanuri, but the word is so wide spread across the Islamic West African savanna that it is difficult to decide in which direction the word spread. *Kafi*, is defined by Bargery as: 1.(a) A town surrounded by a fence or stakes. (b) Stockade. It could also mean to "erect, establish or set up something." It therefore means a town which has been thoroughly and securely founded by being provided with a defensive barrier. It is usually a more permanent arrangement than a *sansani*, but may be only a temporary stockade for protecting cattle, e. t. c. and not necessarily a permanent town. *Birni*, (pl. *Birane*) on the other hand, means a major walled city. The term was borrowed from Kanuri. It generally refers to the major political and economic centre of an area, although some *Birane* are not capitals. Its use implies not only size, but also sophistication, and has many of the same connotations as the English terms as "urban" and "urbane". While *Ribadi*, or *Ribatsi*, is the only Hausa word for a fortification or fortified settlement borrowed directly from Arabic. It is a word found in the Qur'an, and thus, is known to Muslim peoples all over the world, but it has come to mean different things in different languages. In Hausa it means a frontier outpost, or the state of military readiness in which its inhabitants were supposed to be waiting. For instance, in Hausaland the *Sarkin* Katsina Ibrahim Sura was nicknamed "*al – Murabit*" (the dweller in a *ribat*) and was associated with a policy of building *ribats* in the late 15th century. The Islamic nature of these fortified settlements is shown by the fact that their rectangular shape is aligned in the direction of the "*qibla*" (*Ka'aba* in Makkah). However, *Ribat* is a word used only once in the Qur'an (8: 60). Here the phrase "*ribat al – khayl*" is usually interpreted as strings of horses, five or more, and refers to the importance for the early Muslims of arming themselves with good cavalry. The root word, *rabaTa*, occurs three times in the Qur'an (8: 11, 18: 14, and 28: 10), always in combination with the preposition 'ala'. This combination means to strengthen or confirm something. A derived (3rd) form is also found (3: 200) which means to persevere steadfastly. For detail, see J. E. Philips; Ribats in the Sokoto Caliphate … pp. 221 – 24.

These two motives in addition to the jihad influenced the changes that manifested during the 19th century. As has been seen in chapter three, the head of the household controlled the distribution of the animals but did not use it for his own private purposes. He however, had the powers to lend out certain animals outside his lineage. By this act, he was extending and expanding his position beyond the traditional lineage society. When the animal given out reproduced, the head of the household received some in return and the process continues for some time until the household head who is the patron allowed the one who borrowed the animal to go with it. By this very act, groups in *kasar* Lere were by and large extending their social positions beyond the lineage or villages.

This system of patronage had some major implications. The first is that the patron was highly respected in the village other than his own. Secondly, the animals so lent outside, further enhanced his economic position in the village. Moreover, he was to use these animals to purchase prestigious goods by the end of the 19th century when such goods became common in the area.

Even though the elder was by this period using the animals to enhance his economic and social position in the area, it is instructive to note that as the head of the household, he had the obligation of providing the animals as matrimonial gifts for the juniors in his household. He was also to provide for the necessary animals that were to be sacrificed during the religious festivals in the village (this is common only in the non - Muslim areas of the region as earlier explained). K. A. Kigbu has argued that the eating of the animals sacrificed was the beginning of social stratification in the area. For according to him, the elders by this very act were exploiting the juniors.[16] But in essence, since it was a religious obligation which had to be practiced in the

[16] K. A. Kigbu; "The Nature and Structure of Lafiya Society before Colonial Rule" mimeo, University of Jos, 1987. p. 20.

village, this may not really be considered as the beginning of class distinction in the area. This is because the generation of such elders will pass away and the juniors will automatically take over. Similarly, within the family, the women and the young did most of the work to the benefit of the old people who consumed the largest share. But as each man throughout his life passed from one stage to another, it balanced out in the end. The attainment of such position was only delayed but not prevented as it is in a capitalist or feudal set up. On the other hand, the success of the Sokoto Jihad attracted a large number of pastoral emigrants to the entire region. As such, the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate facilitated the consolidation of the pastoral sector of the economy of the whole region.

In the pre - jihad era, livestock production has largely been in the hands of pastoral groups, particularly the Fulani. By the 19th century therefore, there were two groups of Fulani, the pastoral Fulani whose predominant way of life revolved around animal husbandry, and the sedentarized Fulani who may own livestock in small or large scale or may not.[17] Therefore, the pastoral sector was in the course of the century fully integrated into the society and the general rubric of the agrarian economy of the Caliphate. The transformations brought about by the 1804 jihad movement directly affected the social and physical environment in which pasture, water and socio - political congeniality were located, all of which were essential pre - requisite for successful livestock production endeavours.

The establishment of the *ribats* both in the metropolitan areas (in the Caliphate) and the emirates had created strong bases for collective defense, and therefore the agricultural settlements that emerged guaranteed seasonal movements of the pastoralists and their livestock across the vegetation zones in the region. Thus, pastoral activities were enhanced, and animal

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[17] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy of ... p. 186.

husbandry continued to become important activity even among the non - Fulani groups. The sedentarization policies initiated by Muhammadu Bello promoted political stability which in itself was contributing to economic integration between the pastoralists and the sedentary groups.[18]

In addition, the livestock production in the *gandaye* though only limited to the ruling class and the well to do, contribute in the increased number of livestock in the region, as well as promoted wider application of techniques in animal husbandry generally. Normally, livestock production in the *gandaye* was particularly profitable. It was crucial for the agricultural practices in these *gandaye* by providing manure and labour through the use of ox - driven plough, and livestock also provided milk and butter for the aristocrats and the commoners alike. For this reason, a good section of the *gandu* was devoted to the production of *harawa* (fodder) for the use of the livestock, and in some cases, a fallow section would be devoted to the livestock in addition to grazing areas.[19]

By the middle of the century, the region (which the Caliphate covers) was almost entirely dissected with cattle tracks, which made translucent movements by the pastoral groups across the ecological zones within the region much easier. However, in the course of these movements, the pastoralists avoided areas which are dangerous to their cattle. Watering areas responsible for an outbreak of certain diseases such as trypanosomiasis (*sammore*) or even areas suspected to cause dangerous disease outbreak were avoided by the pastoralists. Hence, watering areas where the bamboo oxytenanthera Abyssinia abounds are usually expected to be areas where tsetse flies might be present, and therefore such areas were also avoided.

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[18] Ibid, p. 188.
[19] Ibid, pp. 188 – 189.

During wet seasonal grazing movements, the pastoralists usually establish camps. These camps were established in areas where grazing could be adequately systematized and shelter could also be given to the cattle and their rearers. Such camps were normally broken after the end of the rains and the pastoralists began their southwards migration or leave the upland into the marshlands. At the beginning of the rains, the pastoralists leave their dry season grounds towards their wet season camps. While it was usually during the dry season grazing that the pastoralists do enter into agreement with some farmers whereby the pastoralists maximize grazing in the farms, while the farmers become contented with the manuring of their fields. In some cases, the pastoralists spend quite a number of days in some farms on a sort of reciprocal agreement with the farmers.[20]

In essence, the pastoral sector in the Caliphate's economy was never fully self sufficient. Nomadic system depended on agricultural systems. Thus, the nomads depended on trade and in particular in exchange for cereals and other implements. As such, the pastoral Fulani maintained a strong cultural and economic identity, reproduced themselves exclusively by livestock herding and trade. For them, their livestock provided them with the means of their daily sustenance. Livestock provided them with a significant proportion of their daily diet such as milk, butter, cheese and meat. Similarly, the livestock products also provided them with the means of exchange for other needs with the non - Fulani groups.

In addition to the exchanges which took place between the pastoralists and the agriculturalists, both systems are essentially interdependent. While the pastoralists would desire grazing fields, the agriculturalists would look for manure. Thus, pastoral households would make

[20] Oral interview with Mallam Mairuga… See also J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu: The Sokoto Caliphate … p. 186.

arrangements with farmers to graze their animals on post - harvest crop residues (*karmani*) in return for the provision of manure or specialist herding services like cattle entrustment.[21]

As a result of the above, the bond of relationship got tightened as the Caliphate's administration encouraged the movement of the pastoral Fulani throughout the region. Similarly, the agriculturalists were also willing to accommodate the pastoral groups on their farms because of the dung / manure they benefited from. Although there was no any tax (cattle tax) officially levied especially in the metropolitan Caliphate, but some form of tribute is said to have been collected by the rulers from the pastoralists in many districts of the emirates. In fact, presents and gifts from the pastoralists to the rulers were not uncommon. It is also noted that enforced hospitality and presents did become a form of taxation in the metropolitan Caliphate.[22] As such, one could say that even though no form of official tax was levied, the pastoralists were extorted by the ruling class through the collections of tributes, gifts or presents.

6.5 - Iron Working / Smithing:

Up to the beginning of the 19th century, the production of iron was geared towards meeting the needs of the household. Where some households did engage the services of others, this was geared towards meeting the needs of the general community and payments for such services were made in kind through the giving of grains, animals or labour. Also as we have said, this transaction was considered in exchange of labour rather than payment of a set amount of labour for a set amount of goods. In terms of societal differentiation, we have also noted that there was the existence of a complex co - operation in terms of labour needs in the production of

[21] Ibid, p. 205.
[22] Ibid, p. 207.

iron, all the groups worked collectively and it did not place any group over and above the other in terms of social status.

However, by the end of the first half of the 19th century, a new phase of social relations in technology was beginning to emerge. This was due to the emergence of a specialized group in the society as well as the settling of more *Hausawa* in the area. This resulted in the introduction of a new type of iron and tools that will further improve agricultural production. As such by this period, the iron working technology had been improved upon giving room for specialization. The settling of the *Hausawa* was felt much more compared to other members of the various polities of *kasar* Lere. This is because there were two ways through which they introduced their type of iron into the area. The first was that since most of the first visitors to this area were hunters and agriculturalists, they must have brought along with them their major tools such as the hoes, cutlasses, knives, arrow heads, and e.t.c. It was through this importation networks that the Hausa iron which was referred to as *tama* emerged. Some of the iron tools were also not transformed into farm implements. They are still at the mugget stage. It was among the people of the region that these were transformed into different kinds of tools so required by the people of the area.

Similarly, the *Hausawa* also came along with some readymade iron tools such as *aska* (small knives used for shaving) a type that has been reworked and was therefore sharper than the ordinary iron made in the locality. Gradually therefore, as the Hausa blacksmiths formed themselves into the guild of *Makera*, the indigenous group who had started this in a more sophisticated way adopted the guild system and thereupon became an occupational class. The

indigenous people in partnership with the settler group found themselves in one occupational group. Thus, the supply of tools did not follow any ethnic line.[23]

Being an industry that supplied all the needed agricultural tools and implements used by the armies of the pre - jihad kingdoms, as early as the first decade of the 19th century, the smithing industry all over Hausaland felt the impact of the 1804 jihad movement. The jihad military campaigns necessitated an increasing demand for weaponry. And unlike other industries such as textile, pottery, wood carving and leather working which might have experienced some setbacks as a result of the upheavals, the smithing industry was presumably fully engaged. Thereafter, new political climate augmented its expansion.[24]

Blacksmiths forged all the agricultural tools used by the cultivators which varied according to purpose and types of soil. For instance, they manufacture small hoe used in weeding (*fartanya*), a long handled hoe (*sungumi*), a large bladed carved hoe with a short handle used in making big ridges (*garma*), and e.t.c. They also manufacture axes and house wares; products of which were virtually used by every household. They also produce the instruments used by barbers (*wanzamai*) whose crucial functions included not only barbing (*aska*) but also carried out circumcision (*kaciya*) and other minor surgical operations such as cupping (*kaho*). And as has already been indicated, the blacksmiths were indispensable to the state's military preparedness since they manufacture the entire needed arsenal. The head of the blacksmiths (*Sarkin Makera*) was influential in each district through whom the supply of weapons was made to the *Sarki / Maigari* for onward submission to the emirate administration.[25]

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[23] J. G. Longkat; The Economy and Political Relations of ... p. 252.
[24] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy of ... p. 212.
[25] Oral interview with Mallam Abdullahi Umaru, *Sarkin Makeran* Lere,,, where he explained that his grandfather who stopped by in Lere for a while was made to stay permanently in the area when the *Sarki / Maigari* learnt that the visitor - being a blacksmith from Borno, could produce variety of weapons. He thus, issued him with pieces of land both for cultivation and residence.

By the middle of the 19th century therefore, the smithing industry had expanded into an economically viable one. Due to the expansion in other economic sectors, there was greater demand on the products of this industry. There were also new demands in iron decorated shields, horses harness and a variety of gadgets. As such, by the closing years of the century, the smithing industry had gone through tremendous expansion in terms of production capacity and technological quality control.[26] The century however, did not witness what can be regarded as 'revolutionary' breakthrough in the technological knows - how of the smithing industry, since the same methods and techniques of manufacturing as in the pre - jihad era came to prevail in the Caliphate. Nevertheless, the degree of improvement and the expansion recorded in the century was in the process of eventual breakthrough when the colonial forces halted this technological drive.[27]

On the whole, by the end of the 19th century, iron working in *kasar* Lere had become sophisticated, and this went a long way in improving agriculture. Apart from this, the production of weapons received a boost at this period in order to meet up with the demand of the emirate leadership.

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[26] Ibid. This is because blacksmiths were searched for, or every village that had blacksmiths had a role to play. In fact the *Sarkin Makera* is made to bring certain number of weapons, so it is left to him to know how to come about or meet up with such requirement and as time goes on, there was competition amongst the smiths i.e. each was trying to produce qualitative tools. So that his own could be termed the best.

[27] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy of ..... op. cit. p. 216.

6.6 - Crafts and Manufacture:

Just as there was improvement in the iron working industry, so also was there similar improvement in the local crafts of the people. Of significance were such crafts like textile, leatherwork, pottery and the weaving of mats and baskets. The textile industry as pointed out in chapter three took an important position in the economy of *kasar* Lere. As has already been demonstrated, the industry is related to and indeed comprised of spinning (*kadi*), weaving (*saka*), as well as tailoring and dyeing (*dunki da rini*). While each of these was undertaken as exclusive trades and hardly any two were combined by the same tradesman, each was one sector of the textile industry. Thus, the growth or otherwise of the industry has to be grasped in the process of this inter - sectoral linkages between the integral parts of the textile industry.

Spinning (*kadi*) by this period was largely in the hands of the womenfolk. It was a very important craft activity of the women because it provided them with the means of raising some capital, with which they invest in a contributory saving scheme known as *adashi*. While weaving was undertaken by both men and women, the men produced bundles used for making different brands of *riguna* (gowns) and they also produced the sheets which would be tailored to make different kinds and sizes of clothes, the women folk produced threads (*zare*), blankets (*gwado*) and wrappers (*zannuwa*).[28] Tailoring and dyeing formed the major export sector of the textile industry and was majorly done by men.

Similarly, the leatherworking industry as indicated in chapter three also formed a major sector of the economy not only in *kasar* Lere or Zazzau emirate but of the entire Caliphate. Thus, the sophistication level with which the leather working industry flourished has captured

[28] Oral interview with Malama Asabila, Malama Kande Garba, Malama Adama and Mallam Alhassan Adamu… conducted separately.

the attention and due compliments of European travellers who visited the region in the century.[29] This industry developed a unique feature in the region, which assured it a monopoly of sales in leather goods throughout the Central Sudan and beyond. As a result, there were large numbers of tanneries for leather production all over the Caliphate. Leather goods produced included: large and small skin bags used for storing various articles and for other purposes such as the barbers bag (*zabiru*) and book cases (*gafaka*). Other articles include shielding for swords and knives. There were also many household articles made from leather while other occupational groups such as saddle makers also make use of leather products to fashion out the main goods of their trade.

On the other hand, pottery and wood carving as we have pointed out took an important position in the economy of the people and the making of pots continued to be the preserve of men. The growth and expansion which characterized this industry was squarely in response to local demands in the area. The dynamics of the domestic economy, as structured in the household social life facilitated the growth and expansion of the industry. The principal products are the various types of utensils and containers made of clay or wood for both domestic and industrial use.

The industry had existed since the pre - jihad era but experienced its significant growth during the Caliphate era largely in response to greater demands.[30] Pottery as mentioned earlier, flourished particularly in the settlements along the river banks such as Lere, Dan Alhaji and Garun Kurama where suitable clay was obtained. Similarly, woodcarving flourished in areas (especially the rural areas) where the wood carvers are endowed with abundant forest resources in the bushes / forests (*dazuzzuka*) which they effectively utilize to make mortars (*turame*).

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[29] D. E. Ferguson: Nineteenth Century Hausa land ... pp. 296 – 97.
[30] Oral interview with Mallam Dabo Yaro...

pestles (*tabare*), stools and chairs (*kujeru*), knife and hoe tilts (*kota*), big wooden spoon (*koshiya*), and e.t.c.

Other crafts such as mat making, rope making and the making of baskets also received a boost most importantly because of the availability of the raw materials in the area. The production of mats and even bags for the storage of grains as well as rain coats (*kabido*) did go a long way to improve the economic ties of the people with their neighbours. In addition, the building of houses, barns and other storage houses in the century became very pronounced. The building of such houses was made in such a way that house temperatures during the two extremes of rainy and dry seasons became moderated.

It is therefore obvious that all the sectors of the economy within the Caliphate (northern Nigeria) which include our area of study received a boost since the Caliphal administration enjoined and encouraged independence of the individual. As such, everyone became a producer of one thing or the other and the result was that trade also got a boost since the producers would want to exchange their commodities with what they do not have (by this time, *wuri* (cowries) was the medium of exchange). As such, the Caliphal as well as emirate administrations ensured safety of all trade routes. These went a long way in promoting social and inter - group relations between the diverse groups of people that formed or made up the Caliphate as a whole.

6.7 - Local Trade:

Trade relations between the various groups in the region showed that as a result of the differences in the ecology, different trade items found their ways into the different markets that were found in the area. During the pre - jihad era, the Hausa groups that have settled in the region actively took part in the trade of the area. Of significance during the second half of the

19th century and as a consequence of the jihad, was the introduction of cowry shells - a currency of exchange which brought about a uniform exchange mechanism within the area. For instance, Nengel pointed out that the introduction of this cowry helped to transform a purely barter economy to a partly cash economy which facilitated the process of exchange.[31] Similarly, the use of luxury goods such as cloth, red cap and iron bars gave room to the emergence of a class of elders in whose hands laid the goods for exchange.[32]

With the participation of the Hausa in the trade, they in a subtle manner were influencing the trading activities of the area. This was done indirectly through the laying of emphasis on markets rather than the exchange mechanism that took place on friendly terms where a trader carried his goods to the home of a friend who became the middle man and sought for buyers on behalf of his friend. The emphasis on market at this time meant that the different groups became more homogenous since they had to relate to one another in such a way that the trading relations will continue without disruptions. By and large, the market forces were now dictating the nature of the terms of relationship that was to emerge in the area. The clan heads upon the acquisition of the new currency, used it to further acquire luxury goods from the Hausa and other indigenous groups in the region. This change in essence, broke the social bonds that each member of the household had with one another. For example, with the desire to acquire luxury goods, the household head rather than meeting the social obligation of the members of his family as it was his responsibility originally, he would rather break such bonds in order to meet the requirements of his new position, further acquisition of the luxury goods.

The organization of the local markets continued with people who were responsible for security, cleanliness and the general administration of the markets. By this time, there emerged

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[31] J. G. Nengel; "The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on ... p. 259.
[32] Ibid, p. 247.

the institution of *Sarkin Kasuwa*. Generally, the items on display in the markets by this period continued depending on the local market. However, because of the presence of the Hausa traders in the area, there was the presence of items that they carried along with them. These became the luxury goods and served as principal motive of change in the area. Local goods continued to dominate the markets. Similarly, new crops that were introduced by the immigrant groups also found their ways into the markets and therefore, were further multiplied in the region.

It should be noted however that by this period, market dues had not been introduced (except in the major market centers of Lere, Dan Alhaji and later Garu). As such, only presents or gifts were given to the organizers of the markets which went a long way in improving their economic position in the region.

On the whole, the organization of the local trade was geared towards meeting the needs of the local community. And with the continuous presence of the Hausa and Fulani in the area, they were also integrated into the exchange mechanism of the area. However, this trade was disrupted by the mid of the century (although not completely) as a result of the jihad, constant raids by the Ningi forces[33] and sometimes by the emirate administration.[34]

6.8 - Long Distance Trade:

The development of commerce in the Caliphate in general and in the emirates and sub - emirates in particular was largely in response to the growth of the *ribats*, the fostering of crafts and the development of community production, all of which led to a high degree of economic inter - dependence between the various settlements in the region, where in the long distance trade *zanguna* (sing. *zango* i. e. stop overs) came to be established and also became prominent. Thus,

[33] Ibid, p. 254.
[34] Oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari...

while social and economic factors provided the basis of the development of commerce in the region at a general level, the diplomatic actions initiated by Muhammad Bello promoted significant expansion which was responsible for the strengthening of commercial relations within the Caliphate as a whole and even beyond.[35]

Early in the century, the emirates not only emerged as new political centres but also as centres of economic and social activities as well. The emirates were the main commercial centres of the community and the settlements immediately surrounding them. The emirates therefore, evolved their markets as centres of buying and selling on a more regular basis. They emerged as the centres where import commodities were purchased and distributed into the rural communities and they also emerged as criss - crossing trade routes into which craftsmen and traders ingratiated with the Caliphal social system of production.

For instance, it seems obvious that the development of such markets led to the establishment of a branch caravan route from Borno and Hausaland through Kurama land. According to the account of a colonial officer W. R. Shirley, "The main Bornu or Kano to Zangon Katab (which served as a resting place i. e *zango* for Hausa merchants since the 18th century and by the late 19th century, it transformed into a very important trading centre only rivaled by Zaria in size and variety of commodities) route enters the Kurama district from Anchau and goes to Damo and thence to Bakin and Bisallah and so to Dan Alhaji."[36] The last three settlements (except Dan Alhaji) were all in Kurama land. It is also probable that it was along this route that Lander followed during his journey from Kano to Panda on the Niger between 1827 - 1828. Most likely because he did not pass through Zaria, Lander much to his chagrin was recalled by the emir who advised him to take the south - western route through

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[35] K. S. Chafe; The State and Economy in ...
[36] NAK / ZARPROF /474.

Birnin Gwari. Though Lander did not specifically refer to the Kurama, he noted towns which were definitely within Kurama area such as *Damoy* (Damo), Nammaleek (Dan Maliki) *Accourn* (Akurmi), *Guttup* (Katab), and *Cowru* (Kauru) and also crossed the *Makkamac* (*Karami*) river which transverses Kurama land.[37] As such, from Hausa merchants who used this route, the Kurama obtained commodities such as cloth, red caps, horse, rings, bangles, salt, mirrors, lead and metal.

In short the emirate (of Zazzau) pursued a deliberate policy of encouraging the development of trade and the production of commodities in the area. For example, Nengel pointed out that in addition to the collection of *haraji*, it was the responsibility of the Lere vassal state to construct and maintain markets, guide traders and protect the caravan routes and to promote the cultivation of cotton, groundnuts, pepper as well as the exchange of other commodities.[38] This therefore, led to the emergence of a relatively small class of professional traders for example among the Kurama some of whom controlled the regional trade in the area. It was most probable that it is from this class, that Islam gained its earliest converts in the society. Similarly, the Kurama petty traders took their commodities to their neighbours and the latter also attended markets at Dan Alhaji, Lere and Sugau. In this way, one could speculate that the economy of the entire settlements of *kasar* Lere and that of their neighbours was linked, no matter how remote and much later with the emergent capitalist economy of Europe through Lere and Zaria with either North Africa or via Zangon Katab, Keffi and Nasarawa with the Europeans operating on the River Niger. By and large, prior to the Jihad, the medium of communication

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[37] R. Lander; Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expeditions to Africa, Vol. II, London, 1930, pp. 105 – 135.
[38] J. G. Nengel; The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on … p. 259. Also, M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau … pp. 77 – 78.

amongst the diverse groups of *kasar* Lere had been their various languages, but after the Jihad, Hausa became the lingua franca.[39]

6.9 - Political Transformation:

One important consequence of the Jihad in Zaria was the political transformation from an old system (*habe*) into a new political system (emirate). The emirate system involved the setting up of an elaborate machinery of governance based on the ideals of the Jihad. Thus, this transformation of the *habe* administration into an emirate system brought the emirate into the fold of the Sokoto Caliphate in a political arrangement that could best be described as a confederation whereby the various emirates including Zazzau enjoyed some full measure of autonomy with the Caliph at Sokoto having the right to intervene in their political affairs from time to time. The caliph at the centre oversees the affairs of Zazzau through the *Waziri* of Sokoto who acted as his *Kofa* (intermediary / representative).

Therefore, at the head of the emirate administration was the emir, who combined both spiritual and temporal authority. By virtue of being the person mandated to lead the *jama'a* in the Jihad, Mallam Musa who is also knowledgeable naturally occupied the position of the emir. A council known as the *majalisa* guided the emir in the discharge of the emirate's affairs. The emir was also vested with the power of appointing and dismissing members of the *majalisa* when the need arises. The *majalisa* acted as a quasi - legislative body that performed advisory role in important matters affecting the emirate. However, the emir was not mandated to follow the

[39] Ibid. Also, oral interview with Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kofur*), Mr. Dantani Yani, Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Peter Gimba, Mr. Danladi Dodo, Malama Kande Garba and Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango...conducted separately.

advice of the *majalisa*. But to guard against the abuse of power and other excesses of the emir, he was expected to act in all his dealings in accordance with the laid down rules of the *Shari'a*.[40]

For effective political administration of the emirate (Zazzau), it was divided into districts (*gundumomi* sing. *gunduma*) under the control of district heads (*Hakimai* sing. *Hakimi*). These were further sub - divided into villages (*Kauyuka* sing. *Kauye*) headed by the village heads (*Dagatai* sing. *Dagaci*). The villages (*Kauyuka*) were in turn sub - divided into wards (*Unguwanni* sing. *Unguwa*) and were headed by ward heads (*Masu Unguwa* sing. *Maiunguwa*).

Apart from the executive arm headed by the Emir and the legislative arm headed by the *Majalisa*, there was the third arm of government - i.e. the judiciary, charged with the administration of justice throughout the emirate under the supervision of the Emir. As such for effective administration of justice in *kasar* Zazzau, three well defined structures were put in place viz: the *Salanke* court which was presided over by the *Salanke*. He was a travelling judge who was always in the company of the Emir during his tours and journeys to the sub – emirates and in case there were cases that needed to be solved in those areas, the *Salanke* is charged with the responsibility of doing that; there was the *Alkali* court headed by the Chief Justice or a knowledgeable person as the case may be, and then, the Supreme Court which was the Emir's court.[41]

In addition to this and as mentioned earlier, *amana* relations were established between Zazzau emirate and some of the non - Muslim villages to the south - east of the emirate. As we have seen, Gure, Kahugu, Dingi and some Kurama villages voluntarily accepted the offer of *amana* while Amo, Janji, Piti and Jere put up to a staunch resistance. Thus, those areas who submitted to the emirate rule were to pay *jizya*, i.e. annual tribute since they were considered as

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[40] U. Dalhatu; Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku... p. 43.
[41] Ibid, p. 44.

dhimmis in the same way as the non - Muslim *maguzawa* who resided in the conquered *dar – al - Islam* (land of the faithful) in Kano, Katsina and the rest of Hausaland.[42] While the non - *amana* villages were entirely outside this arrangement.

In this regard, to administer effectively the non - Muslim villages that were in *amana* with Zazzau, the second emir of Zazzau, Mallam Yamusa (1821-34), found it necessary for instance, to create the office of *Iyan Kurama* within the administrative structure of his government. The first holder of this title was his son Abubakar.[43] It was the duty of the *Iyan Kurama* to collect *haraji* from the *amana* villages. And as the *Iyan Kurama* was an absentee landlord (because he resided in Zaria), his duty was performed on his behalf by a *Jakada* (emissary of the emirate). Though it is not clear from the literature or oral accounts whether all the Kurama *amana* villages were placed under the *Iyan Kurama*, colonial records however, stated clearly that Bisallah, Alere, Dan Bara and Kudaru were part of the fief of *Iyan Kurama*.[44]

At the beginning of his reign, the fifth emir of Zazzau, Mamman Sani (1846 - 60), led a major military expedition to the South. Traditions from the *amana* and non - *amana* polities relates that the emir mobilized forces from Lere and attacked the Amo, Jere, Piti and Janji each of whom resisted the Jihadists. Because of the increased number of *amana* polities in the area, Lere was recognized as a vassal state in 1849. From this time, Lere was to be administered by a royal official sent from Zaria called *Makama Karami* or *Wali* as the case may be.[45]

However, the exact relationship between the rulers of Lere vassal state and the heads of each *amana* village is not clear. The traditions are imprecise as to whether each head was

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[42] J. G. Nengel; Impact of the Sokoto jihad on the Kurama… pp. 259 – 60, J. G. Nengel in H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu; The Sokoto Caliphate…
[43] M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau… p. 99.
[44] NAK / ZARPROF / 474.
[45] J. G. Nengel; The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on ……M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau… and J. G. Iliya; The Impact of British Colonial Rule on…

directly answerable to the *Iyan Kurama* or only those in the area defined as fiefs. But it seems obvious that since the *amana* villages were recognized as within the jurisdiction of the rulers of Lere, their *haraji* was collected and submitted to Lere and then to the *Iyan Kurama*. Each head was responsible for the actual collection of the *haraji* from his village and this was transmitted through the ruler of Lere to the *Iyan Kurama* through the *Jakada*.[46] This applied to other *amana* settlements.

Traditions relate that the major source of revenue for the Lere vassal state was derived from various types of taxes such as *Zakkat* (one tenth of one's income, which was an obligatory tax on all adult Muslims), land tax (*kudin kasa*), specialized tax on trade, crafts and sometimes dry season gardening (*kudin Sana'a*), and cattle tax (*Jangali*).[47] These taxes were gathered from the numerous immigrant settlements which continued to emerge throughout the century. The taxes were paid both in cash i.e. cowries (*wuri*) and in kind. In the case of the *amana* villages, their *jizya* consisted mostly of agricultural products, hides, *wuri* and occasionally, slaves. The amount collected from these villages is not known, but M. G. Smith claims that a hundred slaves were demanded annually from the large vassal states like Lafia and Nasarawa by the emir of Zazzau. Though he did not state how many slaves came from Lere, Smith, reports generally that about one third of the taxes collected from the vassal states went to Zaria.[48]

On the whole, a fundamental consequence of the jihad was the loss of political autonomy on the part of the *amana* villages. Though, the villages which acknowledged the suzerainty of Zazzau were spared the experience of direct rule as they were administered through their village heads (whom happened to be people indigenous to the areas), agents / representatives of the emir

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[46] J. G. Nengel; The impact of the Sokoto Jihad on … p. 253.
[47] Oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad… where he explained that the *masu sana'a* who paid their taxes to the occupational heads (*shuwagabannin masu sana'a*) for onward submission to the *Sarki* / *Maigari* did not always do that. As such, the leadership will at other times had to use force to collect such taxes.
[48] M. G. Smith; Government in Zazzau… pp. 76 – 77.

(*jakadu*) were sent to each ward head or district head to collect *haraji*. Moreover, while the village heads were rooted in their individual villages, they were confirmed to office by the emir in Zaria or by the ruler of Lere. Thus, much as they were obliged to the power of Zazzau, they were more obliged to their villages. This was because every head was chosen by the leaders (elders) of the various clans in accordance with the accepted rules and customs of the society and not necessarily by the Islamic law.

6.10 - Conclusion:

An analysis of the jihad in both *kasar* Bauchi and *kasar* Zazzau in relation to our area of study demonstrated that the jihad was a culmination of long years of social, political, religious and economic problems that bedeviled the society. The Jihadists addressed this issue by using Islam as the ideology for mobilization of the people. The jihad, which started as a reform within the system in 1804, was soon to result into the overthrow of the *sarautu* system in Zaria (and the entire Hausaland) or the gradual diminishing of the '*Dodo cult*' as it applied to most areas in our area of study. This brought about the conversion of the former *habe* kingdoms into Emirates. As such, the jihad, brought about changes in all the spheres of life of the people i.e. economic activities heightened as a result of the interaction and the coming in of new elements into the region, new forms of exchange were introduced - of importance was the introduction of a uniform currency i.e *wuri* (the cowry). This new development brought in some measures of control into the economic system.

Significantly too, was the fact that the political system changed to what is obtained in the emirate system of administration. This is seen in the way the non - Muslim areas adopted titles that were used either during the *habe* administration or with the onset of the emirate

administration. Thus, this to a greater extent enhanced inter - group relations. The jihad lasted up to 1902 when the British Colonialists overthrew the emirate leadership and the consequent collapse of the Caliphal administration (with the death of Sultan Attahiru I). This however, should best be taken up as an independent topic for further research by other researchers on the area.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study examines in a wider perspective, the History of the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate in the period c. 1804 - 1903. This was a great task as the area is multi - lingual and multi - religious in nature. Besides that, the research was conducted in the context of historical geography and the pre - existing socio - economic and political conditions of the area under study. In so doing, the study examines and analyzed the socio – economic, political and cultural issues that influenced changes in *kasar* Lere in the 19th century. Colonial historiography deliberately ignored certain fundamental transformations of African societies. Ayandele in his Nigerian Historical Studies criticizes colonial historiography on the grounds that they so much concentrated on the activities and interests of the Europeans; there is much emphasis on factors for disunity, rather than for unity. He also said too much attention was paid on the larger groups at the expense of the smaller ones and concludes that emphasis has been placed on individuals and ruling classes than on the generality of the people. In addition, they perceived Africa as having no history until the arrival of the white men. And in the case of eastern Zaria otherwise known as Zazzau (where our study area is located), they see the people as those that did not have any history, as "pagans" and "cannibals" and that were in constant conflict or warfare.

Thus, the first chapter described the land and people of *kasar* Lere. It focused primarily on the influence exerted by the environment on the people of the area, as well as the utilization of human skills in making good use of the environmental features. It is argued that the establishment of human settlements in the *Karami* plains of Lere resulted from the influence of the environment. However, the reality is that without human skills the features of the

environment would have been useless. Therefore, the establishment of human settlements in *kasar* Lere and other settlements as well, resulted from the combination of both human skills as well as the availability of natural resources i.e. the influence exerted by the environmental features.

Similarly, the evolution of early settlements in *kasar* Lere is one important area that was touched in this research. The settlements were divided into two i.e. those on the hills and the ones on the plains. Some of the settlements located on the plains had walls that served as protection for them especially from the attacks by the *Ningawa* under Danmaje and Haruna respectively (within the century). These walled settlements were Dan Alhaji, Garu, Lere and Sugau. While those settlements located on the hills included Gure, Kahugu and a portion of the Kurama that were on the Kudaru hills. All the settlements however, were under the jurisdiction of the rulers of Lere (especially after the 1804 jihad).[1] A major issue discussed here, is how each of the diverse groups that make up our study area migrated from distant places and finally settled in their present location. For instance, the several Fulani groups that settled in the area were from different parts of what later formed northern Nigeria. Likewise, the Hausas came from Kebbi, Kano e.t.c. While other groups like the Kurama, Kahugu and Gure who are Benue – Congo speakers as examined in our second chapter came from different places respectively to finally settle in *kasar* Lere. The reasons for their migration to the area were also highlighted.

By the time the diverse groups settled, we demonstrated that the difference in their culture and religion did not pose a threat to them. In fact, our informants explained that those factors rather made them integrate and became economically and socially related. This relationship enabled them obtained what they do not have from one another, because of the

[1] Although a section of the Kurama under Maigamo who was the head of all the non *amana* villages on the Kudaru hills and that were not in *amana* relations with the emirate leadership did not fall under the jurisdiction of the rulers Lere.

difference in climate / soil or as a result of cultural beliefs which did not allow a group to produce certain crops as we have seen in the case of the Gure people who do not produce groundnut and sweet potatoes but produced *acca* instead in large quantity and thus, exchanged it with what they required from other groups. Similarly, we were able to see that the relationship between the Pastoral Fulani and the different groups was amicable. The groups provided the Fulani with grazing land especially after harvest who fed their animals on cornstalks (*karmami*) on the farm lands, and in return, the cattle dung on the farmlands served as manure for the farmers. This was the symbiotic relationship that existed amongst the people and the central issues discussed in our third chapter.

In the fourth chapter, we saw that prior to the 19th century, leadership or authority was based or did not go beyond the family where the *maigida* or the eldest person served as the head and authority lies in his hands. With increase in population however, authority came to be in the hands of clan heads that constituted a council of elders. The council made laws and enforced it on the people and at the same time, punished whosoever violated such laws. In addition, with migrant groups in the area, authority came to be vested in the hands of occupational heads such as *Sarkin Noma*, *Sarkin Baka*, and *Sarkin Ruwa / Kogi* and later on village heads or district heads e.t.c.

Jihad was the central issue discussed in the fifth chapter of this write – up, while the sixth chapter analyses the changes brought about by the Jihad to the emirate in general and to our area of study in particular. And we have seen that the aim of the jihad was to change the behaviour of the diverse people within the emirate in general and within our area of study in particular through the establishment of Islamic government and scholarship. However, a major problem faced by the leaders of the jihad was how to transform and incorporate the diverse groups of people into

the new government while the second problem had to do with consolidation i.e. how to maintain the unity of government through the full implementation of the *Shari'a*, that is, to establish rule of law rather than that of personality. As such, after the success of the jihad, part of the political transformation (especially in the *amana* societies) was the installation of some among the people to be the leaders of the area and who were responsible for the collection of *haraji* and other taxes (on behalf of a fief holder) and passes same to the fief holder through a *jakada* for onward submission to the emir – just as we have seen in the case of the Kurama community. This has no doubt, led to permanent stability as well as smooth consolidation and running the affairs of the new government in Zazzau emirate as a whole.

In addition, the jihad also created a kind of stable economy where everyone was encouraged to develop himself. The jihad policy encouraged those interested in farming to possess land by instructing the emirs to give land to whosoever wishes to develop it. Similarly, artisans or craftsmen were encouraged to boost production and the result was that trade was automatically boosted throughout the Caliphate since there was no barrier (territorially). The study has established that the emirate (of Zazzau) pursued a deliberate policy of encouraging the development of trade and the production of commodities in the area where we demonstrated that in addition to the collection of *haraji*, the Lere vassal state was responsible for the construction and maintenance of markets, guiding traders as well as protecting the caravan routes and promoting the cultivation of cotton, groundnuts, pepper and to also ensure the exchange of commodities both amongst the various communities and between the communities and the emirate as a whole.

From the write – up, it became clear also that Lere served two masters: Bauchi and Zazzau in the pre – jihad and post jihad periods respectively. At the period before the Jihad, the

relationship between Lere and Bauchi was cordial. However, after the jihad, the relationship got bitter[2] as a result of which Lere sought to be transferred to Zazzau. Lere traditions claimed that the transfer was approved by Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, but evidences as indicated in the write – up showed that it was probably approved by his successor – Muhammad Bello. This is because the sources indicated that the Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio died in 1817 and the transfer was effected in the 1820s. Similarly, the Lere traditions also claimed that Mallam Musa, the emir of Zazzau at the time accepted Lere and handed over Lafia to Bauchi, but sources also indicated that Mallam Musa died in 1821. As such, the acceptance of Lere must have been done by Mallam Musa's successor – Yamusa. In addition, Lere as it is presently or was established in its present location in the 1870s and that must have been during the reign of emirs Abdullahi and Abubakar.

Since the terminal period of this study is 1903, we shall endeavour to look at how and why the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate and by extension Zazzau emirate, was carried out in relation to our area of study. However, we would not go beyond that because colonial administration and full exploitation has not gained ground. That should serve as a topic for further research.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the beginning of the establishment of European commercial activities in what later became Northern Nigeria. It all began with the founding of the Inland Commercial Company (ICC) in 1833[3] and later with the expedition of Dr. Baikie in 1857. Between 1854 and 1859, Lokoja was made the centre of British activities on the Niger – Benue[4] and by 1867; the British had already established themselves firmly in the area.

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[2] Detail on what caused the strained relationship between Bauchi and Lere could be seen in chapters one and five of this thesis.
[3] R. A. Adeleye; Power and Diplomacy in ... p. 117.
[4] Ibid.

This was virtually the event that led to the establishment of Lokoja as a strong base for British commercial activities in the area, which finally led to the establishment of British consulate, which was later closed in 1869.[5] Furthermore, as a result of the increasing threat posed by French and German Commercial companies because of the urge for industrialization, in 1881 the United African Company (UAC), which was owned by the British merchant class, was later reconstituted to form the National African Company with more resources and capital at its disposal.[6] This was done primarily to counter the threat posed by other European companies who wanted to compete with the British firms. Other measures were also put in place by the British firms in order to control these threats as well as to force them withdraw from the area.[7]

In justifying their occupation of the Sokoto Caliphate, the British colonialists advanced the charge of slave raiding in the region and the entire West African Continent in order to conceal their imperial ambitions. To back up their claim for instance, Sir Charles Orr, a colonial officer who served in Zaria stated that:

> "As regards the ethical question as to the right of the
> British Government to assume the administration of
> The Sokoto Caliphate; it must be remembered that the
> Fulani themselves were an alien race, who had usurped
> Power less than a hundred years before and that they had
> Devastated the country by constant war and slave raiding
> And that under their present rule, neither life nor property
> Was safe."[8]

In addition, another British colonial officer who was the D. O of Tangale, Mr. Carlyle, asserted that their primary objective of occupying these areas and indeed other parts of Northern Nigeria was the necessity to introduce some sort of law and order among the people, to put down "murder", "cannibalism", "inter tribal wars", slave raiding, slave trade and all sorts of social

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid, p. 119.
[7] E. J. Flint; Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, Oxford University Press, London, 1960, p. 34. For detail see, H. F. Backwell; The Occupation of Hausaland... F. Lugard; Political Memoranda... e. t. c.
[8] C. W. Orr; The Making of Northern Nigeria, London, 1911, pp. 123 – 24.

imbalance and moral degeneration.[9] Similarly, Lord Lugard in support of this erroneous assumption, added to the misconception, when he claimed in 1902 that, "the misrule of the Fulani had rendered them so hateful to the bulk of the population who would welcome their overthrow"[10]

However, it must be understood that British imperialist domination of Africa in general and Nigeria as a whole, was a manifestation of a stage in the process of the global development of capitalism and its domineering features. Their basic goal was to exercise a monopoly and to have access to the raw materials and markets of the colonies they had so conquered for their growing industries as well as for the finished goods which cannot be consumed by the Europeans.

The causes of British takeover of *Zazzau* emirate in relation to our area of study may not be different from those of other emirates within the Caliphate.[11] It all started with the appointment of Kwasau as the new Emir of Zazzau. On his assumption of office, he tried to form a more broad based government by involving more members from the other ruling dynasties. This to some extent ensured some internal peace and stability although it was for a while. This was because some forms of internal and external hostilities interrupted the stability.

One of such hostilities came from internal rebellions which Zaria faced continuously. The frequency of such rebellions coupled with dynastic crisis gradually weakened the military strength of Zaria particularly towards the end of the 19th century. For instance, Zaria faced rebellion from some of the vassal states to the south – east of the emirate such as the people of

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[9] SNP 10/9; 370/1921.
[10] Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria. No. 409, 1902, pp. 83 – 87.
[11] This is because the fall of an emirate automatically means the fall of its vassal states. Most of the time, the vassals cannot put up with any resistance since they were not independent. In addition, the fear of being destroyed by the British military might made so many of the vassals to submit themselves since their local weapons could not match that of the British. This was exactly what happened with the Lere vassal state of Zazzau emirate.

Zangon Katab and Kahugu who refused to pay their tributes to the emirate administration. Consequently, Kwasau had to launch a military attack on them and forced them to pay the tribute. He also had to engage the Gwari of Ligau and the Kadara of central Zaria.[12] This internal instability was worsened by series of military raids from both *Ningawa* and *Maradawa*. The *Maradawa* had been raiding its neighbouring cities and towns. This included Kano, Katsina and Zazzau.[13] These raids were spearheaded by Danbaskore and after some spells, they were renewed by his successor, Batariya in the 1890s.

On the other hand, the Ningi slave raiders have been raiding the territories of Zaria since the time of emir Sambo but ceased with the installation of Usman Yero (1888 – 1897). However, these raids resumed during the reign of emir Kwasau (1897 – 1902) by the Ningi Chief Danyaya.[14] The Ningi raids involved the towns of Soba, Dutsen Wai, Kubau and Lere.[15] This posed a great threat to the internal security of Zaria and seriously weakened its military strength. In addition to this, the activities of the emir of Kontagora, Ibrahim Nagwamatse in the 1890s served as another serious threat to the military might of Zaria. These activities in the form of raids further exposed Zaria's military weakness because of its inability to deal with the situation.

At this juncture, the British were looking at these developments with keen interest. They had been waiting for such an opportunity to establish their presence in Zaria which they could use as a launching pad for attacks on both Kano and Sokoto. The British saw the conquest of these places as paramount to the establishment of British influence in northern Nigeria.[16]

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[12] U. Suleiman; A History of *Birnin* Zaria... p. 231 and oral interview with *Sarkin* Lere, Alhaji Umaru Muhammad...
[13] Y. B. Usman; The Transformation of Katsina.... pp.164 166.
[14] SNP 10236/1919:15.
[15] Ibid and oral interview with Maidodo Maisamari, Mr. Gwonyo Garba and Mr. Peter Gimba...
[16] M. I. Mukhtar; "The Conquest of Kano Emirate by the British and its Significance" in M. O. Hambolu (ed), Perspectives on Kano – British Relations, Pyramid Texts Print, Kano, 2003, p. 40.

As a prelude to the establishment of the British presence in Zaria, the Missionaries opened the way for them. They had their first contact with Zaria in 1899 through the Christian Missionary Society.[17] The then emir of Zazzau Kwasau, warmly welcomed them. After a short stay, they moved to Kano where they were rejected as a result of which they returned to Zaria. The emir apparently learning from Kano and conscious of the reaction of his people for allowing the Christians to stay in the city and still not quite oblivious of the reactions of the British if he sent them away, he found an alternative base for them in Girku , to the south of Zaria.[18]

Thus by March 1902, the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) under the command of Colonel Porter captured Ibrahim Nagwamatse in an encounter near Maska in Zaria, which led to his deportation to Lokoja for trial.[19] However, in a manner typical of occupier forces, the British decided to remain permanently in Zaria, thereafter establishing a garrison. This action broke the temporary relief that Zaria was enjoying following the cessation of Nagwamatse's disturbances. As if this was not enough, the British went ahead to declare Zaria as one of its provinces with Captain Abadie as the Resident.[20]

This was a serious provocation which clearly demonstrates that Zaria's political independence was on a slippery ground. Kwasau seemed to understand this. This was reflected in his hostile and uncompromising attitude towards the British. This attitude of the emir is reflected in the Resident's annual report of 1902 where he stated that "in spite of the opportunities the British gave the emir to come to terms with the situation and co – operate with them, the emir continued to display an open show of indignation and resentment." However, this was all he could do in view of the prevailing circumstances whereby the British were already firmly

[17] O. Ikime; The Fall of Nigeria... p. 185.
[18] NAK/ZARPROF/2551/1904:15.
[19] NAK/ZARPROF/1551
[20] O. Ikime; The Fall of Nigeria...

established in Zaria and because the emirate was weak militarily, it could not face the might of an imperial power like the British. The emir was also warned by the emir of Bida, Abubakar, against the futility of physical confrontations with the British. As a result, Kwasau was faced with two options: either to collaborate with the British or refuse and face the consequences. Kwasau chose the latter option and co – operated with Kano which seemed to be stronger and warming up for fight with the British. This he did by supplying Kano with information about the whereabouts of the British. For instance, he wrote to the emir of Kano Aliyu Dabo saying:

> The Christians had increased among us and
> Have settled more firmly than before. As to
> The news of the others, they have come from
> Kwaba and have collected store for war.[21]

Thus, at this juncture one could say that relations between Zaria and the British further deteriorated following the murder of Captain Maloney, the Resident of Keffi at the instant of Magaji Dan Yamusa, the representative of the emir of Zazzau in Keffi. This incidence further provided the British with yet another opportunity and was thus, ready to execute the second stage of their plan – the conquest of Zaria and Kano, thus Zaria was blamed for the murder while Kano was accused of welcoming the fugitive, Magaji Dan Yamusa.

The inevitability of military engagement with the British was very clear. Kwasau seemed to have assessed the situation and therefore began to make preparation to flee. This is reflected in the letter he wrote to the emir of Kano, Aliyu Dabo where he stated that:

> This is to inform you that trouble has come upon
> Us, for by Allah we can neither stand nor sit, and
> Have no power to remain in the same place with
> Them.[22]

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[21] H. F. Backwell; The Occupation of Hausa land... p. 71.
[22] Ibid.

Thus, Captain Abadie invited Kwasau for a meeting but Kwasau refused to honour the invitation. As a result of which men of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) arrested him and deported him to Wushishi where he continued to live to the end of his life, while Galadima Salmanu was appointed to act as emir of Zazzau until the appointment of Emir Aliyu Dan Sidi in 1903. As such, the fall of Zaria in September 1902 and the subsequent deposition of Kwasau finally brought to an end the emirate administration, which lasted for almost one hundred years and thus, set the stage for the consolidation of colonial rule not only in Zaria but the entire emirate (under which our area of study fall). This led to the transformation of all sectors of the society and subsequent integration into the capitalist economy. But as mentioned earlier, this should serve as a topic for further research.

Oral information played a vital role in this research for a number of reasons: first, because of the periodisation i.e. 1804 – 1903. Because of this, there is paucity of written materials on the area. However, it was a bit easy to conduct the oral interviews since the researcher is from the area and so is familiar with most of the places and in addition, Hausa is the lingua – Franca since the jihad which the researcher understood and speaks fluently and so, the researcher did not have to look for the services of an interpreter who might suppress some of the information intentionally or unintentionally. Beside this, the jihad literatures written by the actors and participants also played important role towards the writing of this thesis because they give first hand information on the role of the jihadists as well as the policies put in place for the transformation of the society. Similarly, colonial records contributed tremendously because the information recorded by the colonialists (whether geographers, anthropologists, etymologists, e.t.c) contain information recorded directly from either witnesses or first generation of people who heard from the witnesses.

Some of the experiences which the researcher passed through were that some of the informants probably due to old age, preferred notes to be taken down as they talked rather than have their voices recorded on tapes. In addition, some of the informants warmly welcomed the researcher and even entertained her at the same time, linking her up with some other informants, while others out rightly showed their unwillingness to disclose some of the information needed on the grounds that other researchers had recorded so many things wrongly about them or that they are tired of answering questions from journalists without the government coming to their aid (i.e. providing them with the necessities of life such as pipe bone water, medical facilities e. t. c.). Therefore to overcome this, the researcher had to always present her I. D. Card at the same time, explaining to them that she is not a journalist and she is not reporting to the government directly their own situation, but that she is writing their own history to allow other people both within and outside the country to understand and appreciate their culture e. t. c. At the same time, they were reminded of the fact that they have their own children or grand children in the higher institutions that may sooner or later go to the field for their own researches and this made them relaxed for the interviews. In addition to all these, some of the roads to the villages like Gasakora, Lazuru and Unguwan Mato were not motorable while others like that of Kahugu and Gure, it was easier to go on motor bike than use cars which the researcher found a bit difficult even though it was interesting.

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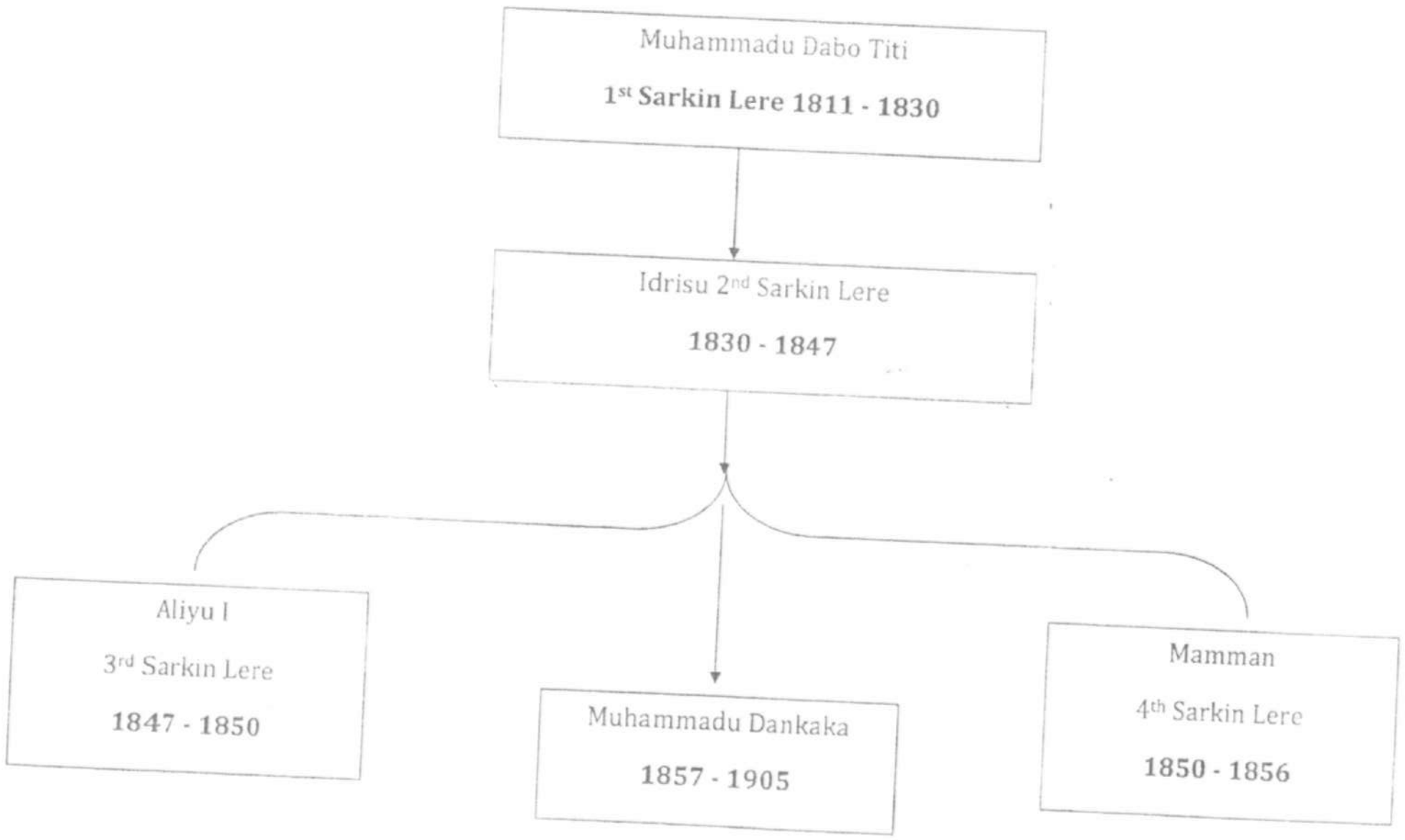
AH/1/1/5, *Kitabu Nurul - Albaabi* by Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio.

Select List of Informants:

S/NO	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1.	Alhaji Umar Muhammad	76	Sarkin Lere	Emirs Palace, Sarkin Lere	24th April, 2009, 1st Oct. 2010.
2.	Mr. Maidodo Maisamari	70	Dogarin Sarkin Gure, Piriga Chiefdom	At the Chiefdom's Office	29th Sept.2009, 4th Nov. 2010.
3.	Mr. Peter Gimba	80	Wazirin Piriga Chiefdom, Rtd. Teacher	At his house in Gure.	27th Dec. 2008, 29th Sept. 2009.
4.	Mallam Alhassan Adamu	70	Tsohon Marini and traditional title holder	At his residence in Sugau	30th Apr. 2009
5.	Mr. Gwonyo Garba (*Baba Kofur)*	89	Elder and Rtd. Police Officer	At his residence in Garun Kurama	28th Dec. 2008, 30th Apr. 2009.
6.	Malama Kande Garba	70	Housewife	Same as above	Same as above.
7.	Mr. Dantani Yani	58	Civil Servant and Farmer	Same as above	Same as above.
8.	Mallam Sale Bako	65	Fishing	At his residence in Garun Kurama	30th Apr. 2009.
9.	Mallam Auwalu Hassan	45	Fishing	Same as above	Same as above
10.	Alhaji Lawal Haladu Ango	75	Farming	At his residence in Dan Alhaji	1st May, 2009
11.	Mallam Musa Sambo	55	Hunting	At his residence in Unguwan Mato	1st May, 2009
12.	Mallam Shu'aibu Ali	73	Tanning	At his residence in Bakin Kasuwa, Lere	2nd May, 2009.
13.	Mallam Dabo Yaro	68	Pottery	At his residence in Unguwan Malamai, Lere	2nd May, 2009.
14.	Mallam Abdullahi Umaru	60	Smithing	At his residence in Unguwan Makera, Lere	2nd Jan, 2008.
15.	Mallam Danladi	57	Smithing	At the Smithing Workshop	2nd May, 2009.

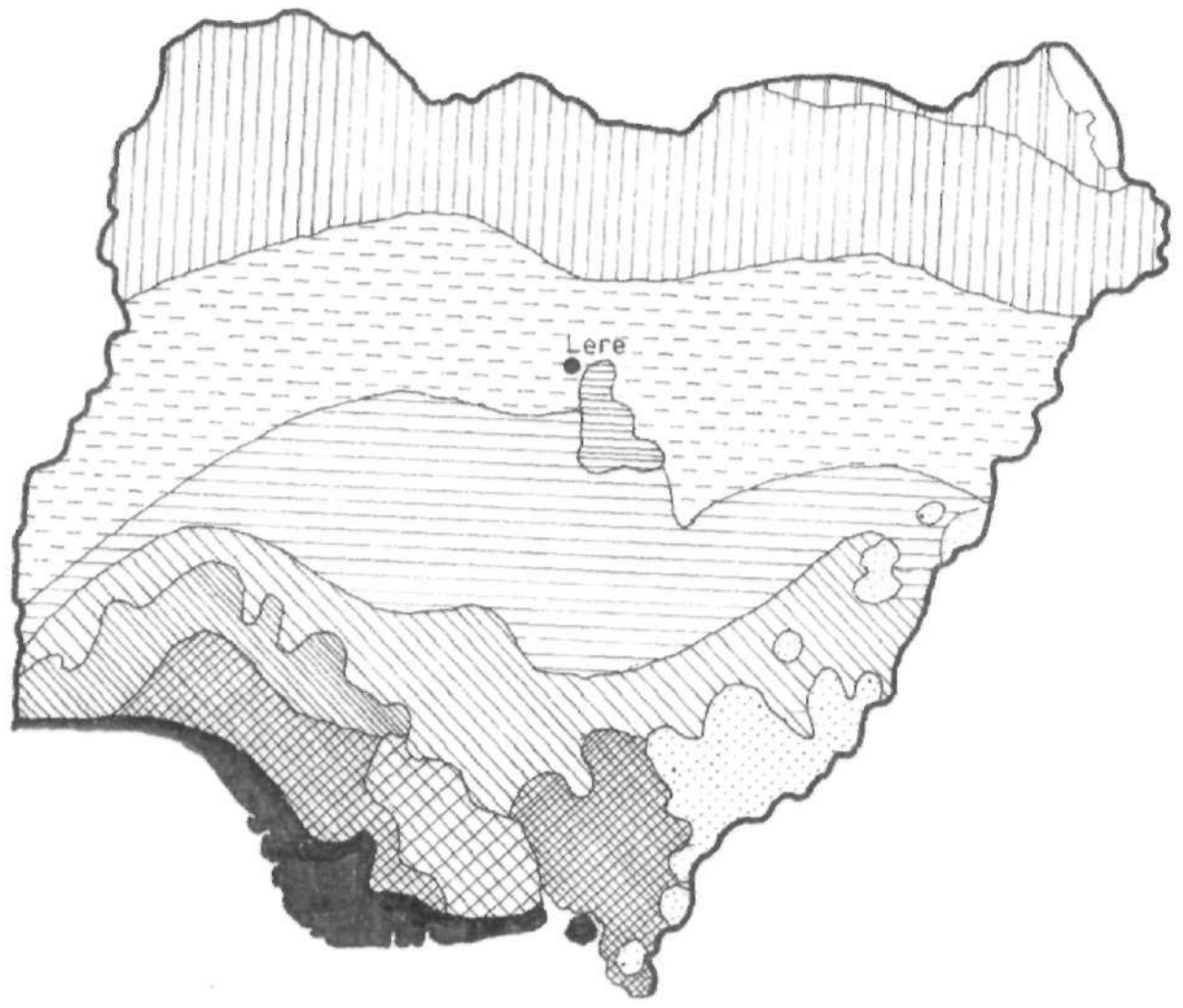
16.	Mallam Umaru	37	Same as above	Same as above	Same as above
17.	Mallam Boyi	74	Farming	At his residence in Unguwan Malamai, Lere	3rd May, 2009.
18.	Mallam Danlami	65	Grain Seller	At his residence in Unguwan Makera, Lere	2nd Jan, 2008.
19.	Mallam Mairuga	70	Pastoralism/Farming	At his residence in Lere	2nd Jan, 2008.
20.	Hajiya Rakiya Yunusa	70	House wife and Maker of Daddawa	At her residence in Kwamma, Lere	3rd May. 2009
21.	Hajiya Jummai	56	House wife	At her residence in Kwamma, Lere	2nd Jan, 2008, 3rd May, 2009.
22.	Sama'ila Umaru. Lere	45	Civil Servant	At Kashim Ibrahim Road, Ung. Rimi, Kad.	7th March, 2009.
23.	Madam Rita Ayuba	45	House wife	At her residence in Kahugu	29th Sept. 2009.
24	Mr Danladi Dodo	60	Farming	At his Residence in Kahugu	30th April, 2009

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE RULERS OF LERE



Source: NAK/ZARPROF/907

MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING VEGETATION ZONES



LEGEND

Swamp Forest

Rain Forest

Oil Palm

Dry Forest

Derived Forest

Montane Vegetation

S. Guinea Zone

N. Guinea Zone

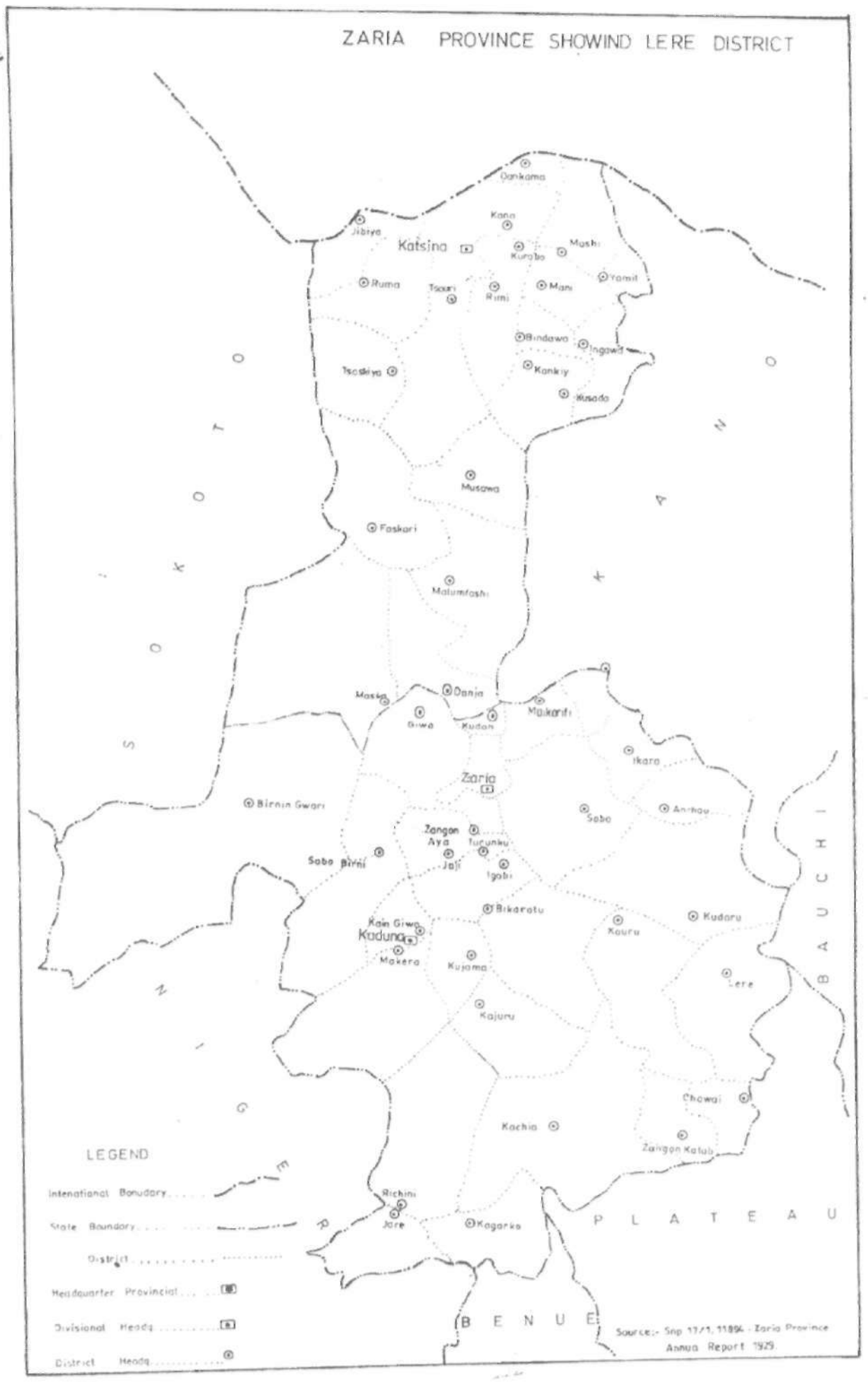
Jos Plateau

Sudan Zone

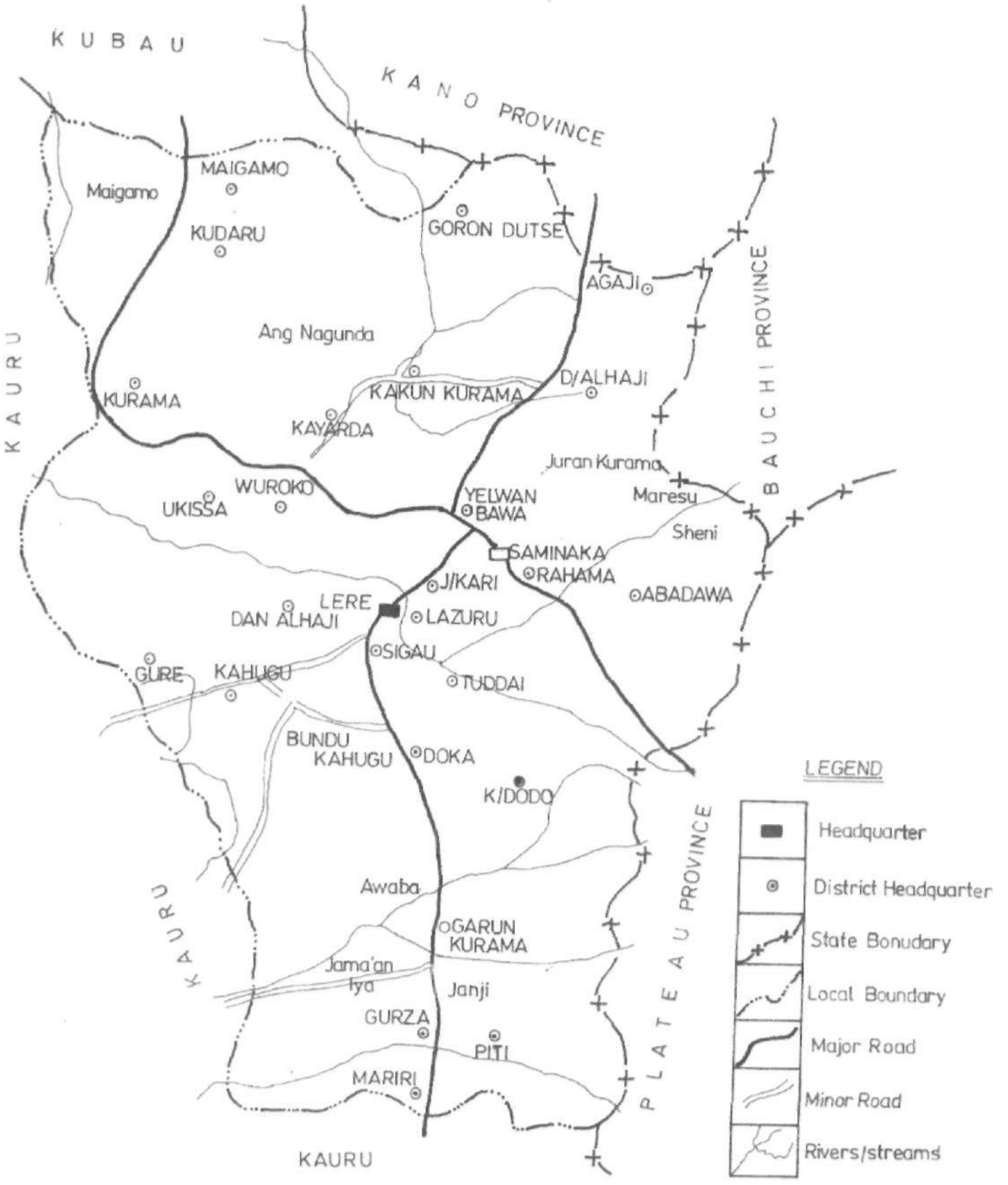
Sahel Zone

40000m 0 40 80 120KM

Source:- Land and People in Nigeria By K.M.Buchanan and J.C.Pugh

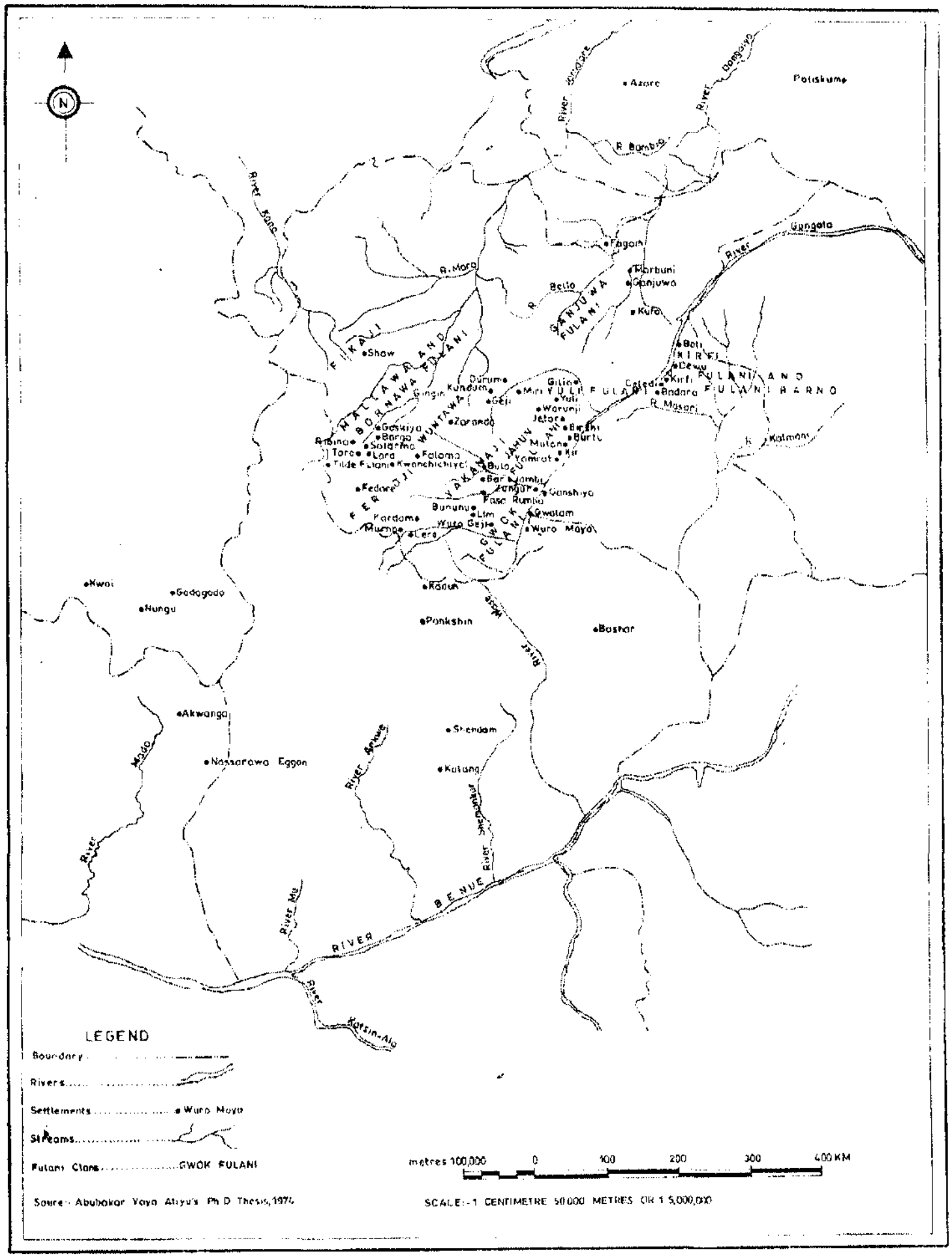

ZARIA PROVINCE SHOWIND LERE DISTRICT
Dankama
Jibiya
Katsina
Kana
Kurgia
Mashi
Ruma
Tsauri
Rimi
Mani
Yamit
Bindawa
Ingawa
Tsaskiya
Kankiy
Musawa
Faskari
Malumfashi
Masha
Daura
Giwa
Kudan
Makarfi
Ikara
Zaria
Birnin Gwari
Sabo
Anchau
Zangon Aya
Turunku
Jaji
Igabi
Sabo Birni
Bikaratu
Kudaru
Kaura
Kaln Giwa
Kaduna
Makera
Kujama
Lere
Kajuru
Chawai
Kachia
Zangon Katab
Richini
Jere
Kagarko
LEGEND
Intenational Bonudary
State Boundary
District
Headquarter Provincial
Divisional Headq
District Headq
Source:- Snp 17/1, 1189/6 - Zaria Province
Annua Report 1925
N I G E R
K O T O
S O
K A N O
B A U C H I
P L A T E A U
B E N U E

MAP OF LERE DISTRICT SHOWING MAJOR SETTLEMENTS

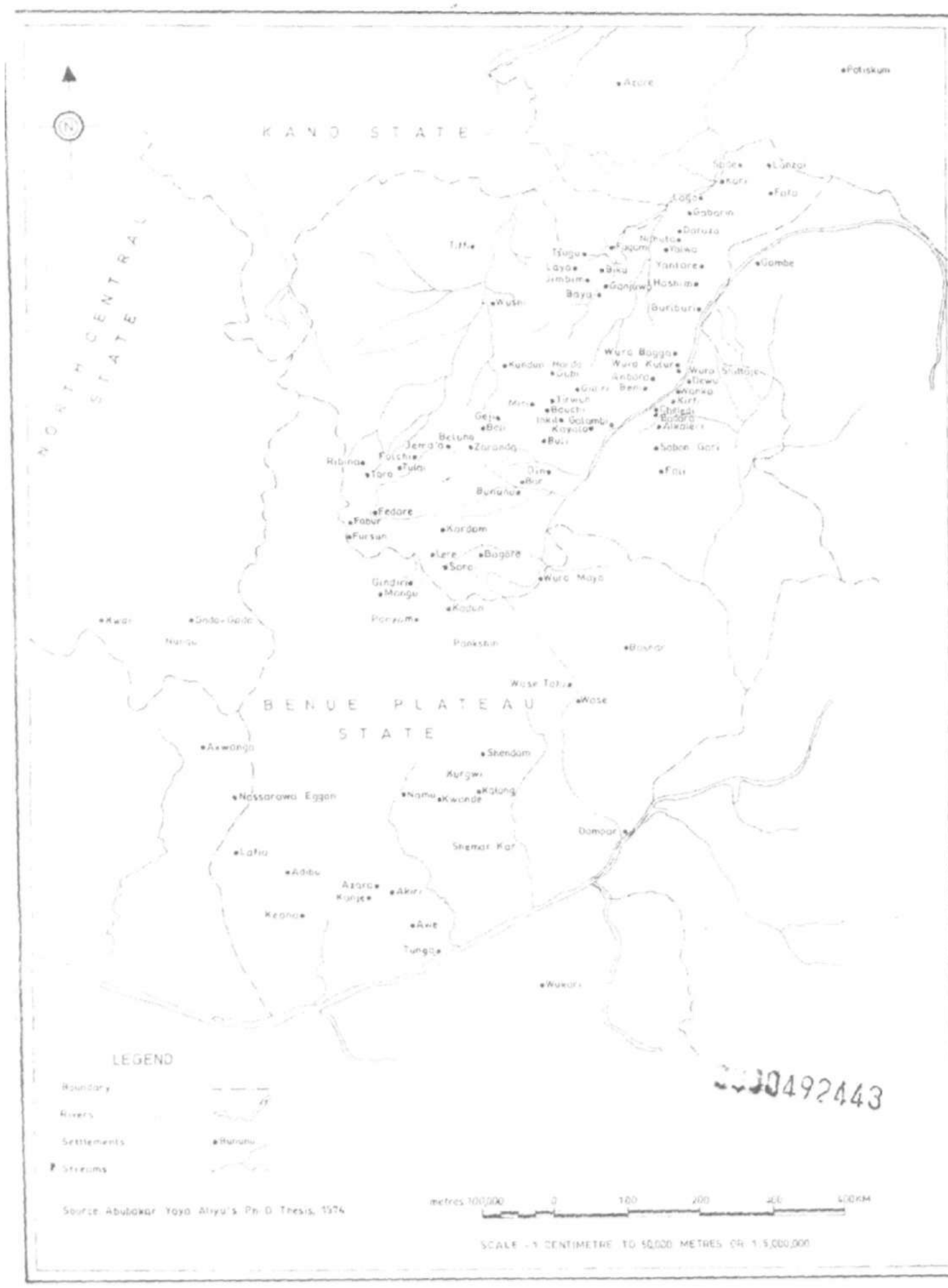


Source:- Lere Local Government, Saminaka Administrative Map Kaduna State

BAUCHI REGION: FULANI SETTLEMENTS Pre-1800



BAUCHI REGION: THE JIHAD



30492443

BAUCHI REGION: EXTERNAL RELATIONS 1804 - 1900

