COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ISLAMIC ETHICAL VALUES IN THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE AND THE CONTEMPORARY NORTHERN NIGERIA

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POST GRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSTY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFIMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ISLAMIC STUDIES.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
(ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION)
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA,

AUGUST, 2010

DECLARATION

I here by declare that this thesis has been written by me and that it is the report of my research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for the award of a higher degree. All direct quotations are distinguished by quotation marks and the sources are fully acknowledged by means of references.

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis report titled "Comparative Analysis of the Islamic Ethical Values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Contemporary Northern Nigeria" by Abdullahi Dalhatu meets the regulations for the award of the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D) in Islamic Studies of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is therefore approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Muslims in general and to my father, mother, brothers, sisters, wives and children in particular.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

If ye are grateful, I will add more (favours) unto you: But if ye show ingratitude, truly my punishment is terrible indeed (Q14:7)

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Glory is to Allah who has no partner; to Him belong the earth and the Heaven and to Him belongs the Absolute power over all things. He (Allah) taught by the pen, taught man what he knew not. May the Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon our beloved Prophet Muhammad (SAW), members of his family, companions, the followers and all those who follow their foot-steps in complete obedience to Allah and His Messenger (SAW) till the Day of Judgment.

I wish to register my profound gratitude to my major and minor supervisors in the names of Dr A. A. Ladan, Prof F.S.M. Koya and Dr Musa Muhammad Tukur respectively for the advice they rendered in the course of carrying out this research work, ranging from its formative stage up to its successful completion. To them I attribute the quality of this work. I am also indebted to Dr Muhammad Bin Yunus, Dr. M.S. Bawa, Dr Sadiq Mohammed, Dr Bashir Maina and Dr. Haruna Muhammad for going through the

work and making useful corrections that enhanced the quality of this work.

I would like to express my sincere and profound gratitude to my colleagues at work who directly or indirectly contributed towards the successful completion of this research. They are Dr Mustapha Isa Qasim, Mal. Abdulkadir Ibrahim Lamido, Mal. Adamu Aliyu, Mal. Abubakar Isma'ila Shika, and Mal. Ya'qub A.A. Wakili. I highly appreciate their contributions.

I am indeed indebted to Dr Abdullahi Musa, Department of Business Administration A.B.U. Zaria, Dr Aliyu Tanko, Hajj Commission of Nigeria, Abuja, Malam Shitu Muhammad Sani, Nuhu Bamalli Polytechnic, Zaria and Engr. Sani Inusa, National Agricultural Extension Research and Liaison Services (N.A.E.R.L.S), A.B.U. Zaria. Others are Engr. Muhammad Lawal Maidoki, Project Manager, Bakalori Irrigation Project, Talatan Mafara, Sokoto Rima Basin Development Authority, Malam Bello Jabbo, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Malam Umar Larat and Dr Abdullahi Abbas, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto whose moral encouragement helped greatly in facilitating the speedy movement of this work. This acknowledgement would be incomplete if the names of Aminuddeen Mujahid and AbdulGaniy Tajuddeen (Administrative Secretary of the 'A' Zone Muslim

Students' Society of Nigeria) are not mentioned for the pain they bore in typing some significant parts of this research.

I am also most grateful to the entire members of my family for the moral support and encouragement they gave me throughout this research exercise and above all the patience they demonstrated throughout the period of the research. May Allah reward them abundantly.

And finally, may Allah reward abundantly those who helped directly or indirectly towards the successful completion of this work. Amin.

ABSTRACT

This research has been on the Comparative Analysis of the Islamic Ethical Values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Contemporary Northern Nigeria. It is observed that moral and ethical degeneration have re-emerged among a significant number of the contemporary Muslims in the Northern Nigeria, the domain where the Sokoto Caliphate exercised its rules based on the Islamic provisions. Some of the life styles of the contemporary Muslims in the Northern Nigeria are to a large extent devoid of ethics and value orientation. Thus, it is part of the objectives of this research to investigate and find out the ethical values that guided the Sokoto Caliphate. In the literature review of this research, efforts were essentially geared towards discussing ethical values that guided the Sokoto Caliphate in its political, social and economic activities so as to serve as lessons to the contemporary Muslims in the Northern Nigeria. Moreso, there were concerted efforts made in an attempt to prove the Truth or otherwise of the colonialist and Orientalists assertion that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement was motivated by racial and economic factors and to some extent by political factor. In addition, there was also an attempt to prove the truth or otherwise of the assumption raised in the chapter one of this research that "The Sokoto Caliphate was guided by some ethical values in its political, social and economic life.' In the process of carrying out this research work, some major findings were made that would prove significant to the life-styles of the contemporary Muslims particularly in the areas of ethics and values. The importance of ethics and values and the need for every society to decide its values based on its norms and cultures have been found and confirmed in this research. This research essentially found out that the Sokoto Caliphate was guided by some cardinal values which helped it to achieve the objectives for which the Caliphate was established. These cardinal values include among others the following: high moral standard, teaching and learning, Sufism, women education, brotherhood etc. It was also found that moral values and education played the leading vital role in deciding who should be a leader in the Sokoto Caliphate as against what operates among the contemporary Muslims. And finally some recommendations were made in this research among which includes the introduction of a course by Islamic Studies Departments in higher institutions of learning (both at undergraduate and postgraduate level) that will introduce the students to the ethical values in Sokoto Caliphate.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS.

1) **Ahadith** (plural) Speeches, Reports, Charts, Conversations etc. This is with particular reference to the sayings, actions and silent approvals of the Prophet (S.A.W)

2) **Amir al-Jaish:** Commander of the armed forces.

3) **Ansar**: Helpers. This is with particular reference to the people of Madinah after the migration of the Prophet (S.A.W) from Makkah to Madinah.

4) **Bait al-Mal:** Public treasury.

5) **Bilad al- Sudan:** West Africa

6) **Dar al-Bidi'ah:** Abode of innovation

7) **Dar al-Islam:** Abode of Islam

8) **Dar al-Kufr**: Abode of unbelief.

9) **Da'wah:** Call. This is with particular reference to the call to Islam

10) **Faqih:** Jurist.

11) **Fatwa**: legal opinion

12) **Fay'**: Booty.

13) **Hadith**: Speech, Chart, Report, Conversation etc. This is with particular reference to the sayings, actions and silent approvals of the Prophet (S.A.W)

14) **Haram:** Unlawful

15) **Hijrah**: Migration. This is with particular reference to the migration of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and Jama'ah from Degel to Gudu.

16) **Eid**: Feast, Festival. This is with particular reference to the Eid al-Fitr; the feast of breaking the Ramadan fast on the 1st day of Shawwal and Eid al –'Adha; the feast of immolation on the 10th of Dhul Hijjah.

17) **Ihsan**: Benevolence

18) **Ijma'**: consensus of opinion of Ulama'

19) **Ijtihad**: effort, exertion, Endeavour. This is with particular reference to the effort of Muslim Jurists towards solving the problems of the Muslims.

20) **Ikhtilaf**: Divergence, disagreement, difference of opinion

21) **Imam**: leader

22) **Iman**: Faith

23) **Injil**: The scripture revealed to Prophet Isa (AS)

24) **Jabiliyyah**; period of ignorance.

25) **Jama'ah**: people

26) **Jihad**: Battle, Holy war, or any effort in Islam towards raising the banner of Islam or improving the quality of life of the Muslims in particular and the people in general .

27) **Jizyah**: tax; head tax on free non-Muslims living under the Muslim rule.

28) **Kafir**: Unbeliever

29) **Kharaj**: tax; land tax in Islamic law.

30) **khulq**: Character; having to do with Moral.

31) **Kuffar**: Unbelievers.

32) **Makruh**: Detested, Abhorred, Hated, Hateful, Distasteful, Reprehensible etc.

33) **Muhajir**: Emigrant

34) **Mujaddid**: Revivalist

35) **Mujahidun**: Fighters; freedom fighters particularly in the cause of Islam

36) **Mujtahid**: diligent, industrious; a legist formulating independent decisions in legal or theological matters.

37) **Mushrik**: Polytheist

38) **al-Qadi**: Judge

39) **Qasr**: Shortening, Reduction; particularly in three out of the five daily prayers i.e. Zuhr, Asr and Isha'.

40) **Sahabah**: Companions; particularly of the Prophet (S.A.W)

41) **Sa'i**: Messenger; Office boy, Delivery boy, Slanderer, Calumniator

42) **Shaitan**: Devil

43) **Shari'ah**: Water hole, Drinking place, but in technical term, it is the revealed or canonical law of Islam.

44) **Sawm**: fasting

45) **Shirk**: Polytheism

46) **Sunnah**: Habitual practice, Customary procedure or action, norm and usage sanctioned by tradition; this is with particular reference to the sayings, actions and silent approvals of the Prophet (S.A.W).

47) **Sufism**: Islamic mysticism.

48) **Sultan**: Sovereign, supreme ruler, power, might, strength, authority, mandate, authorization, legitimating.

49) **Tabi'un**: Those who saw and followed the companions of the Prophet (S.A.W).

50) **Tajdeed**: Revivalism, renewal etc.

51) **Ta'lim**: Instruction, Teaching, Training etc.

52) **Talabah**: Seekers, Pursuers, Students etc.

53) **Tariqah**: Way, Manner, Mode, Means; Creed. This is with particular reference to religious brotherhood.

54) **Tasawwuf**: Sufism i.e. mysticism

55) **Ulama**: Scholars; particularly of Islam.

56) **Ulama' al-Su**: Venal scholars.

57) **Ulama' al-Sunnah**: Scholars who follow the teachings of the Prophet (S.A.W)

58) **Ummah**: Community

59) **Zabur**: The scripture revealed to Prophet Dawud (A.S)

60) **Zakah**: Purity: Compulsory alms in Islam.

61) **Zakat al-Fitr**: Compulsory alms of foodstuffs required at the end of the Ramadan fast.

ABBREVIATIONS

1) **A.S:** Alaihis Salam

2) **R.A.:** Radiyallahu Anhu

3) **S.A.W:** Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam

4) S.W.T: Subhanahu wata'ala

5) **W.A.I:** War Against Indiscipline

TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration adopted is that of "Encyclopedia of Islam" which runs as follows:

Arabic		Name	Transcription
ا	.....	alifun	.....a
ب	.....	bâ'un	.....b
ت	.....	tâ'un	.....t
ث	.....	thâ'un	.....th
ج	.....	jîmun	.....j
ح	.....	hâ'un	.....h
خ	.....	khâ'un	.....kh
د	.....	dâlun	.....d
ذ	.....	dhâlun	.....dh
ر	.....	râ'un	.....r
ز	.....	zaynun	.....z
س	.....	sînun	.....s
ش	.....	shînun	.....sh
ص	.....	sâdun	.....s
ض	.....	dâdun	.....d
ط	.....	tâ'un	.....t
ظ	.....	za'un	.....z

ع	.....	`aynun.....`
غ	.....	ghaynun.....gh
ف	.....	fâ'un .....f
ق	.....	qâf`un .....q
ك	.....	kâfun .....k
ل	.....	lâmun l
م	.....	mîmun.....m
ن	.....	nûnun .....n
هـ	.....	hâ'un .....h
و	.....	wâwun.....w
ي	.....	yâ'un .....y

Short Vowels

أ	.....a	
إ	i	
أ	.....u	

Long Vowels

ا	.....	â
إي	.....	î
أو	.....	û

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

This research titled "Comparative Analysis of the Islamic Ethical Values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Contemporary Northern Nigeria." is a response to various calls and recommendations made by various scholars and researchers of the Sokoto Caliphate. These calls and recommendations are summarized in the words of Kani and Gandi (1990:11) which reads "..... the complexity, diversity and richness of the Sokoto Caliphate still require the serious attention of various scholars of the Caliphate". Kani and Gandi (1990:11) further illustrated the need for more research to be conducted on the Sokoto Caliphate which is far from been exhausted. They said:

> The rich literature of the Sokoto Caliphate still needs the devotion of different scholars who should take it upon themselves to objectively and empirically bring out the various contributions of all the scholars and intellectuals of the Sokoto Caliphate from the time of its inception in 1804 to the time of its overthrow by the imperialists in 1903.

In the light of the above, Kani and Gandi (1990:11) recommended that both the present and future generation of scholars of the Sokoto Caliphate should undertake researches in order to bring out

the relevant and salient points relating to the socio-political and economic activities in what is, in their view, the most formidable political entity in the 19th century Africa .

Many researches have been undertaken towards a serious academic investigation into the contributions of the leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate. This research work is another important testimony to the richness and diversity of the 19th century Sokoto *Jihad* literature in particular and the Caliphate in general. It is also a revealed fact that considerable number of researches on many other aspects of the Sokoto Caliphate is yet to be carried out. This is however not to ignore the immense contributions made by intellectuals of high esteem through their painstaking researches in their attempt to simplify the works of the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders for people of various levels to consume. Prominent among these esteemed scholars was late professor Abdullahi Smith who according to Kani and Gandi (1990:1) had ''piloted serious historical investigations into the intellectual, political, social and economic activities of this formidable Caliphate.''

The contributions of the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders in the 19th century *Bilad al- Sudan* played a great role in transforming a society whose

nature and activities look like an animal kingdom where only the fittest survive freely. It is observed by Tukur (1991:17) that the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders

> took it upon themselves, the responsibility of correcting the social and moral vices of the society... their noble deeds and writings have turned into glorious legacy for the people of Nigeria, hence we should be proud of it. One of the ways by which people especially Muslims can express their profound gratitude and appreciation for the valuable legacy left by the Jihad leaders is to revive and preserve it through conducting researches on it.

This will greatly help the Nigerians particularly the Muslims to see and adopt some ethical values that will enhance the quality of their political, economic and social life.

Tukur (1991:2) further quoted the late professor Abdullahi Smith suggesting the introduction of a new course(s) which will help in immortalizing the values that gave rise to the foundation, development and achievements of the Sokoto Caliphate through the efforts of the *Jihad* leaders. This suggestion as pointed out by Tukur (1991:2) gave rise to the foundation of the Arewa House whose main objective is to study and document all the contributions of the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars that culminated into the formation of the formidable Caliphate in the 19th century West

Africa. It was also this suggestion that gave rise to the introduction of some courses in various degrees in Islamic studies programme of some higher institutions of learning. These include Department of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Department of Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Department of Islamic Studies, Bayero University, Kano etc. These courses which have direct link with the Caliphate introduce the students to some of the contributions of the *Jihad* scholars and above all the Ethical values which helped in developing and sustaining the Sokoto Caliphate for almost a century. The courses introduced are Revivalism of the Sokoto Caliphate and Islamic studies manuscripts in Nigeria.

There are many other specific researches carried out on the literary contributions of the *Jihad* scholars of the Sokoto Caliphate (especially the pioneers of the *Jihad* movement) and many more are still left awaiting other researchers to take up the challenge which would help greatly in shaping the life styles of our society both at communal and individual levels. Some of the researches conducted on the contributions of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio include:

El-Masri's work (1978) who edited and translated Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio's *Bayan Wujub al- Hijrah ala al- Ibad.*. Siddiq (1989) edited, translated and commented on Sheikh Uthman Bin Fodio's *Hisn al- Afham min Juyush al- Awham*. Ladan (1990) wrote on the sources of influence in the literary contributions of Sheikh Uthman Bin Fodio in his Masters thesis. While Haruna (1992) edited, translated and commented on Sheikh Uthman Bin Fodio's *Usulul-Wilayah* in his Masters thesis. And Aliyu (1994) also edited, translated and commented on the Sheikh's *Masa'il al-Muhimmah* in his Masters thesis. This is to mention just a few of the works conducted on the literary contributions of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio.

Other researchers conducted their researches on the literary contributions of Abdullahi Bin Fodio as outlined by Tukur (1991:2) in his Masters thesis. These include: Hisket (1957) and (1963) who edited and translated *Ida al-Nusukh* and *Tazyin al-Waraqat* respectively. Ayagere (1971) conducted his Ph.D research on the life and works of Abdullahi Bin Fodio. . Zaharadeen (1976) and Gwandu (1977) in their Ph.D dissertation wrote on the contributions of Abdullahi Bin Fodio to the Jihad and his

contributions as a Jurist respectively. Dalhatu (1990) had his Ph.D research on Abdullahi's *Lubab al-Madkhal*. Many other works were also carried out on the Sokoto Caliphate but time and space constraint may not allow bringing them to light in this work.

Muhammad Bello was not left out by researchers. Many researches were conducted on the works of Muhammad Bello (all) in an attempt to revive the legacy left by especially the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* movement. Among these researchers include Bello (1983) who wrote on the political thought of Muhammad Bello (1781-1837) as revealed in his Arabic writings more especially *al-Ghayth al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-Adl* in his Ph.D dissertation.

Tasawwuf (Sufism) in the Sokoto Caliphate was thoroughly addressed by Kaura (1985) and (1991) in his M.A and Ph.D. dissertation titled ''Ethics and Sufism in the Sokoto Caliphate: A study of *Jala' al-Sudur* of Muhammad Bello and Sufi Dimension in the Sokoto Caliphate' respectively. While Tukur (1977) addressed the issue of values as it relates to the political administration of the Sokoto Caliphates. The tile of the thesis is

"Values and Public affairs: the Relevance of the Caliphate Experience to the Transformation of the Nigerian polity".

Tukur (1991:1) aptly quoted Hamid (1983) summarizing what may be described as the real background of this work saying;

> Nations take pride in their past and try to preserve and revive the works and achievements of their earlier generations which turn into legacy. This legacy remains a source of pride and honour as well as the means of inspiration and guidance for future planning. The legacy of the Muslims stands unique among all other legacies. The writings left by the Muslims have been awakening the conscience of the people... and inspiring reformers the world over.

1.2 Statement of the Problem.

The Muslims, particularly in the Northern Nigeria, as we all know and feel, have almost lost relevance since the beginning of this century, and what has remained of them is virtually a mere shadow of their former self i.e. the Sokoto Caliphate. Most Muslims have since abdicated their responsibilities of leading mankind and have almost resigned to the rear, leaving whoever cares to lead. The consequence of this is leading to a disastrous destiny just as the Muslims are witnessing today. It is evident that most of those who take the helm of affairs today are those who rebelled against Allah and made material progress the ultimate in

life. With these type of people in the helm of affairs, the sense of right and wrong faded away, the Muslim community becomes a free for all societies where only the survival of the fittest thrived. Rather, oppression took the place of compassion and competition the place of complement and the home became the first victim. And as the knowledge of science and technology is shrinking the global world into a village, the Muslims (particularly in the North) are gradually and increasingly drowning into serious tragedy that causes confusion, suspicion, and disunity among them for the simple fact that the contemporary Muslims in the North have failed to be guided by standard ethical values like other Muslims in other centuries particularly the Sokoto Caliphate.

It is a well known fact that value as enshrined in the Sokoto Caliphate, which greatly helped in its foundation, development and achievements, has been neglected or even forgotten in the dustbin of history by the Muslims in general and the direct descendants of the flag bearers of the Sokoto Caliphate in particular. For example, the ethical values that guided the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate have been neglected and to some great extent forgotten by the various emirate councils across the domain covered by the

Caliphate who, by extension, happened to be the direct descendants of the flag bearers of the *Jihad* movement that led to the establishment of the Caliphate in particular and the leadership of the country (Nigeria) at large. This negligence led and is still leading to tragic results in human life and welfare. People are rapidly developing techniques, skills and practical know-how while their moral and ethical values are often confused, vague and have no focus. Infact, lack of ethical/moral values may be one explanation for disorders, crises and anxieties that are prevalent in the Nigerian society today. Ilori (1994:30) quoted one of the presidents of Nigeria once describing the situation saying:

> The major causes of the ills of the society are the sandy and shaky foundation on which we tried to build the society through the colonial days by discarding the good part of our traditional society. We are then caught up in the conflict of culture, of trying to graft the so-called sophistication of European society to African society. The results so far have been abysmal failure. We are betwixt and between.

The above quoted statement showed that prior to the advent of the colonialists, there was an established tradition which guided the life of the people particularly in the areas covered by the Sokoto Caliphate. This tradition reflected their belief and culture, hence they lived in harmony with one another. But with the advent of the

colonial rule which accelerated the decline and eventually collapse of the African traditions, particularly the Sokoto Caliphate, there emerged change of peoples' attitudes which continues from positive to negative to the extent that people describe every year to be worst than the former. This has been the situation till today and the deplorable condition is moving towards its peak in such an alarming rate that law and order have become a mere myth. The cause of all these problems is mainly lack of making constant reference to the legacies left behind by our predecessors especially the ones closer to our generation i.e. the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars who successfully established a Caliphate that left behind it a modeled leadership structure worthy of emulation by all. The ethical values that helped in establishing the state and the good leadership have been forgotten. This is why Nigeria in particular is today facing the problem of corruption in all aspects of life and this forms the basis of the unethical behaviour of both the leadership and the follower ship in the country. This therefore, constitutes a problem worthy of investigation to get a solution that may bring an end to the deplorable situation and put the *Ummah* on the right track. Thus; the need for a research of this

type titled "Comparative Analysis of the Islamic Ethical Values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Contemporary Northern Nigeria" which will bring to light the core values and ethics that guided the leadership in the Sokoto Caliphate for adoption by both the leaders and the led in the Northern Nigeria in particular and the whole of Nigeria in general to emulate.

1.3 Research Questions:

Research questions in research play important roles in the process of carrying out any research. This is because the research questions give the researcher a guide towards achieving the stated objectives. The questions that will be employed in this research include the following:

i. What were the ethics and values cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate?

ii. Were there established ethical standards guiding the general leadership in the Sokoto Caliphate particularly in matters relating to appointment of leaders, medication, collection and distribution of levy, e.t.c.?

iii. Were there other prominent personalities among other tribes other than Fulanis involved in the Sokoto *Jihad*

Movement that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate apart from Uthman bin Fodio, Abdullahi bin Fodio and Muhammad Bello?

iv. What was the approach and interpretation adopted by the Colonialists and Orientalists towards the Sokoto Caliphate?

v. Were ethical values of Islam the motivating factors of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate or Socio-political and economic factors as believed by the Colonialists and the Orientalists?

vi. Were the values that guided the activities of the Sokoto Caliphate being cherished by the contemporary Muslims in the Northern Nigeria?

vii. How can the Ethical Values of the Sokoto Caliphate be made public and more closer to people?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

After the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate to the British colonialism in 1903, it was observed by Bugaje (nd: 2) that a new tradition emerged and this tradition was initiated by the colonialists

and their cliques whose main objective was to discredit the Sokoto *Jihad* movement and portray it as a racial and at best a religious fanaticism that has seized power only to perpetuate injustice and oppression. This as it was further observed by Bugaje (nd: 2) resulted in the emergence of academicians trained by the colonialist who studied the Sokoto Caliphate through the spectacles of the secular West. However, it is the promise of Allah that He will fulfill His religion even if the Unbelievers detest it. He (Allah) said

> *their intention is to extinguish Allah's light by blowing with their mouth: But Allah will complete His light even though the unbelievers may detest it"* (Q61:8).

It is in the light of this verse of the Glorious Qur'an that another group of scholars later emerged who break away from the traditions established by the colonialists and sought to interpret the activities of the Caliphate in its original context. Therefore, this research "Comparative Analysis of the Islamic Ethical values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Contemporary Northern Nigeria" is part of this later group whose main objective is to bring out and analyze the ethical values in Sokoto *Jihad* literature that gave rise to the foundation, development and achievements of the Sokoto

Caliphate with a view to laying down a theoretical framework for the Muslim leaders and the led. More so, the research is specifically designed to achieve the following specific objectives:-

1. To bring to light the ethics and values that guided the activities of the Sokoto Caliphate so as to serve as instruments to be used in revitalizing the deplorable conditions of the Muslims (particularly in the Northern part of Nigeria) which cut across all their political, social and economic life.
2. To find out the established ethical standards that guided the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate particularly in matters relating to the appointment of leadership, medication, collection and distribution of levy, e.t.c.
3. To identify whether there were other prominent personalities among other tribes other than the Fulanis involved in the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate apart from Uthman bin Fodio, Abdullahi bin Fodio and Muhammad Bello.

4. To make a critical analysis\assessment of the approach and interpretation of the Colonialists and Orientalists towards the Sokoto Caliphate.

5 To establish the factors that motivated the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement establish the Sokoto Caliphate.

6 To find out whether the Values that guided the Sokoto Caliphate are still being cherished in the contemporary Northern Nigeria.

7 To bring the ethical values in the Sokoto Caliphate more public and closer to people. This is necessary because most of the Ethical values are still lying in the manuscripts written by the *Jihad* scholars and are not easily accessible to all people. In addition most of the manuscripts are written in Arabic of which most people do not understand.

1.5 Significance of the Study:

Observations have shown that the world today and Nigeria in particular, is witnessing an alarming increase in political, social and economic instability. And it is also a living fact that the survival and welfare of a nation depends largely on the way of life

of its individual members, their mental and moral orientation as well as their cohesion as a society.

The military, after coming into power in both 1966 and 1983, realized that the terrible evils of indiscipline, lack of faith and commitment and corruption have eaten deep into the core of the Nigerian nation and had rendered its citizens economically and morally bankrupt; almost completely devoid of decency, civic consciousness and patriotism. Undesirable attitudes like greed, brutality and their likes and other identifiable evil acts like arm robbery, drunkenness, tribalism became manifest in the people of Nigeria. This is why one cannot fail to notice the repeated appeal made by some past leaders aimed at re-molding our society. Few leaders have captured the imagination and inspired the world during the past few decades. General Murtala Ramat Muhammad had tried within a very short time to instill discipline among the Nigerian people from 29th July, 1975 to 13th February, 1976 when he ruled Nigeria. He tried to set some ethical values to serve as guiding principles in his efforts to reform Nigeria politically, socially and economically.

It is in this line that General Murtala Ramat Muhammad was quoted by Kankara (1994:1) in one of his public addresses saying

> for too long we have paid lip service to the issue of re-molding our society. For too often we have walked glibly in the past, of birth of a nation while our nation continued to burn, leaving big scars on our images as people. Now is the time to re-think, to reflect and to act.

Kankara (1994:1) also quoted President Shehu Aliyu Shagari who ruled Nigeria between 1979 and 1983 saying:

> A nation that places no value on moral standard is like a body without soul. We must teach our citizens to love their nation, to respect and value its traditions, to be their brothers' keeper, to respect duly constituted authorities, to be dedicated and above all to be honest to themselves and in their dealings with their fellowmen, remembering always that "God sees all our action.

General Muhammadu Buhari, who also ruled Nigeria between 1983 and 1985, introduced War Against Indiscipline popularly known as WAI in his attempt to address the problem of unethical behaviour in the Nigerian society. He was quoted by Mahdi and Kwanashie (1990:80-81) lamenting over the deplorable condition of morality of the Nigerians saying

> Nigerians must liberate themselves from inaction ..... For a better future. The past, even the recent past was

> no doubt great, but what have they made of the present? Why are there so much greed, corruption, and indiscipline in Nigeria today? Why are all the legacies of the past decaying and crumbling as a result of much neglect and lack of care? These questions need answers. But they also point to one direction: the quality of leadership.

All the above statements of the elderly state men show the importance of setting ethical values as guiding principles for supporting and sustaining moral standard as an essential component for social, political and economic development. It is unfortunate that this is what our society lack today: By implication therefore, this shows the significance and relevance of this study, which will refer us back to the legacy left by the Sokoto Caliphate leaders on issues related to ethical values.

It is also a clear fact that for any society to have peace, harmony, unity stability, and prosperity, there must, as a matter of necessity, be a high moral standard among its people. Apart from the ethical social needs for the right type of values and attitudes; the increasing deplorable moral climate in the nation makes imbibement of the ethical values in the Sokoto Caliphate a matter of urgent necessity. It is obvious that there is lack of discipline in all ramifications of peoples' life. Therefore, it becomes very clear

that a research of this type, which will introduced people to certain ethical values as enshrined in the Sokoto Caliphate, will go a long way in providing the right type of values and attitudes that will rid the society of its social ills and bring about mature, disciplined and patriotic individuals in the society. More so, contemporary scholars, political leaders and common people will find the outcome of this research very useful because it will expose the methods or ethics of carrying out certain functions dictated by the *Shari'ah* in a more elaborate and simple ways.

The above discussions have shown that the need and significance of this research cannot really be overemphasized. This is because the research is very timely considering the fact that the people of Nigeria and the Muslims in particular are found guilty of breaking away from the ethical values promoted by the Sokoto Caliphate. Therefore, this research will greatly help in re-directing or re-orienting the attitudes of the Muslim populace and make them behave well at all levels of human endeavours.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Close observation and outcome of many conferences, seminars, symposia and workshops conducted on the Sokoto

Caliphate have shown that most of the scholarly investigations carried out on the Sokoto Caliphate focused more on the general political structures and institutions of the early days of the Caliphate to the detriment of Ethical values that helped in setting, organizing and executing the *Jihad* Movement that eventually led to the establishment and continued preservation of the formidable Caliphate for a long period of time. This Caliphate set a standard of life, which cuts across all spheres of life that stands out as unique in the 19th century West Africa. Therefore the need to set deliberate machinery in motion towards reviving those standards for the contemporary Muslims to emulate is justifiable.

1.7 Basic Assumption of the Research.

This research has only one basic assumption which was derived from the activities of the Sokoto Caliphate. It was observed that the Sokoto Caliphate made tremendous achievements in its political, economic and social affairs which made it unique in *Bilad al- Sudan.* Thus, the assumption reads "The Sokoto Caliphate must have been guided by some ethical values which helped her to make tremendous achievements in all aspects of human life; political, social and economic." This research was therefore geared towards

ascertaining the truth or otherwise of this assumption with a view to finding out the ethical values so as to use them as lessons for the contemporary Muslims in the Northern Nigeria.

1.8 Scope/ Delimitation of the Study

This sub-chapter is intended to show the areas that this research covered by Allah's will. Generally, the areas covered by this research are within the cope of Islam but with particular reference to the Sokoto Caliphate which was established by the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement under the able leadership of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and his immediate able lieutenants in the persons of Abdullahi bin Fodio (his brother) and Muhammad Bello (his son). The Caliphate translated into action the various ethical values discussed by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars in their literary contributions. This resembles the establishment of Madina as an Islamic state which translated into action the numerous ethical, political, social and economic values contained in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*.

Therefore, the scope of this research is limited to the ethical values which guided the excellent performance of the Sokoto Caliphate in all spheres of life which includes from political, social

and economic that stands as unique in African history. But where the research goes beyond its stated boundary, it should be understood that such is done in order to widen the scope of the researcher's experience, which may perhaps enhance the quality of the study.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

This sub-chapter generally gives highlight on the problem(s) that the researcher encountered in the course of carrying out the research. The problem, which this sub-chapter highlights are those problems that became insurmountable and beyond the researcher's control, which in effect interfered and eventually affected the quality of the research.

In a work of this type (which involves translating one language to another), it is generally observed that a researcher usually encounters serious difficulty in presenting an idea of a writer while making an attempt to translate the idea from one language to another especially from Arabic to English. This is largely due to the rich nature of Arabic, which has many words carrying divergent meanings.

Another serious problem that affected this study is the unavailability of some vital contributions of the scholars of the *Jihad* Movement. These contributions which are still in their manuscript forms and are no where to be found because some of them are in the hands of individuals who were not ready to release them, while others were taken away by the colonialists and thus making it difficult for the researcher to lay his hand on them.

The world is undergoing serious economic constraints as a result of its deviation from the path of Allah. And the consequence of this economic constraint is seriously counting on almost every individual, especially those that come from the so-called third world countries. This therefore, affects the quality of their performance in all human endeavors. This economic constraint seriously hindered the researcher's ambition of exploiting all available opportunities that may help in elevating the standard of this study to a much higher quality.

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CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.1 Brief Account on the Hausaland before the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement

History does not allow vacuum; there is a ceaseless interplay between the forces of decay and regeneration. The conditions which existed in the Hausaland as observed by Sulaiman (1986:1) necessitated for the initiation of a process of rebirth. As a matter of fact, *Kitab al Farq Baina Wilayatu ahl al-Islam wa Baina Wilayatu ahl al-Kufr* written by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio, *Tazyin al-Waraqat* by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio and by Muhammad Bello were and are still the most reliable sources of information pertaining to the life in the Hausaland before the *Jihad* Movement of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio.

The Hausaland was located in the central *Bilad al-Sudan* which consisted of variety of black people with a variety of languages and cultures. Chief among them as indicated by Bugaje (nd: 3) were the Fulani, Jolof, Bambara, Wolof, Mandigo, Kanuri and Hausa. Prior to the advent of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement, the political, social, economic and religious life of the people in the Hausaland were in shamble and total decay as outlined by the *Jihad* scholars in many places in their writings.

Politically, the Hausaland was divided into many independent political states who engaged in constant warfare for the purpose of one dominating the other. Notable among these states include Kano, Zazzau, Katsina, Daura and Gobir. Abdullahi (1984:20) clearly showed the unjust political conditions that characterized the Hausaland before the *Jihad* Movement. He said that the Hausa states believed in the principle of 'the strong is always right', hence, it was a survival of the fittest as it did exist in the Arab *Jâhiliyyah* period i.e. the period before the advent of Muhammad (SAW) as a Prophet and Messenger of Allah. Under these terrible conditions, the weaker states found themselves perpetually living under constant fear of the strong. And this hindered the social and economic growth of the land and also subjected many able-bodied individuals into merciless and perpetual slavery.

While on the economic life of the Hausaland, the states that constitute the Hausaland were well known to be merciless in their methods of revenue collection. The revenues were mercilessly collected for the personal use of the ruling class on almost every

thing; human beings, animals, farm products, and even items like dying pots.

Abdullahi (1984:19) furthermore established that in the pre-*Jihad* Hausaland, slaves, vegetables, and meat sold in markets were all items from which revenues were generated. It was also confirmed by Abdullahi (1984:20) that any able bodied person who could take hoe and go to the farm, no matter how small he may be in physique and age was taxed and more so, cattle were among the things on which excessive taxes (Jangali) were compulsorily collected. To further portray the exploitative/bad economic conditions of the Hausa land before the *Jihad* Movement, sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Kitab al-Farq* said "people pay a number of taxes such as festival tax, levies on the occasions of *Sallah*, municipality tax paid by those living in urban centers (Kudin gari) and many other forms of unnecessary taxes that were out-rightly against the teachings of Islam". He also said that forced labour on the farms of the ruling class was a great salient feature in the economic activities of the Hausaland before the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio.

In the aspect of social life, the Hausaland was well known for the practice of a lot of social atrocities. Abdullahi (1984:19) has aptly summarized the evil social conditions that characterized the Hausaland. He said there were many cases of social ills such as bribery, legal corruption, gratification and outrageous tyranny meted against the weak ones by the ruling class. He also said inhuman slavery, mal-treatment of women, children and the weak ones, from among men and women, social injustice, adultery, fornication, assault, theft, murder were all reigning in the Hausaland before the *Jihad* led by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio. These social problems (as observed) gave rise to general social insecurity in the Hausaland that hindered the general progress of the land.

Religiously, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio described the religious conditions of the Hausaland by dividing the people of *Bilad al-Sudan* in general and Hausaland in particular according to the degree of their religious inclination. In his book titled *Tamyiz al-Muslimin an al-Kafirin*, the Sheikh identified eight categories or divisions of people. These categories are:-

1. The *Ulama'* whose belief was sound, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio described this category as those who after having sexual intercourse with their wives perform ritual bath and ablution before they pray and also perform dry ablution only in extreme cases of necessity. The Sheikh further described them as those who carried out other religious injunctions as prescribed by the *Shari'ah* and in addition abstained themselves from any act of unbelief such as venerating stones, trees, idols, etc. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio declared this category of people as good Muslim believers,. And on the other hand according to the Sheikh, there are the *Ulama al-su* (venal scholars) whose activities were directly opposite to the ones (Ulama) described above. The *Ulama'u al-Su* were in greater majority than the *Ulama'u al-Sunnah* before the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement.

2. The *Talaba* (students) whose beliefs are also sound. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio characterized them as those students who seek for the right knowledge and extend it to others. The Sheikh also said that this category of people in the Hausaland engaged in righteous acts as practiced by the

Ulama 'u al Sunnah. Thus, he declared them as good and pious Muslims too. This shows that even before the advent of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement there were students who were out to learn the religion of Islam for the purpose of not only practicing it by themselves but also extending it to others. It is also an indication that pious scholars existed even before the *Jihad* Movement.

3. The Sheikh also identified another group of people in the Hausa land who were interested in attending and listening to the preaching session of the *Ulama'u al-Sunnah* and at the same time try to act accordingly. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio declared this category of people as good Muslims.

4. The category of people who had never accepted Islam is another group of people identified by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in the Hausaland. This category was born unbelievers. This was the category of people whom al-Maghili described as having never made any claim to be Muslims throughout their life as reflected in Hunwick 91974:384) i.e. they were born and brought up by their parents as unbelievers and grew in it.

5. This category of people were those who mixed acts of unbelief and acts of Islam. In other words, it is a category of people who had accepted Islam but engaged themselves in venerating stones, trees, idols and other things and even making sacrifice to them. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio classified this category of people as unbelievers who associate partners to Allah (SWT).

6. This is the people who made mockery of Islam and who denied some of the injunctions of Islam. This category of people denied the institution of *Zakah*, Sawm etc. While others made mockery of the religion by castigating anybody they see identifying him/her self with any quality prescribed by Islam. They also made mockery of Islam by marrying more than four wives. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio declared this category of people in Hausaland as unbelievers. Today, in Niger State of Nigeria a venal scholar is found to be married with more than eighty women and his claim was that there is no place in the Qur'an where the maximum number of wives to be married by a Muslim is mentioned.

7. The innovators; these were a group of people whose faith in Islam remains sound but unfortunately they engaged themselves in some evil acts even though they did not utter any word of unbelief or rejected any injunction of Islam. They also abstained themselves from activities that signify associating partnership to Allah (SWT) such as venerating stones, trees, animals, idols etc. The Muslim scholars according to Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio differ in their opinion regarding the position of this category of people. But the most popularly accepted opinion as outlined by the Sheikh in *Kitab al-Farq* is that this category of people could be regarded as Muslims but disobedient ones.

8. The ignorant: this category comprises the group of people who though Muslims but did not have the knowledge of Islam and were very careless to seek to know and understand it thoroughly. This situation according to Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio gave the *Ulama'u al-Su* the opportunity to play with this people's intelligence and eventually misled them. The Sheikh classified this category of people as Muslims but erring ones.

The above discussions clearly show that the religion of Islam had been in existence in Hausaland long before the advent of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement which gave rise to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The discussions also revealed a glaring fact that there in existence few good Muslims in Hausaland before the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement. This is shown clearly in the first three categories of people outlined by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio whom he described as good Muslims whose faith in Islam remained sound and solid. These were the same categories who gave the Sheikh the initial support he needed at the early stage of the *Jihad* Movement. On the other hand, there were also outright unbelievers who had never tasted the faith of Islam in their life and this category of people constituted a significant number. They were shown in the fourth category as outlined by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio.

The fifth and sixth categories outlined were the people who at one time or another tasted the faith of Islam but later apostatized by way of renouncing the religion or denying some of its provisions. A significant number of the people also constituted these categories. And finally, the seventh and eighth categories also

constituted a significant majority among the people in the Hausaland before the *Jihad* Movement. These categories of people were the disobedient Muslims whose actions were largely caused by lack of knowledge and failure to seek for it in order to enhance their general standard of living as ambassadors of Allah on earth. Sulaiman (1986:1) opined that the conditions of seemingly unremitting darkness (such as existed in Hausaland towards the end of the twelfth Islamic century) did in fact create the conditions necessary for an initiation of a process of rebirth and these conditions constituted the self-perpetuating, indestructible factors that kept the light of Islam eluminating even in the overwhelming atmosphere of corruption and degeneration.

2.2 Concepts of Ethic and Value

2.2.1 Defining the Concept of Ethic

According to Hornby (2000:395), ethic is a noun which can simply be defined as "moral principle that guides or influences a person's behaviour." It may also as opined by Beekun (1421AH:2) be defined as the set of moral principles which distinguish what is right from what is wrong. Yola (1425AH: 136) opined that "ethic is a branch of philosophy which concentrates on the question of

good life for man". He further said "it is a set of principles by which people are expected to live. It tries to find out what is an ideal life for man". Ethic in Islam according to Professor Umaruddin as quoted by Yola (1425AH: 137) "is nothing but the body of injunctions laid down in the Qur'an for the practical conduct of life and fully explained in the practice of the Prophet (SAW) throughout his life"

Ethic and morality are two terms that are sometimes used interchangeably which convey almost the same message or idea. The latter (morality) is defined in the Dictionary of Philosophy (1981:101) Moscow as "a form of social consciousness, a social institution that regulates people's conduct in all spheres of social life without exception". Yola (1425AH:138) also quoted Lacy (1978) explaining the issues which morality addresses such as habits, customs, ways of life especially when addressed as good or bad, right or wrong etc.

The Islamic notion of ethic is connected to the good of human life on earth and it is part and parcel of its approach to life. The position of Islam is that the entire universe is created and sustained by Allah (SW) and that man is appointed to serve as

Allah's vicegerent. Therefore, the right order of an ethical life for man is to live in absolute obedience to Allah in accordance with the requirements of the *Shari'ah*.

The idea of man being Allah's vicegerent (*Khalifah*) on earth and accountable to Him in the life hereafter, provides the criterion by which a precise style of behaviour is assessed and categorized as ethical or unethical. Even though the Islamic concept of human vicegerency and accountability provides a typical standard for judging what is good and bad, Islam does not give freedom to man to define the limit of good and bad purely on the bases of his thinking. Islam affords man with a defined source for determining what is ethical and unethical. This source is the *Shari'ah* which stipulates a standard of ethical behaviour that is immutable and all embracing.

In Islam, the term most closely related to ethic in the Qur'an is *Khuluq*. It is the key moral principle which is expected to dominate the socio-economic and political life of man. The ethical factor constitutes the main characteristic that draws boundary line between the Islamic socio –economic and political model and other models, i.e. in Islam, optimum socio-economic and political

welfare is achieved through the introduction of ethics or moral principles in the day. – to – day affairs of the socio-economic and political life of man.

The Islamic philosophy of life also emphasizes and asserts that ethics should always symbolize the common values of a society. They should also determine the socio-economic and political structure of the members of that society. In a nutshell, what Islam insists on is that ethics must guide human behaviour for the attainment of optimum socio-economic and political felicitation as well as spiritual redemption. It is worth noting here that it is the ethical or moral principle that guided the Sokoto Caliphate after the overthrow of the Hausa rulers. It is also the same ethical and moral values which show a sharp difference between the socio-economic and political life of the Hausa states and that of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The moral code embedded in Islamic ethics as explained earlier, emphasizes the relation of man to his Creator. The Islamic code of ethics is enforceable at all times because its Creator and Monitor is closer to man than his jugular vein, and has perfect and eternal knowledge of man's activities and needs. This is in contrast

to the secular ethical systems and the moral codes advocated by other religions. The secular system assumes moral codes which are transient and myopic since they are based on the values of their founders. Thus, these models generally promote a system of ethics which is devoid of religious teachings.

And this leads man to social, political and economic confusion just as it is witnessed in secular countries, including Nigeria. In other words, the dichotomy of human life into secular pursuits and spiritual endeavours has contributed greatly to the intellectual confusion prevailing in the modern world particularly among in the Northern Nigerian Muslims. The Islamic solution is to demolish this unhelpful dichotomy by providing a concurrent philosophy of life to which no vacuum can prevail on the plane of human socio-economic and political interactions as practically demonstrated in the Sokoto Caliphate.

Generally, it is believed that good behaviour is seen as a sign of strong belief while bad behaviour and evil deeds are seen as a sign of weak belief or unbelief. The Qur'an has made it very clear and categorical that the Paradise is prepared for only those who believe and do good works while Hell fire is prepared and reserved

for the unbelievers whose utterances and actions are always characterized by evils. The Qur'an says:

> *Verily, Allah will admit those who believe and do righteous deeds to Garden beneath which rivers flow while those who reject (Allah) will enjoy (this world) and eat as cattle eat; and the Fire will be their abode."* (Q47:12)
> *But those who have faith and work righteousness, they are companions of the Garden, therein they shall abide (forever.* (Q2:82).

This explains what Mika'ilu (1989:30) opined that the moral system of Islam encompasses both the personal and civil aspects of social, economic and political life. Mika'ilu (1989:32) further said

> The position of Islam regarding man and his role in the universe provides the motivating momentum which can arouse him to act in compliance with its moral injunctions. That is the belief in the Day of Judgment coupled with the divine promise of rewarding the righteous and punishing the rebellious motivates man to voluntarily accept Allah as his Creator and to abide by the injunctions of *Shari'ah* in all dealings.

It can clearly be understood from the above discussions that ethics and morality always serve as instruments which are used to regulate the conduct of people living together in a community and strictly adhering to some principles or values which they cherish. This further brings to light in clear terms two main functions which ethic and morality serve in society as opined by Yola

(1425AH:136),i.e. preserving the continuity and stability of a social institution(s) and restraining the actions and desires of the members of a given social group(s).

Good ethical behaviours regulate the life of man. It is not enough to acquire knowledge and power, but it must be accompanied with good ethical behaviours. The calculation below shows the importance of ethics:

Knowledge + Power + Arrogance = Tyranny and Injustice.

Knowledge + Power + Ethics = Justice and Freedom.

The above calculation shows that if a Muslim by name has knowledge and Power and acts arrogantly, he will be creating injustice and tyranny to himself, family and the community at large. Conversely, if a person who is not a Muslim but has knowledge and power and use it according to his natural ethical inclination; he is likely to create a state of justice and freedom.

It is worth noting as rightly observed also by Yola (1425AH:137) that

> Where ethic fails to enforce conformity; the provisions of the law have to be invoked in order to ensure strict compliance. This is because ethical issues are to a certain degree not legal laws. However, when it is clear that certain action of an individual tramples upon the right of other people, resort to the

> dictates of law becomes necessary to ensure sanity in the society, lest a chaotic situation results due to the society's failure to impose external restrains (provisions of law) on its erring members.

2.2.2 Factors Influencing Ethical Behaviour

Hornby (2000:395) defined ethical behaviour to mean generally the moral standard or acceptable behaviour or value which guides man towards demonstrating good conduct that eventually benefits him in particular and in some cases the society in general. There are many factors that influence ethical behaviour. Barney and Ricky in Beekun (1417AH:3) identified the following key factors to be responsible for influencing ethical behaviour. These are: - legal interpretation, organizational factors, and individual factors.

i. The Legal Interpretation

In secular societies, legal interpretations are based upon contemporary and often transient values and standard. In United States for example as narrated by Beekun (1421AH:3), it was legal and ethical at one time to discriminate against women and minorities but now it is illegal to discriminate against these groups. Whereas in an Islamic society, values and standards are interpreted

through the guidance of *Shari'ah*, which always stand the taste of all times and space. For instance, Islam gave women permanent and unchangeable right and had never discriminated against minorities in any way. Abu Dharrul – Ghifari in Beekun (1421AH:3) reported the Prophet (SAW) saying to him

> *You are not better than people with red or black skins unless you excel them in piety.*

The attitude of the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars towards one another was the type that did not discriminate between the rich and the poor, the lead and the led and the men and the women. The only criteria they adopted when the need for discrimination arose was the one provided by the *Shari'ah* i.e. the criteria of faith. This is why Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Kitabul – Farq* classified the people of *Biladus- Sudan* into many categories as mentioned above.

ii. Organizational Factors

This factor greatly influences ethical behaviour. One of the key sources of organizational influences is the degree of commitment demonstrated by leaders of different organizations to ethical conducts. These commitments were usually communicated to the people concerned through a code of ethics, policy statements,

speeches, publications etc. This can vividly be seen in the ethical conducts of the leaders of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement which transformed a one time society with unethical behaviours into a society characterized by ethical conducts worthy of emulation. The *Jihad* leaders were able to influence their people through their writings, speeches, policy statements, conducts etc. The ethical behaviour demonstrated by the *Jihad* leaders contributed immensely to the establishment of a Caliphate that excelled in establishing all conducts that are morally accepted. Lack of commitments in ethical conducts, policy statements, speeches etc, among the leaders and the led is a serious problem that needs to be redressed among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. This is in view of the fact that noble qualities and ethical values (as observed) are lost at both individual and organizational structure of the Muslims in the Northern part of Nigeria.

iii. Individual Factors

Individuals come to meet and work with different values at different occasions. This eventually comes to affect one's ethical behaviour. There are many factors in this direction that accelerate

the influence. These include personal values and morals, family factors, peer group and life experiences.

1. Personal values and morals.

An individual's values and morals influence his ethical behaviour or standards. For instance, a person who observes honesty in his life always respect people's property and he also behaves differently from a person who does not respect people's property because of lack of honesty in his life. And in Islam, the decay and eventual disappearance of honesty is regarded as a sign of imminence of the Day of Judgment. Abu Huaraira reported the Prophet (SAW) saying:

> *While the Prophet (SA W) was saying something in a gathering, a Bedouin came and asked him, "When would the Hour (Doomsday) take place?" Allah's Apostle (SAW) continued his talk, so some people said that Allah's Apostle (SA W) had heard the question, but did not like what that Bedouin had asked. Some of them said that Allah's Apostle (SAW) had not heard the question. When the Prophet (SAW) finished his speech, he said, "Where is the questioner who inquired about the Hour (Doomsday)" The Bedouin said: "I am here, Oh Allah's Apostle (SAW)". Then the Prophet (SAW) said, "When honesty is lost, then wait for the Hour (Doomsday)" The Bedouin said "How will that be lost?" The Prophet (SAW) said, "When the power or authority comes into the wrong hands, then wait for the Horn.* (Bukhari Vol IV: 200).

The individual conducts and practices of the leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate were the most outstanding factors which influenced and motivated their people to cultivate good moral etiquette as known with the Caliphate. The Sokoto Caliphate leaders taught their people mostly through their actions. They did not allow themselves to be victims of those whom Allah blamed in *Suratul – Baqarah* and *Suratus- Staff* respectively. Allah said:

> *Do you enjoin right conduct on the people, and forget (to practice it) yourself, and yet you study the Scripture? Will you not understand?* (Q2:44)

Allah also said:

> *Oh you who believe! Why do you say that which you do not? Grievously hateful is it in the Sigh of Allah that you say that which you do not.* (Q61:3).

These verses portray the characteristics of those people who talked much but fail to back up their resolutions in words with firmness in action. It is a glaring fact that when people's deeds are not commensurate with their words, their conduct is regarded odious in the sight of Allah and it is only out of Allah's mercy that such type of people are saved from disasters both in this word and the

Hereafter. The Sokoto *Jihad* scholars insisted on following up every bit of their words with action.

2. Family Factors

The family is the immediate environment where individuals meet. It plays a great role in shaping the ethical standards of an individual. An individual starts to form ethical standards right from home. This is why the Prophet (SAW) emphasized the importance of family in the upbringing of an individual. The Prophet (AW) said:

> *Command your children to pray when they become seven years old, and discipline them for it (prayer) when they become ten years old; and arrange their beds (to sleep) separately.* (Sunan Abi Dawud Vol I: 102).

The implication of this *Hadith* is that children are likely to develop high ethical standards if they perceive other family members consistently adhering to high ethical standards. More so, they develop good ethical standards when they see that family members are rewarded for an ethical behaviour demonstrated and also punished for doing any unethical behaviour such as being untruthful, stealing etc.

A close look at the upbringing of the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders can clearly show the role that family played in molding the life styles of these leaders. Scholars of the history of the Sokoto Caliphate confirmed that both the pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate and their children had their good moral and ethical behaviour through the training they received from their parents and brothers at home. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio was said to have had his early education from his father, while Abdullahi bin Fodio received his early education from his brother Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio. This serves as a testimony of the importance of family in influencing the ethical behaviour of an individual. It is unfortunate that observations have shown that most of the Muslims' homes in Northern Nigeria have abandoned their roles as molders of characters and have allowed toys, televisions, videos and other useless materials to become the companions of their children.

3. Peer group

This is also another strong factor that greatly influences the ethical behaviour of an individual. As the child grows up and is admitted to school, he is in most cases influenced by the peer group with whom he interacts daily. Thus, if the child's peer group

engages in activities that are of high ethical standard, he may equally act the same. But if it is otherwise, he may also act the same. Therefore the only solution is for an individual to abstain himself from any group that is identified with unethical activities.

To this effect, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio refused to associate himself and his followers with any group that is found guilty of committing an activity that is against Islam. This is why he abstained himself from the circle of the *Ulama'us-Su* (venal scholars) and the ruling class because of their corrupt leadership. The Sokoto *Jihad* leaders imbibed the principle of Prophet Ibrahim (AS) as described by Allah in the Glorious Qur'an. He (Allah) said:

> *There is for you an excellent example; (to follow) in Ibrahim and those with him when they said to their people: 'we are clear of you and of whatever you worship beside Allah: we have rejected you and there has arisen between us and you enmity and hatred forever"* (Q60:4).

Homes and schools should therefore establish mechanism that would check the activities of peer groups so that the children can be made to associate themselves with a group that is known to be upholding sound ethical behaviour.

4. Life Experiences

Life experiences whether positive or negative affect the life of individuals and determine their ethical beliefs and behaviour. Beckon (1417AH:7) quoted Malcolm X narrating his experience while on *Hajj* which later had a major impact on his later years as a Muslim. Malcolm X said.

> There were tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over the world. They were of all colours, from blue-eyed blonds to black skinned Africans. But we were participating in the same rituals, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experience in America had led me to believe never could exist between the white and the non white.
> America needs to understand Islam, because this is the one religion that erases from its society the race problem. I have never before seen sincere and true brotherhood practiced by all colours together, irrespective of their colour.
> You may be shocked by the words coming from me. But in this pilgrimage, what I have seen, and experienced, has forced me to re-arrange much of thought-patterns previously held, and toss aside some of my previous conclusions.

Experiences of the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement before and after the beginning of the *Jihad* Movement and coupled with the wide scope of experience they had in the knowledge they have in Islam made the *Jihad* leaders to develop the spirit of liberating the people from the hands of the tyrannical Hausa rulers.

And this was guided by the ethical standards of Islam which later became the ethical standard of the Caliphate after its establishment.

2.2.3 Axioms of Islamic Ethical Philosophy

By definition, Hornby (2000:68) defined axiom as rules or principles that most people believe to be true. And in the usage of this context, they are referred to as those rules or principles that serve as pillars of the ethical philosophy of Islam. Beekun (1417AH:20) quoted Naqri and al Ghazali who identified the following to be the axioms which form the pillars of the Islamic ethical philosophy. These are: unity, equilibrium, free will, responsibility and benevolence.

i. Unity.

This is related to the concept of *Tauhid*. The political, economic, social and religious aspects of man's life as opined by Maududi (1977:78) form a homogeneous whole that is consistent from within, as well as integrated with the vast universe from 'without. This forms the vertical dimension of Islam. This axiom of Islamic ethics instills in the Muslims' mind the courage to be indifferent to, independent of, and fearless of all power other than the power of Allah. A Muslim would not be overawed by

anybody's greatness and will not allow himself to be coerced into performing unethical acts by anybody. It was indeed on the bases of this belief in Allah's greatness that the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders became solid and resolute in their struggle to propagate the teachings of Islam ,which later turned into Jihad, movement that culminated into the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, despite all the oppressions and persecutions they suffered in .the hands of the ruling aristocracy.

The *Jihad* leaders were not also served into performing any 'unethical behavior. Thus, in the midst of all odds, they became humble and modest in their life as Muslims, obeyed and observed the laws of Allah. This is a clear indication of unity of purpose and action and also belief in the Unity of Allah's Might which encouraged them to continue with their struggle without fearing the blame of the blamers. It is observed that there is serious lack of unity of purpose and action among the Muslims in the Northern Nigeria today because of fear of loosing position or fame. And this is what always cause set back in any struggle that Muslims of today engage into. And this is also why the Northern Nigerian

elders who are mostly Muslims cannot make any significant impact on the life of their fellow Muslims.

ii. Equilibrium

This is basically related to the concept of *Adl* (Justice), which describes the horizontal dimension of Islam. It addresses the sense of balance among the various aspects of man's life in order to produce the best social order. This sense of balance is achieved through conscious efforts. The need for balance and equilibrium in a society is stressed by Allah when he labeled the *Ummah* as " *Ummatun Wasatah*". He also stressed the importance of spending in the course of Allah and condemned the practice of extravagant consumption and spending. This is stressed in order to maintain balance between those who have and those who have not. He said in the Holy Qur'an

> *And spend of your substance in the cause of Allah, and make not your own hands contribute to (your) destruction but do good for Allah loves those who do good.* (Q2: 195)

He also described the true believers as

> *Those who when they spend, are not extravagant and not niggardly, but hold a just (balance) between those two extremes."* (Q 25:67)

The pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate dedicated a significant part of their writings to the question of fare play in society which has direct relationship with the question of justice. The importance of justice in running the affairs of society is what led Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio to conclude that a nation can endure the rule of a just *Kafir* but cannot endure the rule of an unjust Muslim: The leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate did their best to build the Caliphate on the principle of justice and fare play and this is one of the secrets behind the wonderful successes achieved by the Caliphate. While on the contrary, as observed, the practice of justice among most Muslims (both the leaders and the led) in the overall running of affairs has been replaced with the practice of corruption and cheat and this also form the basis of their failure and seemingly perpetual hardships in all aspects of their life as being witnessed and experienced today.

iii. Free will

The fact that man is completely regulated by the laws of Allah; yet he has been endowed with the ability to think and form judgments and to adopt whatever code of conduct he chooses whether good or bad. Unlike other creatures of Allah, man can

choose how ethically or unethically he will behave in his life. Allah said:

> *Say! The truth is from your lord. Let him who will believe and let him who will reject it.* (QI8:29)

This verse clearly shows that man has been given the free will to steer his own life as Allah's vicegerent on earth. Thus, the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders chose to behave in the truth revealed by Allah (S.W.T). This is the instrument that made them to be ethically good in their behaviour which also helped them in their struggle for revivalism that eventually saw the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate.

iv. Responsibility

Man needs to be accountable for his actions in order to meet the dictates of both Unity and Adl as shown above. However, Islam as a just and fair religion does not hold a person responsible for his actions when:

i. He has not reached the age of puberty.

ii. He is insane or

iii. He is acting while asleep. Or

iv. He acts under duress

Responsibility in Islam is multi-layered as observed by Beekun (1417 AH: 27). It focuses on both the micro (individual) level and the macro (organizational or societal) level. Ethic of responsibility in Islam brings together both the micro and the macro levels of work towards the upliftment of Islam. For instance it brings together individuals and various societal institutions and forces as rightly put by Qutb (1980:32).

> Islam lays down the principles of mutual responsibility in all its various shapes and forms. In it, we find the responsibilities which exist between a man and his soul, between a man and his immediate family, between the individual and society, between a community and other communities...

Allah said:

> *I have not created Jinn and Man except for them to worship me."* (Q52:56)

The deep and verse knowledge of the pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate on this verse of the Glorious Qur'an made them to comprehend their responsibility as the creatures of Allah. They also comprehended and deduced from the verse that their sole responsibility on this earth was to worship Allah as dictated in the Qur'an and exemplified in the *Sunnah*, and *Ijtihad* of the great scholars of Islam. The *Jihad* scholars had clear knowledge that

worship is not only limited to certain aspects of man's life only; but it encompasses all aspects of his life. No single aspect of man's life is left for him to do according to his own wish. Thus, this motivated (at the initial stage) the pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate to struggle and establish an environment in which to carry out the responsibility bestowed on them according to the provision made by Allah. Eventually, Allah helped them to establish the Sokoto Caliphate in which the political, economic, and social ethics of Islam were wholly put into practice. What is expected of every Muslim is to realize his responsibility as a vicegerent of Allah and strive to establish a conducive environment in which he will carry out the responsibility diligently.

The attitudes of the Muslims today towards responsibility at all levels of human endevours are seriously discouraging. Most of them are not responsible to themselves talk less of striving to establish a conducive environment to enable them practice their life as dictated by Islam. It is unfortunate that responsibility today is translated by most Muslims to mean accumulation of worldly materials. Many Muslims today have made material gain to be their sole responsibility on earth. This is one of the major factors

causing the suffering of man in general and the Muslims in particular in the hands of their antagonists.

5. Benevolence (*Ihsan*)

Muhammad (1991:241) defined benevolence as an act of kindness to others. He further said it is an act which benefits person(s) other than those from whom the acts precede without any obligation. Kindness is highly encouraged in Islam. The Prophet (SAW) is reported to have said:

> *The inmates of paradise are of three types: one who wields authority and is just and fair; one who is truthful and has been endowed with power to do good deeds; and the person who is merciful and kind-hearted towards his relatives and to every pious Muslim,* (Sahih Muslim Vol. III: 1016)

2.2.4 Defining the Concept of Value.

To make value judgment as rightly pointed out by Ilori (1994: 40) is an everyday habit of all mature and sensible people. This, as he further observed shows that the process of evaluation and judging in terms of standard of what "ought" or "not ought" to be, of what is "right" or "wrong" of what "must" be done or "must not" be done is apparently a general nature of man. This occurs to

most people constantly whenever a physical object, action or a person is preferred or chosen.

Life forces man to make choice, to rate things as better or as worse than others and to formulate some scales or standard of values. Each individual has some sense of values and no society has been found to be devoid of value systems. If any society fails to make its own choice of value, then time, friends or other external forces will decide for it. This is why most of the African countries are suffering today in the hands of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and their like. The African countries as pointed out by Shehu (nd: 42) have failed to decide their Value and these bodies took advantage of their failure and decided a value for them, which they follow. The role of value in the life of both individual and society is so critical that to ignore it is to have a very distorted or one sided view of man and his world.

Value is defined by Tukur (1977:53) as a concept of the desirable which influences or guides people in their selection of one from available means and ends of actions. It can also be seen as standards or principles by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternatives which they perceived as being

opened to them. He (Tukur) further said some scholars defined concept of value as the quality of objects or situation that have worth, while others still see it as some combination of both the subjective and objective.

Considering the above definitions, Tukur (1977:54) observed that values are abstract ideas (positive or negative) that are not tied to any specific attitude, object or situation representing person's belief about ideal models of conduct and ideal terminal goals. The ideal models of conduct are characterized by conducts such as to seek the truth, to be clean and orderly, to behave with sincerity, justice, compassion, humility, respect, honor and loyalty. While the ideal terminal goals include among others security, happiness, freedom, equality, fame and power.

A value once internalized as observed by Tukur (1977:57) becomes consciously or unconsciously a standard or criterion for judging action in developing or maintaining attitude towards relevant objects or situations. Furthermore, Tukur (1977:55) said value is also used for judging one's and others' actions and attitudes and for judging self and others morally for the purpose of comparing self with others.

There are certain values that are qualitatively alike which if brought together give rise to a certain institution. For instance the values centering on love, companionship, and sex give rise to the institution of family and home. The desire for shelter, property and the control of nature foster industrial institutions. The values centering on security, order, and cooperation give rise to governments and states and the quest for knowledge leads to educational and scientific pursuits. The love for beauty and aesthetic awareness leads to the institutions of Arts, and finally values centering on spiritual existence give rise to religious institutions. In any case, value decisions are always determined by a wide range of traditional values that are embedded in cultures, customs and institutions. But the value decisions of the Muslims are always determined by their religion i.e. Islam. The Sokoto Jihad Scholars were influenced by the immediate and remote needs of their environment and above all by Islam while they were contemplating to determine their values.

It is worth mentioning here that beliefs are sometimes confused with values because of their close relationship. The two must be distinguished if values are to be properly understood.

While beliefs are ideas about those things considered facts about which knowledgeable persons will entertain no dispute, values on the other hand are feelings about what is desirable or undesirable, of what should or should not exist. Ilori (1994:45) quoted Gouldner (1963) who prepared a list of beliefs and related values held by some of the people of the world which is very helpful in understanding the distinction between the two terms. The list includes among others.

S/No	Beliefs	Related values
1.	Red haired people loose their temper quickly.	People should control their temper
2.	Excessive driving speeds leads to Accidents	People should not exceed the laws of speed limits
3.	Students sometimes cheat in examination	Cheating is wrong

2.2.5 Principles of Value Selection in Islam.

Man in his life sometimes finds himself in the midst of many alternatives out of which he is expected to choose one. A Muslim is always expected to be guided in his action by the provisions of the Qur'an, *Sunnah* and the *Jihad* of the great jurists of Islam. In this light therefore, there are certain philosophical principles that

are generally accepted (and even exemplified by Islam) which guide man in general and the Muslims in particular in their choice among numerous alternative values. There are basically three principles that are found to be very helpful in the process of value selection. These are:-

1. The values that are more productive and relatively more permanent are to be preferred to those values that are less productive and less permanent. Values that center on economy tend to diminish or get lost with the passage of time. Whereas values related to beliefs guided by Islam tend to increase as they are used. Both the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW) have illustrated a typical example of this principle in the institution of marriage. Allah said in the Holy Qur'an:-

> *Do not marry unbelieving women until they believe: A slave woman who believes is better than an unbelieving woman even though she allures you. Nor marry (your girls) to unbelievers until they believe: A man who is a slave is better than an unbeliever even though he allures you. Unbelievers do but beckon you to fire; but Allah beckons by His Grace to the Garden (of Bliss) and forgiveness and makes His signs clear to mankind that they may receive admonition.* (Q2:221)

Marriage as observed by Ali (1410A.H:95) is the most intimate communion, and the mystery of sex finds its highest

fulfillment when intimate spiritual harmony is combined with the physical link. Because of the fact that religion has real influence in life to both parties or to either party, a difference in it must affect the life of both, more profoundly than differences of birth, race, language or position in life. It is therefore extremely important that the parties to be married should have the same spiritual outlook. Thus, if two persons love each other, their outlook in the highest things of like must be the same. This explains that religion has more permanent value than whatever may allure one in the life of an unbeliever. It is narrated in al- Nasa'i from Anas who said:

> *Umm Sulaim was betrothed by Abu Talha (who was then an unbeliever) and she said (to him) 'By Allah! It is not your type that is turned down but for the fact that you are an unbeliever, while I am a Muslim woman and it is not permitted for me to marry you. However, if you accept Islam that will be my dowry (Sadaq) and I will not ask anything (from you) apart from it. Therefore, he (Abu Talha) accepted Islam and that became his dowry.* (Sunan al- Nasa'i Vol. VI: 114)

The reason for prohibiting the believers from marrying *Mushrik* spouses is that "they invite to the Fire'. This means that such marriages will lead the Muslim spouses to the way of *shirk*, for the relations between the husband and the wife are not merely sexual but spiritual and cultural as well. It is possible that the

Muslim spouse may influence *Mushrik* spouse and his or her family and their offspring in favour of Islamic way of life. But it is equally possible that the Mushrik spouse may imbue the Muslim spouse, his family or their offspring with the spirit and way of Shirk. Most probably as a result of such a marriage, a mixture of Islamic and unislamic characters may be bred in such a family. A non Muslim might approve this marriage but a true Muslim will never approve it because of the risk involved in it. One who sincerely believes in Islam can never take such a risk merely for the sake of gratification of his lust. He would rather suppress his passion than to do anything that might mislead him to disbelief, blasphemy and *Shirk*, or at least mislead his progeny in the event of a situation where he died and left the wife with them (progeny).

Based on the understanding of this principle of value selection, the Sokoto *Jihad* Scholars chose to serve Islam (as their most cherished value) in the midst of the ugly environment where syncretism was seen to be the order of the day. The ruling class, the *Ulama'us-Su* and the ignorant people were engaged in the practice of unIslamic activities in order to gain the luxuries of this world. However, the Sokoto *Jihad* Scholars preferred to engage in

the struggle to establish the religion of Islam so that the entire creatures may live in peace and harmony. This is because of the fact that the welfare package of Islam does not limit itself to man alone but is also extended to animals and plants. Thus, they preferred a value that will earn them an eternal bliss.

2. Values ought to be chosen on the basis of self chosen-ends or ideals. This means that the values that man wishes to implement in his life ought to be values chosen by him and ought to be in consonance with his conviction. Ilori (1994:50) said' "self-discipline based on a well -thought out scale values is the mark of a mature man." This principle of value selection is well translated in Islam in its value of "non compulsion" as explained in the following verse:

> *Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from error. Whoever rejects evils and believes in God hath grasped the most trustworthy Hand-hold that never breaks and God heareth and knweth all things* (Q2 :)

This verse explains that no one (as a non Muslim) is forced to accept Islam, except based on a self profound conviction. In other words, a person (non-Muslim) is introduced to Islam and be

allowed to have a thought over it before he finally makes his declaration of whether to accept or not to accept.

The implication of self chosen value based on self profound conviction as it relates to faith is that once a person voluntarily accepted Islam, he must remain within it. This is because the wrath of Allah befalls any person who after accepting Islam willingly renounces it; he will be given the grace of three days by the Islamic authority to reconsider his position otherwise it becomes legitimate to shed his blood.

3. Selection between two or more evils. This is a situation where a Muslim finds himself in the midst of many alternatives that are all against the provisions of Islam out of which he must make a choice. Conversely, when a person is forced by circumstance to unavoidably make a choice between two or more evils, then the one that is lesser ought to be chosen. This is clearly shown in the Holy Qur'an where Allah said:

> *He has only forbidden you dead meat and blood and the flesh of swine and that on which any other name has been invoked besides that of Allah. But if one is forced by necessity without willful disobedience or transgressing due limits, then he is guiltless for Allah is often forgiving, most Merciful* (Q2: 173)

A typical example of such circumstance is the situation where a believer is on a journey in a barren land where he could neither find food nor drink for his survival and the only alternative food he could find was a dead animal. The wayfarer here is put in between two evil alternatives out of which he must choose one i.e. either to choose to remain in the state of hunger and eventually die or chose to eat the dead animal (which is prohibited in Islam) and survive. Islam as a simple religion and considering the fact that the way-farer found himself in an extreme case of necessity, it allows him (the way-farer) to eat from the dead animal and even take some along with him on the condition that he throws it away immediately the extreme hard situation seized to exist, either through getting a lawful food or sighting a settlement in which he hopes to get a lawful food. This value judgment shows that eating the dead animal (which is *Haram*) in order to survive has a lesser evil effect than choosing to remain in the extreme hard situation that may lead to serious ill-health or even death.

At the initial stage of the Sokoto Caliphate, it was forced to make a choice between two evils (i.e. leaving women in ignorance and mixing men and women for the purpose of *Ta'alim*) and the

pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate decided to choose the evil that has lesser effect i.e. mixing men and women for the purpose of *Ta'lim*. This was carried out under the strict conditions of Islam regarding women outing, so that they can be educated instead of allowing them in the darkness of ignorance because of its negative effects in society. The Caliphate suffered serious attacks from within and without, but that did not discourage the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars from carrying out their obligations as molders of characters.

2.3 The Sokoto Caliphate

2.3.1 Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate

It is a known fact that the Sokoto Caliphate was established as a result of the *Jihad* that took place in the 19th century Hausa land; and the state that emerged there from was theocratic, following the strict Islamic principles of polity, economy, judiciary and cultural practice. The Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century had emerged, as a power to be reckoned with in the Western Sudan; and it was unique for the peace and stability it provided in the whole of its domains in spite of its heterogeneity and multiplicity. The Caliphate was plural in all ramifications, ethically, culturally, linguistically and religiously. One finds that in spite of the fact that

Islam was the state religion of the powerful Caliphate; non-Muslims co-existed with the Muslims under its control. The Caliphate simply adopted the scriptural injunction of "there is no compulsion in religion.

The Sokoto Caliphate was purely an Islamic state. Kani and Gandi (1990:1) said that it was a direct product of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement of 1804 which started in Hausaland in the 2nd half of the 18th century by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio. The *Jihad* movement was an Islamic reform movement whose initial aim was the use of peaceful means to make the Muslims in the Hausaland practice Islam in the correct manner. Kani and Gandi (1990:4) further stated that Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio spent most of his time going from one place to another teaching and preaching. He started the preaching activity in 1774 AC at the age of twenty. This generated large followers for the Sheikh all over the Hausaland as a result of which tensions began to rise and war eventually broke between the forces of the king of Gobir and the people who rallied round the Sheikh at Tabkin Kwatto. This therefore, formed the starting point of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement in the year 1804 which culminated into the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate.

History has shown that the reformers had many military engagements with the Hausa rulers. The major ones as outlined by Kani and Gani (1990: 4-5) include the June 1804 engagement in which the battle of Tabkin-kwatto took place. Yunfa, the king of Gobir suffered a great defeat in this battle which sent shock waves around the Hausaland. In December, 1804, the battle of Tsuntsuwa took place in which Yunfa avenged his defeat in a surprise attack launched against the Jihadists. Birnin Kebbi was captured in April, 1805 after a severe battle. The battle of Alwasa took place in October 1805. This battle was said to have resembled the battle of Uhud because the Jihadists heavily lost in the battle but eventually won it. Birnin Yawuri was fought in the year 1806 but was not captured because of the peace agreement reached between the Sheikh and the king of Yawuri at the request of the latter. In 1808, the capital of Gobir (Alkalawa) was captured and Yunfa (the king) was killed in the battle. This victory paved way for Muhammad Bello the opportunity to establish a military base at Sokoto in 1809 and from thenceforth, Sokoto began to develop as a political capital base for the Caliphate.

Kani and Gani (1990:5) also narrated that other parts of the Hausaland subsequently fell to the Jihadists such as Katsina, Kano and Zazzau Kingdoms and by 1809, the *Jihad* Movement had reached virtually all the nooks and crannies of the present day Northern Nigeria and a Caliphate popularly known as the Sokoto Caliphate was finally established.

2.3.2 Prominent Personalities in the Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate

The establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate was a joint effort of Muslim leaders and scholars in different parts of the central Sudan. The different leaders carried out their *Jihad* Movement in their domain without any military assistance from Sokoto. Thus, the successful establishment and running of the Sokoto Caliphate became a "federated affair", as against the colonialist's views that it was purely a Fulani affair. The leading figures that helped in the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate as outlined by Kani and Gandi (1990:6) were very numerous. They include the following:

1. Abdullahi bin Fodio: He is the brother of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio (the leader of the *Jihad* Movement). He was also the Sheikh's chief adviser especially on legal matters.

2. Muhammad Bello: He is the Sheikh's son. He excelled in the areas of practical administration and military expedition.

3. Aliyu Jedo. He served as the chief military commander of the *Jihad* Movement.

4. Mallam Abdulsalam. He was one of the few great Hausa scholars in Gobir who supported the Sheikh's call for reformation.

5. Ummarun Dallaji: He was a flag bearer who led the military Jihad against the king of Katsina and established the Katsina emirate under the leadership and auspices of the Sokoto Caliphate.

6. Mallam Sulaimanu: He was also a flag bearer and the first emir of Kano. He was commissioned by the Sheikh to lead the *Jihad* against the state.

7. Mallam Yakubu Bauchi: He was a resident student of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio when the *Jihad* broke; he was a flag bearer who led the military *Jihad* in Bauchi.

8. Mallam Ishaq: He was a flag bearer in Daura who led the *Jihad* in Daura that saw the eventual overthrow of the

king and in its place a government of Islam was established under the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate.

9. Mallam Ibrahim Zaki: He led the Jihad in Katagun in the Western part of Borno. He also served as the flag bearer of the *Jihad*.

10. Mallam Musa: The reform movement had the support of the government of Zazzau between 1804-1806, but was later withdrawn under a new king. The Sheikh therefore, commissioned Mallam Musa to lead the *Jihad* which he successfully executed.

11. Buba Yero: He was a flag bearer in Gombe who led the *Jihad* that eventually saw the establishment of Gombe emirate under the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate.

12. Goni Mukhtar: He served as the flag bearer in the whole of western Borno.

13. Bi Abdur: The first flag bearer to take up arms in the name of *Jihad* against the government of Borno.

14. Mallam Dendo: He was given the permission to lead the *Jihad* in Nupe by Abdullahi bin Fodio.

15. Mallam Alimi: He was a flag bearer who launched the *Jihad* in Ilorin then part of the Oyo Empire.

16. Mallam Ardo Moyijo: He gave the Sheikh and his Movement logistical and material supports at the time of the greatest need in 1804 when the *Jihad* started.

There were other personalities as confirmed by Kani and Gandi (1990:7) who immensely contributed towards the establishment of the Caliphate that could also be mentioned such as Ardo Abu Hamid from Zamfara who helped the struggle by giving both material and logistic supports. There were also Muhammad Wabi from Jama'are, Muhammad al-Hajj Amin from Bagirmi, Dagimsa and Larrlima from Hadejia, Malam Dendo (aFulani of Kebbi origin) who was sent to lead the *Jihad* in Nupe land, Malam Alimi (also a Fulani from Kebbi) who was sent to lead the Jihad in Ilorin, Audu Zanga from Keffi, Makama Dogo from Nasarawa, Madaki Hasssan from Wase etc. Infact, the number of the personalities that greatly contributed to the *Jihad* Movement that saw the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate was very large that time and space constrain cannot allow to mention all of them.

The personalities mentioned above came from different parts of the Caliphate. The representation of the personality also cut across the various ethnic groups in the Caliphate. This therefore, clearly shows that the reform movement spear- headed by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio was not motivated by any racial, economic or political factor, but purely by the dare need to revive the spirit of Islam which was in a terrible condition, suffering in the hands of the kings, the *Ulama'us- Su* (venal scholars) and the ignorant people who constitute the majority. Thus, the *Jihad* Movement led by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio that saw the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate was purely Islamic and in accordance with the Qur'an and *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW) as against the Colonialists' and Orientatlists' assertion that the *Jihad* was purely motivated by selfish interest characterized by ethnic and economic sentiments.

2.3.3 Basic Features and Concerns of the Caliphate

The Sokoto Caliphate has certain basic features and principles that were well identified with it. According to Paden (1986) the following are some of the basic features and principles or concerns of the Caliphate:

1. That the Caliphate was very much concerned with the establishment of a just society as defined in the classical Islamic state.
2. That the Caliphate was very much concerned with the issues of integrity and the transformation of society through the process of establishing internal standard within ordinary people.
3. That the Caliphate led a life of austerity and scholarship (especially in Arabic and Islamic principles and doctrines).
4. By all standards the members of the Caliphate (especially the leaders and the scholars) were very courageous and hardworking. And although they debated issues among themselves, yet they do not resort to personal attack.

5. The Caliphate to some extent accommodated local customs where they did not clash with the provisions of Islam.

The major challenge of the Caliphate was how to device a workable relationship between the Zones that made up the Sokoto Caliphate, in the face of the problem of lack of cohesion within it. Part of the strategies of achieving cohesion in the Caliphate as observed by Paden (1986:60) is taken from the Caliphate political and social cultures which include the family and marriage alliances, the use of joking relations, the use of gate ways, the use of touring and guest houses etc. These strategies were later to be cardinal points upon which the Northern Nigeria predominates other ethnic divides in Nigeria, in forms of accommodation and cohesion rather than exclusivity that pervades political values of other tribes.

2.4. Colonialists' and Orientalists' Approach to the Sokoto Caliphate

This sub-heading intends to examine the mode of conceptualization and indeed the interpretation of the history of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement and the Sokoto Caliphate by the colonial officials and the orientalists. History according to Alkali et al

(1990:60) has shown that among the earliest Europeans that came into contact with the Sokoto Caliphate were the so-called explorers; Mungo Park, Hugh Clapperton, Richard Lander, Heinrich Barth etc. The so-called explorers claimed to have opened up Africa for the penetration of capital and other business transactions. The secretary of the African Association was quoted by Michael (1986:114) portraying this claim saying that "the people of the inland regions of Africa may soon be united with Europe in that great bond of commercial fellowship".

A general close and critical analysis of the approach of the colonialists and orientalists to the history of the *Jihad* Movement in particular and the Sokoto Caliphate in general revealed three basic assumptions which they developed and based their approach on. The three basic assumptions are:

1. That the *Jihad* was a racial conflict between Fulani and the Hausa people.
2. That economic factor forms the basic motivating factor than religious factor.

3. That the only change brought by the *Jihad* Movement was the overthrow of the Hausa rulers and replaced by the new Fulani ruling aristocracy.

It is important to take each and every assumption and critically analyze it in order to see whether the assumptions can be retained or rejected. The colonialists and the orientalists have written much literature to justify their assumptions upon which they based their interpretation of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement and the Caliphate as racial, economic or political.

2.4.1 Racial Interpretation of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement

Below are quotations from the writings of both the colonialist and the orientalists portraying the *Jihad* Movement (that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate) as a racial conflict which will be followed with critical examination for the purpose of fair and objective assessment or judgment. Hogben (1930:73) wrote:

> The *Jihad* has as its confessed object the purification of Muslim religion, and it was directed against the corrupt rulers of Hausa land, who had supposedly been oppressing or ignoring the rights of their Muslim subjects. In reality, it was originally a national fight of the Fulani (both Muslims and Pagans) against the forces of Yunfa, the king of Gobir who had decreed their extermination...

Johnston (1967:8) also wrote in an unambiguous term that "the *Jihad* in Hausa land became more than ever a straight contest between the Fulani on one side and the Hausa ruling class on the other".

Trimingham (1974:113) also wrote to justify the racial nature of the *Jihad* as they (the colonialist and the orientalists) assumed. He said.

> The country between the Niger and the Chad has always been divided into many little states, more often than not in mutual enmity, at times paying allegiance to the greater states to the East and West. This region was - for the first time given a semblance of unity through an Islamic Movement inspired by Uthman Dan Fodio, who from 1876 preached the *Jihad* in such a way that it became a racial as well as a religious wars and differs from the other *Jihad* on account of the number of nomads who joined it.

The last but not the least was the assertion forwarded in Alkali et al (1993:61) which clearly portrays a conclusive judgment or assessment over the *Jihad.* The assertion reads "On the whole we may say that religious enthusiasms was the immediate cause of the Jihad, but the ultimate cause was the arrival of a virile race of a higher type among people who owing to centuries of sedentary life, had lost their virility".

The above quotations from the writings of the colonialists and the orientalists clearly portrayed the *Jihad* as purely a Fulani uprising against the Habe (Hausa) ruling class. To them religion was only used as camouflage to hide the real motive of the Movement i.e. racial motive.

The use of racial identity in analyzing the *Jihad* and the conclusion reached thereupon by the colonialists and the orientalists can not stand the test of critical criticism and empirical evidence as opined by Alkali et al (1993:62-64). The fact that the Fulani dominated the leadership of the *Jihad* Movement was not enough an evidence to suggest that the *Jihad* was a Fulani revolt. More so, their relative position in the Hausa land as emigrants cannot be the main motive of the *Jihad*, and it is even wrong as argued by Alkali et al (1993:64) "to refer to a group of people who had been settling in an area for over 400 years as emigrants or foreigners".

The question of "race" to the extent it applies to the *Jihad* is only a secondary issue. The prominent personalities earlier mentioned who contributed to the *Jihad* Movement testified the Islamic nature of the *Jihad*. This is because all the three major

racial groups were involved; Hausa, Fulani and Tuareq. They were found to be fighting on both sides. The battle of Tabkin-Kwatto was a good example. In it, the Hausa, Fulani and Tuareq people fought on the side of the Gobir army while on the side of the Majahidun; there were the Hausa, Fulani and other people from other ethnic background. Abdullahi bin Fodio testified to this fact in one of his writings as reflected in Hisket (1963:110) where he said "Our Fulani and our Hausa all united and (among us other than these) other tribes joined together for the help of Allah's religion."

While critically analyzing the *Jihad* Movement, Last (1967:27) presented a fairly moderate opinion. He said "Both armies were mixed racially; the Gobirawa certainly had some Tuareqs and the Sullubawa and probably other Fulani than those who had deserted. . . The Muslims also consisted of Hausa and Fulani. Abdullahi bin Fodio as quoted in Hisket (1963:98) was also said to have written special letter in the form of poem soliciting the support of even some of his relatives.

In fact, the racial interpretation of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement cannot stand the test of critical analysis because the

ideology of the *Jihad* Movement in itself is such that could appeal even to the mind of a layman. Martyrdom (one of the ideologies) which means automatic ticket to paradise as promised in the Islamic belief and victory which entails among other things share of booty are enough to convince many average Muslims to join the *Jihad* Movement. Further more, the interpretation of the *Jihad* as racial only earn credit when the following questions are adequately addressed otherwise the interpretation may be regarded as subjective rather than objective. These questions include among many others as raised by Alkali et al (1993:66).

1. Under which category would the Historian place those who were neither Fulani nor Hausa but have participated actively in both sides, if at all it was really a racial conflict?

2 Was it only among the Fulani that the pioneers of the *Jihad* Movement spread the word of Islam?

3. How can the Sheikh's teaching be reconciled with tribalism?

Indeed, answers to these and many other similar fundamental questions as argued by Alkali et al (1993:66) will leave no one in doubt regarding the actual motive of the *Jihad* Movement. And to crown it all, the fact of the matter is that this negative interpretation

of the *Jihad* Movement as "Racial" was deliberately coined in order to score political goals and also to justify the violent overthrow of the Caliphate by the British colonial occupation forces and in addition to invoke sympathy in the process from the non – Fulani, particularly the Hausa people. And worst of all, their inherent enmity to anything that is Islamic also made them to tarnish the image of the *Jihad*.

The inherent enmity of the unbelievers against the Muslims will not appear to be a surprising behaviour to a Muslim who is aware of the verse in the Glorious Qur'an where Allah said:

> *Never will the Jews or the Christian be satisfied with you unless you follow their way of life (religion). Say 'the Guidance of Allah is the only Guidance"* (Q2: 120).

It is unfortunate that, of recent, this racial interpretation is still being used to stir ethnic animosity in the Northern states of Nigeria against the Hausa/Fulani by the enemies of progress in Nigeria.

2.4.2 Economic Interpretation of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement.

According to Alkali et al (1993:67) Clapperton was the first British explorer to Africa who advocated and spread the assumption that economic deprivation of the Fulani and the apparent wealth of Hausa particularly the ruling aristocracy was the

real motivating factor for the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement championed by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio which culminated into the foundation and establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. This assumption was further re-echoed by many other colonialists and orientalists. For instance, Johnston was quoted in Alkali et al, (1993:67) emphasizing the economic interpretation or the *Jihad.* He said "the severity with which the Hausa authority assessed and collected Jangali; the tax on the cattle" were among the numerous economic discontents of which resulted into revolts and eventually the Jihad that led to the formation of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The economic interpretation of the *Jihad* Movement led by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio cannot also stand the test of critical analysis as rightly argued by Alkali et al (1993:67) because the basic issues involved in the *Jihad* Movement are the questions of justice and injustice in all their ramifications which Islam emphasizes and rejects respectively. The pre-*Jihad* political dispensation of the Hausa states was well known to be unjust, oppressive and tyrannical in nature and it knew no racial boundary or limitations. The act of injustice was directed against people of all races so long as they were not members of the ruling

aristocracy. All the economic activities of the pre-*Jihad* Hausa states were subjected to brutal exploitation; the farmers the blacksmiths, the hunters, the dyers, the cattle rearers, and above all every household suffered this brutal economic exploitation. This made many households to constantly migrate from one place to another in search of where to get relief from the imposed economic exploitation.

Therefore, to deny the *Jihad* Movement its religious colouring in this manner is simply to deny the liberating nature of Islam. Islam as a religion encompasses all aspects of human life; political, economic, social and religious with each aspect of life having equal importance. The *Jihad* leader therefore, saw Islam as a religion that sees the spiritual and economic life of people as having equal status and importance as it relates to exploitation. The implication of this reveals the fact that liberation of the spirit of people in Islam goes simultaneously with the liberation of all other aspects of life, economic life inclusive. Therefore, to say that "the underlying forces which produced the *Jihad* were not religious but social and economic" as claimed by Johnson (1967:86) reveals the fact that the advocators of this assertion are completely ignorant of

what Islam is all about. They are ignorant of the fact that Islam is a religion that liberates people from all kinds of exploitations; economic, political, and social. These advocators are also unaware that Islam is not only confined to the traditional domain of religion i.e. spiritualism, as some religions believe that they have no concern with the materials and practical aspects of life. This is what is said to be "the characteristic pattern of the philosophers of history and Western thinkers who have tried to fit in Muslim civilization into their contrived schemes of universal history" as put by Alkali et al (1993:67).

2.4.3 Political Interpretation of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement.

This is one of the main assumptions of the imperial scholars on the *Jihad* Movement in particular and the Sokoto Caliphate in general. The assumption believes that the *Jihad* had not brought any change in the Hausa states except that the champions of the *Jihad* (the Fulani) only adopted the pre-*Jihad* political structure and supplanted the Habe ruling aristocracies. The advocators of the assumption as shown in Alkali et al (1993:68) finally concluded that "the Jihad degenerated into a slave – raiding exercise and unbridled oppression." The *Jihad*, according to this

assumption rendered the political condition of the Hausa states into chaos thereby creating rooms for insecurity and many other uncertainties in the states.

Lord Lugard in 1902 wrote in order to tarnish the image of the Caliphate and further explained in details the political interpretation of the Caliphate given by the imperial scholars. Lord Lugard was quoted in Alkali etal (1993:68) saying:

> The Habe dynasty which they (the Fulani) ousted appears to have had highly developed system of rule and administration which the Fulani adopted in entirety. Where a Fulani army had been, it left a depopulated desert. Greed was one of the chief characteristics of the dynasty, and tax after tax was enforced upon the people. Bribery, corruption and extortion marked the so-called administration of justice, while the multiplication of harems and the growth of a large class of idle princes led to nepotism. It is impossible that the dynasty could have lasted long even had its collapse not been thus accelerated, for the passion of the Fulani for slave-raiding had denuded the country of its population. The truly awful desolation and destruction of life caused by this slave-raiding is apparent today; enormous tracks of land have gone out of cultivation and one constantly sees the ruins of great towns overgrown with jungles.

Trimingham (1974:68) also followed the footsteps of Lord Lugard in describing the Sokoto Caliphate with a negative political structure in their attempt to justify their claim or assumption that

the *Jihad* of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio had done nothing in the political affairs of the Hausa states. He said:-

> Although new states were founded, others like Kano, Katsina and Zaria were continuations of the old Hausa states, Pulo kings simply replacing those of the Hausa. The possibility of a theocracy under clerical rule was wrecked when Uthman, in consequence of the vast expansion of the movement he had inspired, allowed his flag bearers to rule the people they conquered, whilst he himself retired from active administration when he appointed his brother and son as co-rulers of a dual empire..... Hausa political titles were adopted together with the elaborate ceremonial and feudal relationship associated with them. The administrative revolution was far-reaching, for the substitution involved the change from sacred to the military authority and to reinforce their power, the new rulers placed considerable stress on Islam. The basis of their authority, however, was primarily right of conquest and exercise of brute force for there was not a community of religious. Islamic law merely served as a source upon which they could draw juridical justification of the *Jihad*, slave-raiding and new forms of taxation. These states, like that of Samori, were based on slavery in a different and more inhuman way in the usual Sudanese State. Organized slave-raiding as an end in itself for stocking farms and exports never reach such proportions.

The above quotations from the views of the colonialists and the orientalists respectively, show that the *Jihad* Movement led by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio was a total failure and has achieved nothing except replacing the Hausa aristocrats with the Fulani

aristocrats. And consequently, the *Jihad* Movement had led to the degeneration of the states involved in all spheres of life.

It is a glaring principle that success or failure in any movement always stands out to be relative. It always depends on what is proposed to be the ideal of that movement or group. Success or failure as observed by Alkali et al (1993:69) becomes subjective when the standards of another culture and civilization are used to measure it The colonialists and the imperial scholars have erroneously used the standard of their culture and civilization to judge the success or otherwise of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement whose culture and civilization are derived from Islam. The fact of the matter is that Islamic culture and civilization are completely opposed to the culture and civilization of the imperialists and the orientalists. Thus, the judgment passed over by the colonialists and the orientalists on the success or otherwise of the Sokoto Jihad Movement becomes subjective rather than objective because they used the standard of their civilization to measure the success or otherwise of a civilization that is alien to their own.

Therefore, to determine the success or otherwise of the *Jihad* Movement and whether there was any change in the political

structure of the Hausa states or not, there is the need to assess the *Jihad* based on the ideals for which it was fought and not based on what it is assumed to be its ideals. The ideals which were clearly spelt out by Islam are presented in three-folds; liberating mankind from worshiping his fellow creature to the worshiping of the Almighty Allah alone, liberating mankind from the atrocities of other religions to the Justices of Islam and liberating mankind from world constraints to its benevolence.

To also determine the success or otherwise of the Sokoto Caliphate, there is the need to compare the Caliphate with the pre-*Jihad* Hausa states. The extent to which the pre-*Jihad* political dispensation in the Hausaland was oppressive and tyrannical against the peasantry has well been documented in the writings of the *Jihad* Scholars and other related literature. The book "*Kitabul-Farq*" of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio has well explained the conditions of the Hausa State before the *Jihad* Movement and the final establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. In this book, (*Kitabul Farq*) it is shown that well over twenty-five (25) charges in the name of tax were labeled against the Hausa states which Johnston (1967:309) classified into four under the general heading of

oppression, corruption, self indulgence and technical offences against the Islamic code.

There are certain vital questions posed in Alkali etal., (1993:60) which if well answered will greatly help in understating whether the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement had brought any positive change or whether it was a success or not. These questions include among others the following:

1. a. Could there be an ideal aimed at by the *Jihad* leaders?

b. If yes, how was the ideal translated into reality?

c. Could this ideal only be limited to the level of state structure?

2. For what purpose were all the literacy works on politics and administration compiled by the *Jihad* leaders?

3. Of what significance were such new offices like *al Qadi, Sa'i, Amirul Jaish* etc?

4a. Is war not necessary for an ideological Movement or state especially if surrounded by enemies?

b. Shouldn't there be casualties in war where it becomes inevitable?

These are rhetorical questions that would greatly help scholars to objectively assess the success or otherwise of the Sokoto Caliphate. They will equally serve as food for thought for people whose aspiration in life is to search for the truth without any bias.

2.5 Cardinal Values Cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate

From the very inception of its career on this planet, Islam has been singled out for such fatal attacks as no other religion would have been able to withstand. There had been religions which have once conquered the then world but they could not survive under offensive much less serious than that Islam had faced. Unlike other religions, Islam not only overcome its adversaries but was also successful in maintaining its original form and purities. The onslaught of the crusaders was sufficient enough to efface Islam completely. Had there been any other religion placed in such an unviable position as Islam, it would have certainly lost its soul and today we would have had to look for it in the pages of history. Islam however, not only survived in the face of these internal and external threats to its very existence, but was also able to gain victories in many fields. Islam has in addition continuously been calling upon its adherents to resist the onslaught

of innovations, deviations and misguided interpretations of the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, foreign traditions, materialism and godlessness. This is indeed not an accidental happening but a happening guided by certain values cherished by its upholders. This therefore, shows that Islam is generally established and sustained by the following values from which other values were derived:

i. The divine protection given to the precepts of Islam. Every conscious and righteous Muslim believes that the protection of the precepts of Islam lies solely in the hands of Allah and not in the hands of the Muslims. Otherwise, if it were left in the hands of the Muslims, they would have since corrupted it, as it did happen to other precepts such as the *Injil*, *Zabur* etc.

ii. Raising a revivalist at every interval of time: Allah had promised to raise a party of believers who will struggle to revive the life style of any given community whenever it deviates from the right path. Allah said:

Oh you who believe! If any from among you turn back from his faith, soon will Allah produce a group of people whom He will love as they love Him, lowly with the believers, mighty against the rejecters,

> *fighting in the way of Allah and never afraid of the reproaches of such as find fault, that is the Grace of Allah, which He bestows on whom He pleases and Allah encompasses all and He knows all things.*
> (Q5:57)

This by implication is a value that keeps the religion of Islam alive.

It is obvious that the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and its outstanding achievements in all sectors of life was not accidental but an episode guided by certain values and ethical standards. Abdullahi bin Fodio in Shinkafi (nd: 2) said the best norms and values that one may ever posses and cherish are those that will enable him to acquire provisions for the Hereafter. The one and only provision that should be acquired for the purpose of the Hereafter is the fear of Allah. This has been interpreted by scholars to mean doing what Allah says and shunning what He prohibits. The act of worship as commanded by Allah refers to both the hidden and the manifest, which are performed by the soul and body respectively. He also forbids certain hidden and open misdeeds. Essentially, one must believe in Allah, recognises His Oness, obey His commands and follow the teachings of the

prophet (SAW) in all matters of religion. A Muslim should accept trials in exhibiting patience during hardships.

The Sokoto Caliphate was built on certain cardinal values which simply refer to the primary building blocks upon which the ideas, conceptions, and the theories of the Caliphate are based. They are also the values that gave birth to the emergence and working frame work for what may be termed as the common values. These cardinal values were all generated from the original value upon which Islam was built. These include:-

2.5.1 *Hijrah* and *Mawalatul - Kuffar*.

Cowan (1960:102) defined the literal meaning of *Hijrah* as simply departure, exit, emigration or exodus. In the ideological context of Islam, it is generally referred to as a flight from *Darul-Kufr* to *Dar al-Islam* and from *Darul-Bidi'ah* to *Darus-Sunnah*. It is thus a search for an ideological state, a search for justice, honour, safety and the rule of law. The search remains a standing obligation on the Muslims as long as there remains unbelief on earth. The flight from *Darul-kufr* to *Darul-Islam* where justice predominates is but a temporary situation. This is because a Muslim is expected to prepare himself during the period of respite

for the ultimate confrontation with *Darul-kufr* with the sole aim of establishing *Darul-Islam*. This is very evident in the practical life of the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders who after constituting large and formidable followers ordered a total break away from the unbelievers and began to prepare for a *Jihad* against them (the unbelievers).

Hijrah is one of the key issues that took the attention of the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement, particularly Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio at the formative stage of the Sokoto Caliphate. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in many of his books dedicated chapter(s) to the issue of *Hijrah* because of its importance in the process of establishing a just society. This became necessary owing to the fact that some of the followers of the Sheikh among the Hausa and Fulani were showing reluctance or indifference to migrate. This is confirmed as El- Masri (1978:22) noted by the fact that "Abdullahi had to appeal specifically to some of them (to migrate) after the *Jihad* had already got under way."

To stress its importance, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio held the view in his book *Bayan Wujubul–Hijrah alal-Ibad* and others that *Hijrah* (immigration) from the lands of the unbelievers is an

obligation on every Muslim. The Sheikh supported his argument with the verses of the Qur'an, *Sunnah* and consensus of the Muslim Jurists (*Ijma*). As for the Qur'an he quoted Q4:97 which say.

> *Verily, as for those whom the Angels take (in death) while they are wronging themselves (as they stayed among the disbelievers even though, migration was obligatory on them) they (angels) say (to them), in what (condition) were you?, They reply: "we were weak and oppressed in the earth" They (angels) say: "was not the earth of Allah spacious enough for you to migrate therein?". Such men will find their abode in Hell- what an evil destination.*

This verse is making reference to the people staying in the land of polytheism i.e. the land where unbelief is practiced. Samurah bin Jundub (RA) narrated that the Prophet (SAW) said:

> *Anybody (from among the Muslims) who meets, gathers together, lives and stays (permanently) with a polytheist or a disbeliever in the Oness of Allah and agrees to his ways and opinions etc, and enjoys living with him (polytheist) then he (that Muslim) is like him (polytheist).* (Abi Dawud in the Book of *Jihad* Vol. IV"3).

This *Hadith* indicates that a Muslim should not stay in a non-Muslim country; he must migrate to a Muslim country where Islam is practiced.

The Sheikh went further to support and establishes his opinion in his book *Bayan Wujubil Hijrah ala Ibad* by quoting two

Ahadith cited in al-Kunti's *Nasiha* in which the Prophet (SAW) was reported saying

> *Allah will not help a Muslim who dwells among the polytheist*

and also the saying

> *The fires of a believer and an unbeliever should not be within the sight of each other.*

And as for the *Ijma'*; Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Bayan Wujubil Hijrah alal Ibad* quoted al- Wansharisi in his book *Mi'yar* who said "*Ijma'* (of Muslim jurists) upholds the obligation of emigration".

Mawalatul-Kuffar (friendly relation with the unbelievers) on the other hand also took the attention of the pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate and their motivators because of its direct connection with *Hijrah* (migration).. *Hijrah* as understood from the above discussions is a total break away from the land of *kufr* which by implication means cutting any relationship with it. To a little extent, opinion on the concept and application of *Mawalatul-Kuffar* differs between Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and his brother Abdullahi bin Fodio. Abdullahi opined in his book *Diya'us-Sultan* that mere friendship with the unbelievers, or helping them would

not lead to unbelief unless some acts of unbelief are also committed. He further said that before a man is declared an unbeliever, it is necessary to establish that such a person is involved in an act which is clearly heretic in nature such as associating partners to Allah, outright rejection of the faith and making mockery of the religion of Islam.

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Najmul-Ikhwan* addressed the argument advanced by Abdullahi bin Fodio. He (the Sheikh) said "no one has access to the hearts of people. Judgment about belief and unbelief can only be based on apparent action which signifies heretic tendency in which case their judgment rests with Allah only". He (the Sheikh) also said in the same book that "an action such as befriending unbelievers indicates that the person involved is having a good wish for the religion of his friend and would like to see its follower prosper and progress at the expense of Islam and the Muslims"

In another argument relating to *Mawalatul-Kuffar*, Abdullahi bin Fodio in *Diya'us-Sultan* stated that "Sending an army against Muslims cannot be regarded as unbelief but disobedience if convincing explanation is not given ..." (he further said) when a

thing in itself is not unbelief how would the means leading to it be considered as unbelief? This argument shows that Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and his brother Abdullahi bin Fodio held divergent opinion on the issue *Mawalatul Kuffar*.

In an attempt to clarify this misconception, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio explained in *Najmul-Ikhwan* the difference between a Muslim army fighting against another Muslim army and a *kufr* army fighting against the Muslim army. He said the aims and objectives of the latter are to destroy Islam and the Muslims, while the former may probably be to bring the deviants or rebels back to the straight path. Therefore, whoever extends his support to the unbelievers in their fighting against the Muslims is considered an unbeliever.

Judging from the above discussions, it is clear that the position of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio on Mawalatul-Kuffar was very uncompromising while that of his brother Abdullahi bin Fodio was more lenient over the issue even though he (Abdullahi bin Fodio) too as Hamid (1980) noted is of the opinion that whoever joined his hands with unbelievers with the aim of destroying Islam

and the Muslims and establishing *kufr* and *Kuffar* would be considered as an apostate.

Also judging from the above discussions, it becomes necessary for the believers, while contemplating the *Hijrah* to review their relationship with the unbelievers for the eventual confrontation with them. It is essential for the believers to view themselves as an ideological entity, as a state in its own right and to establish its relationship with others within the framework of Islam. It is evident that today, the concept, motive and significance of Hijrah in the life the Muslims have been destroyed by modernity. The Muslims do not consider Hijrah as a value talkless of contemplating over it. This is why Muslims are found engaging in unlimited friendly relation with the enemies of Islam. Thus, leading them to unnecessary compromises. This therefore, killed the spirit of the value of *Hijrah* in the minds of the Muslims particularly those in the domain covered by the Sokoto Caliphate.

2.5.2 *Jihad*

This is one of the core values cherished and given prominence in both the writings and public sermons of the scholars of the Sokoto Caliphate, especially the three pioneers of the *Jihad*

Movement. It is the value that initiated the foundation and the eventual formation of the Sokoto Caliphate as an independent state governed by the code of conducts of Islam. Abdullahi bin Fodio in Yamusa ((nd: 25), defined *Jihad* as a war waged by a Muslim against an infidel who is not under any treaty for the purpose of upraising the Word of Allah, the Most High, or the presence of a Muslim at a battle field for the purpose of upraising the Word of Allah, or the entry of a Muslim into the territory of the infidels for the purpose of fighting.

Jihad on a general note simply means struggling or striving for the course of Allah. It is a religious duty geared towards upraising the Word of Allah and suppressing the acts of corruption. For the purpose of convenience, *Jihad* can be classifield into principally three categories i.e. self-purification, verbal jihad and physical Jihad.

i. **Self-Purification:-** This type of *Jihad* is the one praised and rated higher above all other types by the Prophet (SAW) who , on return from the battle of Tabuk (one of the battles in which the Muslims experienced a lot of difficulties) said. "We have retuned

from the lesser *Jihad* and we shall now embark on the greater one-self purification".

The formative period of the *Jihad* Movement that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate was characterized by this type of *Jihad* essentially to develop the followers on a sound spiritual foundation that will make them to withstand and persevere all kinds of hardship that they may encounter. El-Masri (1978:11) narrated that in the first period of the *Jihad* Movement, the propagation of the fundamentals of Islam including Sufism was given more prominence and was also regarded as the most essential element that any attempt to preach physical *Jihad* at that formative period would have been suicidal on the part of the Muslims. Thus, the Sheikh engaged only in character building than instructing his followers in politics.

ii. Verbal *Jihad*: This simply refers to the Islamic principles of persuading people to do good and prohibiting them from acting unrighteously for the overall well being of mankind in this world and the Hereafter. The exercise of this principle as expressed by Abdullahi (1984:16) "is regarded as one of the important aspects of *Jihad* in Islam as it involves risk of exposing those who act upon it

to personal insecurity, social insecurity, economic difficulty and all other attendant dangers". He also quoted Imam Hassan al-Basri (RA) saying that the Prophet (SAW) said

> *A person who loses his life for standing before a tyrannical ruler, advising him to be of good conduct and dissuading him from being tyrannical will be among the distinguished Martyrs of his community. He will be placed in paradise between Hamza and Ja'far.* (Bukhari Vol. II: 112)

There is a host of Qur'anic verses stressing the obligation and importance of this type of *Jihad* among which include:-

> *Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, they are the ones to attain felicity* (Q3: 104.)
> *You are the best of people evolved for mankind, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong and believing in Allah.* (Q3:11)

The immediate verses quoted above showed that Islam is a total submission to the Will of Allah which implies basically three things (1) faith (2) doing the right and being an example to others to do right and having the power to see that the right prevails (3) eschewing wrong and being an example to others to eschew wrong and having the power to see that wrong and injustice are defeated.

El-Masri (1978:21-22) established that Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio wrote a work titled *al-Amr bi al-Ma'ruf wa al –Nahyi an al-Munkar* emphasizing the obligation of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. He further paraphrased the Sheikh arguing that this type or *Jihad* is not an obligation on the scholars (*Ulama*) alone but every Muslim should observe this duty even though he be a sinner because the duty and individual piety are two distinct injunctions and failure to observe one should not justify neglecting the other. El-Masri (1978:22) also said that Dan Fodio, in al-Amr bi al Ma'ruf, admonished his contemporary Muslim scholars (*Ulama'*) and ordinary men, pious and impious to carry on the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio also warned the Muslims in the book against attempting a physical *Jihad* and in its place encouraged them to intensify the use of Da'wah. A close analysis of this type of *Jihad* reveals that through it, the Sokoto Caliphate was able to mobilize Muslims to be able to:-

i Perceive religion from the Islamic point of view

ii Recognize the purpose of their creation as human beings.

iii Make concerted efforts towards fulfilling the purpose of

their creation.

iv Appreciate the Islamic culture which must be projected and preserved.

v Recognise the moral perception of Islam which must be internalized thereby reflected in words and deeds.

vi Put into use the instrument which Islam prescribes for the Muslims towards maintaining normal relationship with Allah, the Creator and fellow human beings.

iii. Physical *Jihad*: This type of *Jihad* according to Abdullahi (1984:16) is the physical struggle undertaken by Muslims in the name of Allah, and not motivated by desire of territorial expansion, wealth acquisition or capturing political power but in the defense of Islam in general and the Muslims in particular with a view to making the Word of Allah superior to that of the oppressors, tyrants and Shaitan. There is a host of verses in the Qur'an making reference to this type of Jihad among which includes:-

> *Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress limits, for Allah loves not transgressors.* (Q2:190)
> *Permission is granted to those against whom war is made because they are wronged; and verily, Allah is most powerful in their aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right (for no cause) except that they say "Our Lord is*

> *Allah. Had Allah not been repelling some by means of others, Monasteries, and Churches and Synagogues and Mosques in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measures would surely have been pulled down, and Allah will certainly aid those who aid His (cause), for verily Allah is full of strength, exalted in might.* (Q22:39-40)

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah ala al-Ibad* explained the meaning of this type of *Jihad* basing his explanations on a *Hadith* narrated in Sahih al-Bukhari according Abu Musa al-Ash'ari who said:

> *A man came to the Prophet (SAW) and said "a person may fight for booty, another may fight to gain fame and the other may fight to show off his bravery, which of these is in the path of Allah?" The Prophet (SAW) replied: He who fights to make Allah's Word Supreme is the one who is in the path of Allah.*
> (Bukhari in the Book of Jihad Vol. IV: 34)

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his *Bayan* opined that aiming to get booty in *Jihad* should not be counted against a man as long as he has fought to make Allah's Word Supreme. The Sheikh supported his opinion with the words of al Shabrakhiti who said "A Martyr on the battle field should not be washed; know that Martyrs are of three types; a Martyr of the two world, a Martyr of only this world and a Martyr of only the next world." al – Shabrakhiti further

explained as quoted in the *Bayan* of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio that:

> The Martyr of the two worlds is he who fought the *Kuffar* to make the words of Allah Supreme regardless of whether the intention of gaining booty are accompanied or not. While the Martyr of this world only is the one who fought for the sake of booty or to vaunt his bravery or out of chauvinism. And the Martyr of the next world only is the one who has been drowned or burnt to death or has died of an intestinal ailment.

Sulciman (1987:55) aptly captured the aims for which this type of *Jihad* is fought as explained by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and Abdullahi bin Fodio in their works *Bayan Wujub al- Hijrah ala al-Ibad* and *Diya al-Hukkam* respectively. These aims are:-

i. Defending Islam against its enemies. The *Jihad* is waged in order to defend the Islamic state against any external aggression. This may eventually lead to bringing the enemy into the fold of Islam or alternatively bring them into a peace agreement with the Muslims.

ii. Preserving internal stability and peace.

iii. Eliminating injustice and above all exalting the word of Allah.

There were many Forces against which the *Jihad* was fought: These forces as explained in the *Bayan* of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and enumerated by Suleiman (1987:55) are principally three. They are:

i. The forces of apostasy- These are groups who undermined the ideology of the state by renouncing their faith in Islam and actively engaged themselves in activities that may put the interests of the state in general and the Muslims in particular in jeopardy. Such types of people are treated as enemies and therefore no any level of treaty can be reached with them.

ii. The forces of social destabilization – these are the enemies of the state from within and without who are out to cause socio-economic and political disharmony in the state. This group is also fought and no peace agreement is reached with them until they are defeated.

iii. The forces of rebels (*Bughat*) and *Muharibun* (high way robbers). As for the rebels or *Bughat*

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio and also Abdullahi bin Fodio defined them as "those who revolt against the *Imam* or refuse to come under his survey or withhold a lawful due such as *Zakah* and the like or prevent others from obeying the *Imam*". The Sheikh admonished that this group of people should be called back to the truth and be re-absorbed into the circle of the Muslims but if on the contrary, they refuse to answer the call, they should be brought under control by the use of military might. While *Muharibun* on the other hand, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in El-Masri (1978:132) said that fighting the *Muharibun* (brigands or high way robbers) is like fighting a band of rebels in all respects except in five situations in which they differ from the rebels. (1) They must be fought while advancing or while retreating. (2) It is permissible to fight them with the intention of killing them. (3) Captives among them may be imprisoned. (4) Unlike rebels, they have to pay compensation for the blood they spill or property they damaged after the end of

the war. (5) Whatever they collected is considered as if it were taken by compulsion. The Sheikh also said that fighting a brigand is an act of *Jihad* and whoever is killed by a brigand is regarded as a martyr

2.5.3 Non Separation of Religion from Politics

El-Harun (2004:9) opined that in Islam, state and religion are inseparable. He further said that they are not only compatible but one is the extension of the other. The religion of Islam provides the rules, regulations and instructions on every aspect of statecraft, collection and distribution of resources and general maintenance of law and order and provision of public goods. While state on the other hand translates all the rules and regulations into action i.e. the state ensures the adherence to the provisions of *Shari'ah*. The inseparable nature of politics and religion in Islam can well be seen in the establishment of the administration of the Sokoto Caliphate. It is a glaring fact that the Sokoto Caliphate was conceived by scholars of Islam, engineered by revolutionaries, established by strategists and maintained by teachers and administrators. And all these qualities are found in the person of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio, Abdullahi bin Fodio, Muhammad Bello, their disciples and

lieutenants. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Najm al Ikhwan* said:

> Allah has bestowed upon us the *Hijrah*, the installation of *Amir al-Mu'minin,* the assembly of the means of the *Jihad*; the horses, the arrows the bows, the lances, the swords, the Shields, the sword belts, the helmets, and the standards. He then bestowed upon us the *Jihad*, the appointments of Wazirs, troop commanders, keepers of the provisions, the provincial Amirs...

This quotation shows that a Muslim leader of a state cannot divorce the affairs of his administration from religion because religion serves as the guiding principle of every aspect of life, Politics inclusive. The sovereign power and decision of Allah is the most central in this value. Law-making is absolutely a prerogative right of Allah. The state is simply an agency through which the Wills and Laws of Allah are implemented. And the jurists on the other hand as El-Masri (1978:100) puts it are mere interpreters so as to ensure conformity and harmony with the spirit of the laws and the realities of the time and changing circumstances.

It is unfortunate that today secularism has occupied the attitudes and values of most of the contemporary Muslims particularly among some of the Muslim politicians in the North. This is an ideology that upholds the idea of dissociating the

influence of religion from all aspects of human life; political, economic, and social. Syed (1993:2) said that the idea of secularism started gaining popularity in the 19th century. The major aim of this ideology is to assert the supreme importance of ethical factors in all relation of life; personal, social, political, economic, national and international from any theological or metaphysical consideration.

Secularism is fundamentally a system that is against the institution of monotheism (*Tauhid*) in general and the Islamic political system in particular. The system is not intended to be used to advance the legitimate Islamic political system, but to hinder the world of monotheism (under the leadership of Islam) from being guided by Islamic values. Therefore, whenever some conscious Muslims oppose the establishment of brewery in their locality or alcoholism in general, or they show their displeasure to immorality, corruption and excesses of government and express desire for a government that is disciplined, sensitive and responsible to the demands of the people, such few Muslims are quickly reminded by even some Muslim politicians who uphold the principles of secularism that they are living in a secular state. Thus, believing

that religion has nothing to do with politics. Today, even in the North where the Muslims constitute the significant majority, secularism has come to symbolize all that is evil in the society including corruption, abuse of power and moral decadence. A simple look at the educational institutions is enough to convince an observer that the institutions at all levels only orient students to memorize facts, theories and formulas. They also care to a large extent for the development of the body but rarely care for the development of the spiritual and moral life of the students. And this is why an observer would see some people (both young and old) who carry doctorate degrees but do not know their religion.

Muslims today have come to be declining in all spheres of life as a result of secular arrangement imposed on them by the colonialists which made them to develop negative attitudes towards any Islamic arrangement be it political, economic or social. There is even decline in the commitment of the Muslims in the belief systems of Islam because the original system (Islamic political system) which guides their life has been replaced with the ideology of secularism which is completely alien to Islam. Indeed, most of the present day Muslims reflect an ugly image of Islam as a result

of the orientation they are acquiring through secularism which separates religion from all other aspects of life.

There is a wide belief among many contemporary Muslim elites in the Northern Nigeria that religion and worldly affairs are two separate things. This implies that the Islamic political system is of no relevance as far as running the affairs of a state is concern. And as a result of this, many Muslim elites have taken secularism as a universal truth, which in reality negates the fundamental objectives and principles of the political system of Islam that promote the non separation of the activities of state from the control of religion.

2.5.4 Teaching and Learning

Muslim educators agree that the purpose of teaching and learning in Islam is not to cram the pupil's mind with facts but to prepare them for a life of purity and sincerity. This total commitment to character building based on the ideals of Islamic ethics is the highest goal of the Islamic system of education. The system aims at instilling the principles of Islam in the hearts and minds of its young ones in order to achieve, through them, the ideals of the faith (i.e. Islamic faith), and the continuity of the

community (*Ummah*) which Allah describes in His Holy Book (Al – Qur'an) as

> *The best community ever raised for (the benefit of) mankind* ..... (Q3:113)

The aim of teaching and learning is the creation of the "good and righteous man" who worships Allah in the true sense of the terms, builds up the structure of his earthly life in accordance with the *Shari'ah* (Islamic Law) and employs it to serve his faith. Worship in Islam is not only restricted to the physical performance of religious rituals but embraces all aspects of activities; faith, thought, feeling and work. This is in conformity with what Allah says in the Holy Qur'an

> *I have not created Jinn and men save to worship Me*
>
> (Q51: 56)

And in another verse He also said:

> *Surely my prayers and my sacrifices and my life and my deeds are all for Allah the most High, lord of the worlds* (Q6: 162).

Therefore, these textual evidences from the Qur'an and *Sunnah* as observed by Hussain and Ashraf (1979:43) show that the foundation of civilization on this earth, the exploitation of the wealth, resources and energies, the search for sustenance, the

measure by which man can rise to full recognitions of the ways of Allah in the universe, knowledge of properties of matter and the ways in which things can be utilized in the service of faith, the dissemination of the essence of Islam and helping man to attain righteous and prosperous life, are all considered as worship through which believers come into closer contact with Allah.

If the aim of teaching and learning is upbringing of a true believer, it then follows that Islamic education has basically two-fold aims; first to enable man to understand his Creator that is Allah, so that he worships Him in full conviction of His oneness, observes the rituals and abide by the *Shari'ah* and the divine injunctions. Secondly, to enable man to understand the ways of Allah in the universe, explore the earth and use all that Allah has created to protect the faith. This clearly explains as Ibrahim (2001:45) has rightly pointed out the misconceptions some people have about Islam and Muslims that "Islam and the Muslims are against science and technology." The fact of the matter is that Islam is not at all anti-science and technology. Islam is not opposed to the pursuit of knowledge from any quarter, but what Islam is

seriously against is the pollution of faith and outright de-Islamisation, which is always associated with secularism.

Islam and the Muslims have great respect for science and technology and any field of knowledge, which is beneficial to mankind both in this world and the hereafter. Hussain and Ashraf (1979:43) said that historical evidences have testified that Islam and the Muslims are the real owners of science and technology and were the first to make some positive fundamental contributions to science and technology which formed the basis of later development in such areas. This shows that the sciences of Medicine, Engineering, Mathematics, Psychology, Sociology etc are all forms of Islamic sciences so long as they move within the framework of Islam and are in harmony with the Islamic concept of values. The actual perception of Islam on science as also observed by Hussain and Ashraf (1979:35-36), is that it is a form of worship through which man comes closer to Allah.

It is unfortunate that in the contemporary society, many teachers and students are not gearing their efforts of educational pursuit towards achieving the desired objectives of teaching and learning in Islam as practiced in the Sokoto Caliphate. Some

Muslims today gear their efforts of teaching and learning towards achieving spiritual upliftment (only) neglecting the knowledge that will enhance their worldly affairs which will enable them to observe their spiritual affairs well. This therefore, gives rise to a group of teachers and students who discourage the study of any knowledge other than the knowledge that will enhance the spiritual well-being of their personalities. There are also some Muslims who spend their energies towards achieving the worldly materials (only) without giving any regard to spiritual knowledge. This is also an unfortunate development because; this is what gave rise to those Muslims who oppose any move towards making any effort to establish the principles of *Shari'ah* in all aspects of life; political, economic, and social affairs of people. Thus, many Muslims particularly the Muslim elites are always found to be agitating for a system that is purely secular in nature.

Adamu (2004:4) observed that there is hardly any major work on the Sokoto Caliphate that failed to refer to its Intellectual traditions. This shows how important teaching and learning (as a value cherished) is to the Sokoto *Jihad* leaders in particular as well as the society in general. Even before the *Jihad* as confirmed by

Albasu (1997:185) and Kani (1997:21-24), the Hausaland was able to produced highly eminent Muslim scholars in cities like Kano, Yandoto and Katsina. This suggests the fact that the tradition of learning and teaching in the Hausa land before the *Jihad* period which led to the foundation and establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate had been in existence. Adamu (2004:4) also observed that "by the end of the 19th century, the problem in Hausa land was not that of lack of Muslim scholars or the practice of Islam, rather the corrupt nature of the scholars in such a way that Islam was re-defined by pre-Islamic practices and the scholars justified the excesses of the Hausa rulers, "legitimizing the corrupt social order". The pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement which eventually led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate have great concern for intellectual activities. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as quoted by Adam (2004:5) justified this position in his book *Tabban Haqiqa* in which he said in the form of a poem "Let us study and keep on learning. This gives mankind all that he needs. Do not stay among ignorant people who violently seize property in Muslim lands".

These verses as opined by Adam (2004:6) "summed up the devotion of the Sokoto Caliphate to learning". He further said "the value of the works of the *Jihad* leaders show that despite their other commitments, their devotions to educating the community was paramount". The Sokoto Caliphate was essentially a product of learning and teaching and was initiated through a deliberate choice of a growing team of scholars to spread learning in order to achieve a higher goal of establishing justice in society. This team of scholars devoted their time totally to the extent that they hardly had any time for anything other than learning, teaching, preaching and writing. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in El-Harun (2004:5) said again.

> A man without learning is like a country without inhabitants. The finest (qualities) in a ruler in particular and in people in general are the love of learning, the desire to listen to it and holding the bearers of knowledge in respect. This is in fact the surest way for a ruler to be beloved by his subjects. On the other hand, if the king is devoid of learning, he follows whims and leads people astray, like a riding beast with no halter, wandering off the path and perhaps spoiling what it passes over.

There is no doubt that the value of learning and teaching formed one of the most fundamental legacies left by the Sokoto Caliphate. This is why Suleiman (1986:51) asserted that if Sheikh

Uthman bin Fodio was to be asked about his greatest achievement, he would have simply pointed to the struggling:

> against ignorance and intellectual revolution that he had brought into being as his greatest accomplishment. This intellectual revolution (the extraordinary outpouring of Arabic writing as Abdullahi Smith refers to it) was the greatest events ever to take place in Hausa land: and its impact not surprisingly was stupendous

In the Caliphate, pursuit of knowledge, its practice and dissemination is considered as an obligation on every member of the community. This could be seen in the life of the pioneers of the *Jihad* Movement especially Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio who dedicated the whole of his life to searching for knowledge, practising and disseminating it. Boyd (1986:45) quoted Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio calling on scholars to speak against tyranny and ignorance. Sulaiman (1986) quoted Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his *Ihya' al Sunnah* saying "it is obligatory on every learned person not to keep quiet because innovations have appeared and spread... And it is obligatory on every *Faqih* to go out to people in order to teach them their religion". This therefore, made education to become a community centered affair and every scholar was made to be involved and responsible to his community. Thus,

scholarship became the central attribute and major characteristic of the Caliphate which in turn transformed the Hausa land into a vibrant literate state. This scholarship as opined by El-Harun (2004:15) "inspired the process of *Tajdeed* and the eventual cultivation of scholars, students, and other people through whom the revolutionary message is transmitted to the generality of the society, who eventually shouldered the responsibility of ruling the new society".

To further reveal the concern of the Caliphate for this value, Muhammad Bello confessed in his *Shafa' al Asqam* that he read as many as twenty thousand books during his youthful age. El-Harun (2004:10) said that the versatile scholarship of the pioneers of the Caliphate in the meaning and sciences of the Qur'an, *Hadith* jurisprudence, commerce, medicine, defence and strategy gave them the ability to attain the status of *Mujtahid* and *Mujaddid* and also establish an upright and functional society. This goes further to show that a scholar in the Sokoto Caliphate as opined by El-Harun (2004:7) is regarded as "the educator of the society, custodian of the values, promoter of its ideals and a protector of its strength and vitality.

Suleiman (1986:50) has aptly captured the three responsibilities of Scholars as outlined by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio where he said:

> The first scholar's responsibility is to acquaint himself with the basic knowledge of the sources, then of the law, then of different sciences that support the life of society, and then of history and so on. This will place him in a position to guide society in all essential areas and to put himself at the disposal of every segment of society. His second responsibility is to stand up boldly as the guardian of the conscience of society, preventing any assault or outrage against the values of society or against the sanctity of its beliefs and institutions. And the third is to stand up for the poor and the oppressed, to defend their rights and strive for the accomplishment of the aspirations and above all stand up for the defence of the nation and enhance its integrity as a nation faithful to Allah and submissive to His laws.

These outlined responsibilities show that scholars were given upper hand in running the affairs of the Sokoto Caliphate. The responsibilities coupled with the scholar's vast knowledge give him the ability to exercise *Ijtihad* which will help in reforming, refining and instilling discipline and order in the society.

2.5.6 Sufism (*Tasawwuf*)

In the Sokoto Caliphate, the encouragement of intellectual training went hand in hand with the spiritual development of the

members of the community through the institution of Sufism. Tl trace of this development is as observed by Suleiman (1986:2 "contained in a concise but precious treatise, *Umdatul Ibad*, whic the Sheikh (Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio) wrote to provide guideline for the minimum voluntary act of devotion; prayer, fasting Qur'anic recitation, remembrance of Allah and acts of charity". Muhammad Bello also wrote *Tamhidul Imad bi ma zada ala Umdatul Ibad*, which served as an addendum to the *Umdat al Ibad* of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio.

In the first period of the activities of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as explain by El-Masri (1978:21), the Sheikh propagated the fundamentals of Islam including Sufism which he as an important element that helps in purifying the hearts from the temptations of the world. Sufism was seen in the Sokoto Caliphate as a positive principle which helps greatly in building the personality of a believer. It consists of essentially struggle against evils, moral discipline, and perseverance on the right path, patience, and sacrifice. This value formed one of the core values in the Sokoto Caliphate. It is unfortunate that this value has for a long time been absent from the life of the contemporary Muslims particularly the

indigenous people of the domain covered by the Caliphate. This value helped greatly in building the life of the believers and also helped them to resist the temptations of *Shaitan*.

Saleh (nd:4) defined, Sufism as expelling from the heart the fondness towards any impediments on the way to realise righteous objectives, and turning ones back from everything that would hinder one's determination or confuse one's ideas. He (Saleh) further said that

> Supreme asceticism lies in being content with Allah's presence and support and rejecting everything else that would pre-occupy the mind, or cause the person to deviate from the righteous path or cause the soul to be oblivious of Allah's Eminent presence or shield the soul from witnessing the signs thereof.

Sufism may also be seen as opined by Suleiman (1986:28) as "a more intensive and systematized spiritual training" this systematized spiritual training is given by a Sheikh whose qualifications according Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as outlined in his *Usulul Wilayah* are essentially five. These are:

i. Sound knowledge derived from the Book (Qur'an) and *Sunnah*.

ii. High dignity

iii. Sound experience

iv. Satisfactory conditions which are in agreement with the Book and the *Sunnah* on which the *Tariqah* Sheikhs are.

v. Valid understanding with its capability of inferring from the apparent things and the hidden meanings.

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in Haruna (1993:45) described Sufism and jurisprudence as brothers to one another in guiding to the laws of Allah. He said "know that jurisprudence and Sufism are brothers in guiding to the laws of Allah, the glorified and the exalted, for Sufism can be traced to sincerity of attention while jurisprudence and the fundamentals of the religion are its condition and anything conditioned cannot be correct without its requirement. He further said

> There is no Sufism except with jurisprudence for the plain laws of Allah would not be known without the element of Sufism. And there is no true knowledge except with deeds and no true deeds except with sincere intention. And these two cannot stand except with faith since the two are not correct without it, except that, the consideration of the jurists is limited to what will dispel inconvenience while the consideration of the theologian is confined to what ever explains the faith and the *Sunnah*.

This opinion expressed by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio indicates that Sufism can be divided into theory and practice, the theoretical aspect of it deals with the facts of spiritual knowledge and training and comprehending the Glorious name of Allah. While the practical aspect is mainly concerned with the actions and efforts of the sufists; observance of Islamic rules as an obligation, humble and pious behaviour and purity of his soul from defects. These two divisions make the soul ready to evolve through the different phases of spiritual progress and moral development until the soul realises the highest degree of closeness to Allah.

Suleiman (1986:28) further reported Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio saying in his *Usulul Wilayah* that

> In the early days of Islam, there was no need for *Tasawwuf* because the companions of the prophet (SAW) had among them those from whom the rest could draw inspiration and could serve as models. The proper Islamic attitudes to life were preserved and transferred from one generation to another until the time came when the moral tone of society changed and people sank into moral perplexity. Then a systematized form of ritual training was needed to give individuals guidance towards intellectual and moral elevation in order to overcome the diseases of the soul that prevented spiritual development.

He (Suleiman) also said that "This kind of concentrated spiritual cultivation of individuals, the Sheikh maintained, is traceable to the Prophet (SAW) himself, who trained his companions in accordance with the disposition of each. He (the prophet) would tell one 'Avoid anger', and another 'let not your tongue ever rest in the mentioning of Allah's names'.

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in Haruna (1993:44) listed certain items or qualities that should constitute the curriculum of the training programme. In other words they are qualities expected to be inculcated in the minds of individuals in the process of the systematised spiritual training which are to some great extent absent in the curriculum that guide the Muslims life today. These qualities include among others, the following:-

i. Basic knowledge in the fundamentals of religion.

ii. Jurisprudence.

iii. Seeking repentance from all sins.

iv. Keeping away from people except for the purpose of spiritual, educational or other positive developments (*Zuhd*).

v. Waging war against the devil (*Shaitan*).

vi. Struggle against one's whims and caprices

vii. Sole reliance on Allah in matters of provision and livelihood.

viii Surrendering one's affairs in their totality to the will of Allah.

ix. Acceptance of Allah's judgment joyfully.

x. Patience, particularly in times of trials.

xi. Fear of Allah's chastisement at all times.

xii. Love of Allah in all times and under all conditions.

xiii. Avoidance of show off in all works.

xiv Avoidance of conceit through the remembrance of Allah's favours.

xv. Constant praise and thanks to Allah.

The nature of the training was described by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as gradual which passes through a systematic process supervised by a Sheikh until the whole being of an individual is positively changed with good qualities. The process of the training involved:-

i. Exerting zeal in seeking to get the highest aims in worship.

ii. Revering the limits of Allah by adhering strictly to His injunctions and abstaining from His prohibitions.

iii. Trying one's utmost best to carryout one's professional work correctly and skillfully in accordance with the provisions of the *Sunnah*.

iv. Implementing one's resolutions about religion regardless of the blame of the blamers.

v. Acknowledging Allah's favours by showing appreciation through increased acts of *Ibadat* so as to be graced in an increase in such favours.

Most Muslims today particularly the youths engage seriously in acquiring intellectual training neglecting the spiritual training which serves as check and balance for ones shortfalls and excesses in life and also as an instrument for building the personality of a believer. It is as a result of lack of this spiritual training that people of great knowledge are sometimes found guilty of abusing any trust given to them. Moreso, it is because of lack of this spiritual training that the Muslim community is today witnessing absence of moral integrity even among scholars and respect for elders and scholars is growing lower and lower every day. And there is

serious lack of regard between the leaders and the led and between the learned and the learners. This is essentially due to the absence of a more intensive and systematized spiritual training like what was obtained in the Sokoto Caliphate through *Tasawwuf*. Thus, in the contemporary Northern Nigeria, one sees many Muslims with identity of scholarship but having no content with Allah's presence and support and having no reservation for anything that would pre-occupy the mind or cause the person to deviate from the righteous path or shield the soul from witnessing the signs of truth and reality.

The above discussions show that the main aim of Sufism in the Sokoto Caliphate was to create a group of people whose inward temperament was harmonized with their outward disposition in such a way that their utterances, behavioaurs and characters mirrored what was within. This nucleus of people eventually formed the inner core and pioneer of the community. This discussion also shows that the ideal Sufism as practiced in the Sokoto Caliphate advocated the following concepts and applications:-

i. In the field of *Da'wah*, the Muslims are expected to observe wisdom, sensible and gentle preaching and logical and convincing debates.

ii. The unity of Islamic actions or activities.

iii. The refusal of all forms of extremism, bigotry and religious fanaticism.

iv. The spirit of Islamic tolerance not only with the Muslims but even with all the just and fair followers of other divine religions.

v. Relating Islamic call to the educational curricular in Islamic state which is always considered as a primordial matter.

2.5.6 Women Education

The moral and spiritual state of a given society or civilization, which in turn determines its overall internal strength and longevity, is dependant upon the status that the society or civilization gives to its women. In other words, it is the level of the moral, social and intellectual consciousness of women in a given society that determines the state of its homes, the types of relationship that exists between its various segments as well as the

pace of its moral and social developments. This is so because of woman's considerable influence over men. A society whose women are sufficiently developed intellectually, morally and spiritually, is bound to move fast in the pace of development and quest for happiness as it did happened in the Sokoto Caliphate. Likewise a society consisting of ignorant and enslaved women will continue to move backward until it is left behind by others as it did happened with the Hausa land before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate.

Women in the early days of the *Jihad* movement were chained to customs that were not only oppressive to them but destructive to the general welfare of the society. The evidence of this is to be found in the statement of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *Tanbihil-Ikhwan ala Jawaz Ittikadhil – Majlis li Ajlit – Ta'limin Niswan.* In the introductory part of the book, the Sheikh stated the reason for writing the book 'that he has been informed that some brothers were opposed to the attendance of women to his preaching assembly, judging that it is not permissible'. In the same book, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as reflected in Kani (1405AH:68-69) quoted an outside scholar who was very critical of the scholars

of *Biladis-Sudan* on their attitudes to their women. The scholar Said:

> One of the habits of the scholars of Sudan is that they leave their wives, daughters, and slaves rejected like a grazing livestock without teaching them what Allah made obligatory on them; of the articles of faith, regulations governing their purity, fasting and their like i.e. buying and selling and similar things. They considered them like containers which they use and when it breaks they throw it way in dung and rubbish places. It is a duty of every Muslim to start with himself and guard it by performing his duty properly also and to abandon unlawful things. Therefore, he should teach this to his family and relations. . Then after he has taught them, he could pass it (the knowledge) to his neighbours, inhabitants of his town and later to the generality of the people.

To further uncover the arrogance and ignorance of the venal scholars (*Ulama'us Su*) and their negligent attitudes towards the education of their women, Kani (1405AH:68) paraphrased Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio saying:

> This group of people see their women illegally attending marriage ceremonies, they also see them dancing and singing and intermingling with men; and again they observe them going out for 'Id ceremonies in their full make – up without denying these on them. But when they see them going out in pursuit of learning they say this is reprehensible.

Women education is considered a core value in the Sokoto Caliphate without which a society swims in the darkness of ignorance. In fact, one does not need to elaborate on the fact that the social, moral and spiritual problems of a society are to some great extent the result of the loose nature of women in that society. This is one of the main reasons why the moral and spiritual standard of most of the Muslims in the North is very low. To this effect, the Sokoto Caliphate gave women their due right and position in the society as enshrined in the *Shari'ah* by giving them special attention. And this helped greatly in emancipating them from the evils of the societal customs. Kani (1405 AH:67) said "The Sheikh had been consistently advocating for women education and at the same time emphasizing women's rights in accordance with Islamic injunctions." He (Kani) further said, some of the Sheikh's works were partly or wholly devoted to the issues of women education and their rights. Among the books written by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio that deal with women's right and education are *Wathiqat al - Ikhwan Ii Tabyin Dalilat Wujub Ittiba' al-Kitab wa al-Sunnah, Wathiqat al- Jawab 'ala Su'al Dalilu Man' Khuruj al-Niswan, Irshad Ahl al – Tafrit wa al-Ifrat, Tambih al –*

Ikhwan 'ala Jawaz Ittikhadh al-Malis li al-Ta'alim al Niswan and *Irshad al-Ikhawan ila Ahkam Khuruj al-Niswan.*

The revolutionary approach of the Sokoto Caliphate towards women education and right went to the extent of encouraging women to revolt against the rigidity and reactionary attitude of their husbands. This is evidently seen in the writings of the pioneers of the Caliphate especially Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio. The Sheikh was quoted by Kani (1405AH:69) in his book *Nur al-Albab* advising women to revolt against their husbands who denied them access to their rights and education. He said:

> Oh Muslim women! Do not listen to the speech of this misguided (group) who misguide others and deceive you by making you to obey your husbands without ordering you to obey Allah and His Messenger (peace be upon him). They claim that the happiness of the women is in obeying their husbands. They do this in order to get their selfish desire out of you. They also ask you to do what Allah and his Messenger did not stipulate at all like cooking and washing of cloth and the like .... At the same time, they do not ask you about what Allah and His messenger (peace be upon him) have ordained to you of obedience to Allah and His messenger. Yes! It is incumbent upon the wife to obey the husband according to the consensus of the jurist Scholars in secret and in open even when the husband is very poor or slave. It is not permissible to disobey him at all according to the consensus unless he orders her to disobey Allah, in which case she should not obey him.

Kani (1405AH:70) quoted Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio who quoted Imam Khalil b. Ahmed in *al-Mukhtasar* enumerating the duties of a husband toward his wife. He said:

> It is incumbent upon the husband to provide oil, firewood, salt, and meat from time to time. He should also provide mat and bed if they are needed. Also to provide his wife with more than one maid. This (is applicable) when he is well - off (but) if he is poor she should only cook for him what he can eat and drink but not for his guests in which case he should pay her.

The great value attached to women education and their right yielded positively. This is evident as noted by Kani (1405AH:70) in the writings of the two daughters of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio Asma'u and Maryam. They were reported to have been prolific writers as against the former traditions of the scholars who left their families in the darkness of ignorance. Many books were credited to their efforts.

Observation has shown that women education is also cherished as a value in the contemporary life of the Muslims in the North, but the main aim of this value is being misunderstood not only among the women folk but even among the men. This is because many women have become victims of the popular trend

reigning among women in the world known as 'Women Liberation.' The objectives of women education have been turned into a competition between women and men, instead of becoming an instrument to complement one another. Women,who are known to be molders of characters in the homes have abandoned their duties by joining the public services. This is completely in sharp contrast with what obtained in the Sokoto Caliphate. Because the type of education imparted in women in the Sokoto Caliphate as pointed out by Idris (2004:49) was such that purified their hearts and prepared them towards any struggle which promotes the cause of Islam. This gave rise to women like Nana Asma'u and Maryam (all are daughters Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio) whose intellectual pursuit equaled most renowned men of their time. They led the Caliphate women to the path of Allah and they provided mass education and enlightenment to both the rural and urban women and also uplifted their standard and condition of living. The main objective of the present day women education is to produce women who will compete with men in all endeavours in life.

The involvement of women in the women liberation movement has succeeded in persuading many women to embrace

western culture which is detrimental to human progress in particular and Islam in general. In this trend, they are encouraged (directly or indirectly) to disregard any form of restriction provided by the *Shari'ah*. Thus, making them to feel free to interact with men shoulder-to-shoulder in all fields of human endeavours, bearing in mind the popular slogan "what a man can do a woman can do even better." The deplorable state of some Muslims today in Northern Nigeria, which manifests itself in spiritual decadence, political blindness and aimlessness, does have a strong connection with the type of education and freedom given to women in the contemporary society which to a great extent have no bearing on spiritual guidance.

The discussions above show that women education is an important value cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate. This is very evident looking at the amount of time and energy spent by the pioneers of the Caliphate in training women Islamically. The women were encouraged to go out of their matrimonial houses in search of knowledge. They were at the same time cautioned to conduct themselves with decorum while in the process of searching for knowledge as enshrined in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. Sheikh

Uthman bin Fodio adjudged in his book *Irshad al-Ikhwan ila Ahkam Khuruj al-Niswan* that any woman who is forced by necessity either spiritual or mundane, to go out of her matrimonial home should "put on her clothes over her body and should walk by the side the road and should not talk except when it is legally necessary." What he said above is an elucidation of the verse of the Qur'an which reads

> *Oh Prophet! Tell your wives and your daughters and the believing women that they should cast their outer garment over their persons (when out of door), that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested, and Allah is Most Forgiving and Most Merciful".* (Q33:59).

The object of this verse is not to restrict the liberty of women but to protect them from societal harm and molestation.

It is also worth noting from the above discussions that any society that attaches importance to women education and their rights as did by the Sokoto Caliphate, such society will to some extent be free from immorality, spiritual bankruptcy, crimes and other atrocities associated with discrimination of women. An educated woman who has the consciousness of Islam always serves as moulder of character. Thus, the society will achieve peace and

stability which form the basic pre-requisite for attaining higher spiritual goals and development.

2.5.7 High Moral Standard

This is another important value cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate which made it to stand unique in the history of states or nations in Western Sudan. This value consists of three qualities which the Sokoto *Jihad* movement regarded as important or vital for its members particularly those directly involved in the spread of its message. The qualities are well known among people especially the scholars as Suleiman (1986:32) has put it "there is nothing new in the qualities for they were derived from the teachings and practice of the Prophet (SAW) his companions and the early generations of Islam. But they were new to the Hausa land, where they had been abandoned (and) if they were still regarded as ideals at all, they were not translated into action or expressed socially". The most reknown work written by the Sokoto Jihad scholars on this great value were *Tariqtil- Jannah* by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio *Sabilan- Najat* by Abdullahi bin Fodio and *Jalalus- Sudur* by Muhammad Bello. In other words, it entails the attitudes, behaiviours and ethics upon which the refinement, vitality and over

all essence and success of the Caliphate are built. This value also explains as opined by El – Harun (2004:14) the objective principles the Caliphate institutions and governmental machinery have been established to create, preserve, or integrate into the community as the needs may be. He further said that the value is a "clear expressions of the realization of the ideals of the Sokoto architects and the means through which public goods are provided and eternal bliss and pleasure of Allah are attained." Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio alone devoted himself to writing books particularly on every aspect of morality. He was said to have written no less than twenty books on the subject of morality as narrated by Sulaiman (1987:97). This value includes among others the following virtues:-

i. Establishment of justice: It is a paramount duty on an Islamic state to establish justice among not only its citizens but also outsiders alike. This is because it is a moral value that is central to human activities in relations to his environment. When a government is formed and the officers are appointed, the most important and necessary thing for them to observe is the dispensation of justice. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in his book *Diya al - Sultan* qualified justice to be the most vital quality of a

Sultan. He defined it to mean allowing everyone to have his right whether it is a right against him or for him. He further said any leader that fails to concern himself with the issue of justice will eventually lead a society in which serious corruptions and other social vices perpetuate. This is why some scholars preferred the leadership of a just unbeliever over an unjust Muslim.

Allah admonished the believers to stand out firmly for justice in carrying out their assignments in whatever capacity they find themselves. For instance He said:

> *Oh you who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourself, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be (against) rich or poor; For Allah can best protect both. Follow not the lusts (or your hearts), lest you swerve and if you distort (justice) or decline to do justice, verily Allah is, well acquainted with all that you do.* (114:135)

Allah also said in Q5:9:-

> *Oh you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah as witnesses to fair dealing and let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to piety, and fear Allah for Allah is well acquainted with all that you do.*

Muhammad Bello in Yamusa (1998:1) quoted a number of Ahadith showing evidences of the importance of establishing justice. Among the Ahadith quoted are:

The justice (Adl) of a ruler (Sultan) for a single day is better than the devotion (of an ordinary man) for several years.

On the Day of resurrection, no shade will exist except the Shadow of Allah, on that Day, seven men will be given shelter; a Sultan who treats his subjects with justice (i.e. in a manner prescribed by the Shari'ah)...

The best loved and the closest to Allah is a ruler (Sultan) who is just, but the most abhorred and the most remote from Him is a tyrant ruler.

I swear by Him in whose Hand is the soul of Muhammad that the (good) deeds of a just ruler (Sultan) will be recorded in Heaven as equal in worth as the (good) deeds of his entire subjects. And the reward of every prayer he performs is worth the reward of 70,000 prayers performed by others.

The above verses of the Qur'an and *Ahadith* show that justice as a concept, value and policy constitutes the whole essence of politics. This therefore, demands that leadership should only be given to the learned, the competent and the able ones in the society. This is due to the fact that the principle of justice dictated by Allah, decrees that resources should be distributed according to need and must be shared fairly across the society. It also demands that the guilty must be punished according to the provision of the law. It is this conception of justice by the Sokoto Caliphate that inspired the

Caliphate to abhor and fight tyranny, oppression and all forms of inequity and injustice.

Knowing fully well the obligation of upholding justice and shunning injustice, Mohammed Bello in Yamusa (1998:5) gave a highlight on how a leader can help himself to exercise justice, abstain himself from injustice and also instruct the ordinary followers to do same. Bello suggested that the leader should appoint his officials from the best of his men and at the same time watch their activities. This opinion concurred with the opinion of Abdullahi bin Fodio who states in Alkali (2004:20) that a leader is expected to appoint the most knowledgeable and noblest people who detest worldly affairs. This group of noble officials will help in checking (also) the activities of the leader for the purpose of drawing his attention to the right path. This further explains why a leader is expected to be extra vigilant in his work and not to abuse his position to commit injustice towards those under his leadership and care. He is also expected to seek the truth, uphold it and tell the truth and not to favour his own family or class or tribe to the detriment of other(s). This is applied to all levels of leadership ranging from state level to the family level. A popular Hadith of

the Prophet (Saw) testified to this where he was reported to have said:

> *Whoever has two wives and does not deal justly between them, shall come on the day of Resurrection with half of his body falling off.* (Abi Dawud, Nasa'i and Ibn Majah)

ii. Kindness, Patience and Benevolence: These are good moral virtues that were found to be encouraged in the Sokoto Caliphate and exemplified by the leaders of the Caliphate. Mohammed Bello expressed them in Yamusa (1998:7) as the second principles of politics. Mohammed Bello exhorted that a leader should not demonstrate excessive anger but should be tolerant and forbearing. He should also be benevolent, charitable to his followers and should not allow stinginess, mercilessness to overwhelm him. Similarly, Abdullahi bin Fodio in Alkali (2004:19) enjoined that a leader should be accessible to his followers so that both the strong and the weak can lodge their grievances and problems to him for remedy because in this regard, , judges may not be sufficient since some of the complaints may be on them. The life of most of the Muslims today (both the leaders and the led) is not characterized by these moral virtues.

iii. Integrity and Honesty: These are moral virtues that were well cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate as exemplified by the leadership of the Caliphate. The accountability of the Caliphate got their root from these moral principles or virtues. Integrity as El-Harun (2004:10) puts it, entails the ability of a leader to be committed to what he is employed, appointed or elected to do. He further said it is also "to be firm on principle and to resist any temptation that will lower his dignity, compromise the respects he commands and destroys the loyalty he derives from his subordinates".

This virtue is clearly seen in the life of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio who abstained himself from the palace and affairs of the kings in order to avoid the danger of justifying their selfish desires, unlike the *Ulama' al-Su* (the venal scholars) who associated themselves with the kings and even went to the extent of justifying their activities. This attitude demonstrated by the Sheikh, elevated the honour and integrity of the entire community he was leading and it was this same integrity that eventually became an integral part of the moral principle and virtue of the Caliphate.

Honesty on the other hand, explains the ability of a leader to be sincere and frank in all matters of public decision. By so doing, the virtue is equally transferred to the subordinates and therefore make all within the community to be responsible and sincere to their duties and obligations. This is why Abdullahi bin Fodio in Yamusa (nd:9) exhorted the ruler to be kept "informed about the affairs of his people, and examine its true situation through honest individuals." He further said

> the examination must be motivated by his desire to find out the true state of affairs on the basis of piety and not by malice and greed. This applies to matters connected with his employees by seeking to know about them, by counting their wealth before their appointment, and by looking from time- to-time into their works. He shall rebuke anyone who fails in his duty; dismiss those who transgress; and replace any person against whom many complaints were made. Whoever is found to have wealth above what he earns from his work, the ruler shall (investigate the legality or otherwise and where necessary) confiscate and restore it to the Muslim treasury. If he is doubtful about the origin of the wealth, he shall confiscate half of it from the employee.

On a general note, these moral virtues help in closing any room for lies, deceit, manipulation or distortion in statecraft and conduct of public responsibilities. They form the basis upon which patriotism, nation- building and societal cohesions are founded.

The Sokoto Caliphate administration gave the desired premium to these moral virtues in view of their position as important components for leadership success and an important building block for a functional society. These are some of the great legacies left by the Sokoto Caliphate to the Nigerian leaders which are not put into practice.

iv. Abstinence, Moderation and prudence: - In leadership process, these moral principles or virtues create atmosphere characterized by understanding, co-operation, and good working relationship between the leaders and the led. The society will witness in its life absence of ostentations or luxurious living and extravagance which always give room for resource mismanagement, misappropriation and outright stealing as it is seen today in Nigeria. Any leadership that imbibes these moral principles or virtues will not be found guilty of corruption and the leadership will also enjoy respect and loyalty from its subordinates. Infact, these virtues show that abstinence from what is not necessary, moderation in exercising ones dues and prudence in spending from the public treasury keeps the leader permanently on track, lessen his burden of accountability and confer on him an air

of freedom and free interaction with the people in the society. In Nigeria today, freedom and free interaction of leaders with their followers has become rather impossible because of lack of trust, confidence and suspicion that exist between the leaders sand the led.

The leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate insisted on exemplifying these virtues to the followership in view of the numerous advantages therein which may include giving the leaders the advantage of moving along with the entire society and getting the society's willingness to come to the defense of the leaders in times of adversity or needs. This explains why Suleiman (1987:37) opined that it is more appropriate for an *Imam* to take only the ordinary man's share of public property as his remuneration and should refrain from taking anything at all if he has an independent means of livelihood. Suleiman (1987:38) also quoted Muhammad Bello who quoted Umar bin al-khattab saying "I granted myself from God's revenue as if it were the property of an orphan (given to a guardian for safe keeping). If I have sufficient, I abstained (from using it) and when I was in need of it, I used it in all fairness".

In the exercise of moderation, Abdullahi bin Fodio in his book *Diya al- Hukkam* opined that the common people should be treated with compassion and leniency and should not be burdened with harsh and cruel policies. They should be guided with tenderness and be interacted with in a mild manner. He (Abdullahi) also said that restrictive legislation should be kept to a minimum and at no time should the standard of the scholars be imposed on the masses. If that happened the government will ultimately fail.

Muhammad Bello in Yamusa (1998:10) also emphasized the moral virtue of moderation in the administration of the society. He maintained (as Abdullahi opined) that people should be treated gently and advised leaders to always act in accordance with what is most honorable. In other words, every leader is expected to act in accordance with the situation in which he finds himself. The common man should not be burdened with unnecessary religious and temporal matters. Instead, he should be made to know his lord and be ordered to observe his religious duties which are agreed upon as compulsory by the scholars and also forbid him reprehensible acts which are agreed upon as illegal. Muhammad

Bello further advised a leader in the society to be flexible in dealing with his people in matters regarded as permissible. He must not be too restrictive with them in obligatory and forbidden things which are subjected to disputes, much less things regarded as reprehensible. He is also expected to avoid taking hasty decisions especially in disapproving an action or declaring the beliefs of his subjects incorrect on the strength of point of view advanced by some independent jurists who deduced some rule of law from the recognized sources through the use of their intelligence and personal opinions. What is required of a ruler is to make his people act in accordance with clear and unambiguous decrees of Allah, the Sheikh (Muhammad Bello) in Yamusa ((1998:10 quoted the Prophet (SAW) saying to Mu'az bin Jabal cautioning him about his action when he prolonged the recitation of the Qur'an in prayer:

> *Some of you will certainly drive others away (from prayer through lenthy reading.*

He (Muhammad Bello) also quoted the Prophet (S.AW.) in Yamusa (1998:10) saying:

> *Whoever takes charge of the affairs of my community and makes things hard for them, I pray that Allah be hard on him. And whoever takes*

charge of the affairs of my community with kindness and leniency, I pray Allah to be kind and lenient to him.'

It is observed that today, most leaders in general and the Muslim leaders in particular do not have an air of freedom and free interaction with people in the society because most of them have failed to imbibe these moral principles of abstinence, moderation, and prudence) in their style of leadership. What is manifesting as a result of this bad trend is lack of trust and confidence between the leaders and the led. The type of relationship that exists between the leaders and the led is more of hatred than love. Thus, the leaders are always found under tight security both at home, office and on the high way.

v. Consultation and Advice: -Mutual consultation is a fundamental requirement in Islamic political thought. The prophet (SAW) was enjoined to make consultation whenever issues arose for decisions (Q3:07). Advice on the other hand is a crucial obligation on both the leader and the led. It is a duty bound on the leader to advise his subjects on what is best for them, and the best they could contribute for the betterment of the society. It is also duty bound on the subjects to advise the leader on all that will

amount to sound public policy. Therefore, the two parties should border their advice on policies that provide public goods, avert evils in the society and provide services that would enhance the media, educational, social, agricultural and security components of the citizenry.

Muhammad Bello in Yamusa (1998:6) exhorted that a leader should always keep the company of pious and learned men and must be ready to listen to their advice and he (Muhammad Bello) further insisted that he should distance himself from the venal scholars whose major preoccupation are greed and lust for worldly materials. He said in *al-Ghayth al-Shubub* that the leader requires different categories of people to aid him including "a group of them for consultation and advice (on important issues that may demand verdict to be passed), a group for elegance and pride, a group for propaganda and praise, a group for writing, a group for prayer and solemnity and a group for knowledge, exegesis and the protection of the faith.

Muhammad Bello also in Yamusa ((1998:6) narrated a life story portraying the importance of selecting only men of conscience, piety and probity as advisers. He said pious and

learned men always "address the leader with honesty in preaching and discourse as did Shaqiq al- Balkhi to Harun al- Rashid''. Muhammad Bello said in his *Usulus- Siyasah* that it was once narrated that Harun al-Rashid sought the advice of Shaqiq (a great and respected scholar during the Abbasid caliphate) and said:

> Are you Shaqiq, the ascetic? Shaqiq replied ''I am Shaqiq but I am not an ascetic''. Harun al- Rashid said ''Give me a word of advice'' Shaqiq said ''Allah has made you to sit on the seat of Abubakar al- Siddiq (RA) and He (Allah) requires from you the styles of his (Abubakar's) trustworthiness. He (Allah) has given you the position of Umar al-Faruq (RA) and He (Allah) seeks from you courage to differentiate between right and wrong. He (Allah) has placed you in the position of Uthman Dhu Nurayn (RA) and He (Allah) requires from you his styles of modesty and generosity. He (Allah) has put you in the exposition of Ali bin Abi Talib (RA) and He (Allah) seeks from you knowledge and justice, just as He (Allah) sought from him (Ali).
> Harun al- Rashid said again ''Tell me more of your advice'' Shaqiq said again'' Be aware that Allah has prepared an abode known as hell fire and he has made you the gate keeper of that abode and has also provided you with three instruments; a treasury, a whip and a sword. You are ordered by Him (Allah) to use these three instruments to save people from entering this abode. Anyone who comes to you on account of poverty, do not deny him the money from the treasury. You should use the whip given to you to punish anyone who disobeys the commands of his Creator (Allah) and whoever takes the life of someone without any justified reason, you should take his life with that sword given to you but with

> the permission of the dead man's relations. If you (Harun al-Rashid) fail to act in accordance with the dictates of your lord, you will be made to be the leader of the people of hell- fire''. Harun al-Rashid further said ''Give me more of your advice''. Shaqiq said "You'' are like a spring of water and all your officials are like water wheels for drawing water out of the spring, if the spring is pure , the filth of the water wheels will not have an adverse effect on it, but if the spring is impure, the purity of the water wheels will be of no value.

This life story narrated by Mohammad Bello in Yamusa (1998:10-11) shows that the company of learned and pious people helps communities or nations to uphold correct, impartial and unbiased decisions which turn out to be beneficial to the entire community.

Good government depends on mutual consultation and advice. Abdullahi bin Fodio in *Diya' al-Tawil* explained the importance of mutual consultation in the political life of the Muslim community. He said that mutual consultation has been the factor responsible for the efficiency, firmness and strength of successive Muslim governments. He further maintained that a nation that carries out its affairs through mutual consultation achieves the best results.

Consultation and advice as curiously observed are also moral virtues cherished among the Muslims in the contemporary North, but it is unfortunate that the method being employed to practice it defeated the objectives for which the virtues were instituted in the Islamic political system. This is evidently seen in the way government employ the services of advisers and special advisers for the purpose of meeting the desired objectives of consultation and advice, but unfortunately, the leaders and the led have failed to abide by the ethics guiding the principles of these moral virtues i.e. consultation and advice. This is because the appointment of advisers are not made on the basis of merit but rather on the basis of sentiment guided by political inclination. Therefore, the advisers and the advisees operate under the guidance of selfish interest, because in most cases, the advisers do not offer their advice on issues that concern the general public welfare or issues that will promote the spiritual well- being of people, essentially because the right people have not been employed to offer the service as it did happened in the Sokoto Caliphate, where specialization was considered in the appointments of advisers. And in cases where the right people are appointed, their advises are mostly ignored

because most of the leaders do not have the interests of their subjects in their programmes or policies. This is why Muhammad Bello insisted in Yamusa (1998:6) that leaders should always keep the company of pious and learned people and must be ready to accept their advice. But on the contrary, it is the morally bankrupt people that constitute most of the advisers employed to advice in the contemporary dispensation. The interaction between Harun al-Rashid (a Caliph) and Shaqiq (a scholar) as narrated by Muhammad Bello in his *Usulus- Siyasah* is a typical demonstration of a classical consultation and advice in the moral standard of Islam as a value. And this should serve as a lesson to the contemporary Muslim leaders.

vi. Tolerance and Leniency: These are among the most important and fundamental moral virtues which pave way to a peaceful co- existence between Muslims and their fellow Muslims, and Muslims and their counterparts, the non-Muslims. It is an instrument that is used to attain peace and stability within a society. In most cases, the need for these moral virtues arise in the event of '*Ikhtilaf*' which simply refers to taking a different position or course from that of another person either in opinion, utterance or

action. In other words, it basically means difference, disagreement or even conflict, which is broader in meaning and implication than the concept of direct opposition.

Differences between people as al-Wane (1417(AH: 57) opined "may begin with difference of opinion over an issue'' which he said: "may. lead to argumentation and mutual wrangling and recrimination." This therefore may represent a mere difference of opinion or it could imply active controversy, discord and schism.

Having the idea of differences of opinion in mind the *Jihad* scholars observed tolerance and leniency in all their writings, utterances and actions especially the leaders of the *Jihad* movement. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio for instance identified two rules that have direct implication to the moral virtues of tolerance and leniency in his book *Najm al-Ikhwan*. The first rule is sticking to duties and prohibitions which are accepted unanimously. These include rules that are essentially important for preserving the order of the religion and the generality of the Muslim community. The examples of these rules and prohibitions as given by the Sheikh include strict adherence to the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, sticking

strongly to virtues and avoiding vices, engaging in *Hijrah*, appointing a commander to the believers, armament and *Jihad*, establishing all the necessary government institutions and the likes of them that pave ways for the protection and preservation of the religion and the community. The second rule is avoiding imposing controversial matters which if observed or neglected will not have any negative effect on Islam or endanger the public interest of the Muslim community.

Tolerance and leniency sometimes demand compromise. But it should be noted that in Islam there are certain duties and prohibitions that are not cheaply compromised except in an extreme case of necessity, as in the first rule identified by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his *Najm al- Ikhwan*. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio enjoined the Muslims to strictly adhere to the first identified category of rule and advised them to be tolerant and lenient over the second identified category. This helped in creating a tolerant, comparative and unified Caliphate characterized by kindness to one another and abstention from rejecting or expelling others from the circle of Islam on account of some flimsy controversial issues. While emphasizing this, the Sheikh said in his *Najm al-Ikhwan* that

"the unity of the community in this way could be preserved and the disturbances of the lay-man could be avoided". This means the principles of tolerance and leniency in a community always keep its tie intact.

In portraying the tolerant and lenient nature and approach of the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars, Kazaure (2003) said that:

> Sheikh Uthman generally adopted liberal approach to the schools of law harmonizing the controversial points whose difference of opinion and practices are tolerated. He (the Sheikh) hesitates to stop any body from doing anything which is not explicitly forbidden in the Qur'an or Hadith. Only those who divert from the rules clearly stated in the Qur'an, *Sunnah* and *Ijma'* could be strictly rejected. He who abstains from performing a controversial duty or committing a controversial prohibition should not be rejected but may kindly be advised to do the better. All these are principles strictly upheld by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his handling of controversial matters in Islamic jurisprudence.

This attitude of tolerance and leniency cut across all the life styles of the Sokoto Jihad scholars; political, economic, social and above all religious. It is unfortunate that these virtues are virtually lacking in most of the leaders, the led and the Muslim Scholars. Thus, serious disunity among the Muslims on the ground of minor issues is being suffered by the Muslim community today. Many

groups of Muslims established their mosques on the ground of trivial issues such as *Jalsatil- Istirah*, one or two Salam for marking the termination of prayer and many other issues which have no bearing on the fundamentals of Islam. This has made the Muslims grow weak and always looking apologetic in the face of their adversaries because they lack one voice with which to be heard in the event of any uprising. Every group is treated independent of the other. Thus, making the annihilation of the Muslims very cheap.

The intolerance and hard hearted attitudes of some Muslims today are not only manifested among the Muslim folk but even in the activities of *Da'wah* among the Muslims themselves and the *Da'wah* extended to non- Muslims. The intolerant attitude of some Muslim missionaries sometimes scares away non-Muslims from accepting Islam as against what obtained in the days of the Prophet (SAW) where people embraced Islam through the simple conducts of the Prophet (SAW) and his companions (*Sahaba*). The effects do not only scare away the non-Muslims but intolerant attitude also make some erring Muslims to be more arrogant and hard- hearted than accepting the truth, because the method employed is against

the ethics of *Da'wah*. These attitudes of intolerance and harshness have been creating serious havoc to the activities of *Da'wah* in the contemporary Northern Nigeria which causes serious set back to Islam in general and to the Muslims in particular.

2.5.8 Public Welfare

The concept of welfare in conventional economic terms is explained by Sills (1972:30) as "that branch of economics which concerns itself with the principles by which alternative economics arrangements may be ranked in terms of social welfare." In other words, welfare economics is basically concerned with the way the well being and standard of the living of people improve overtime. This shows that in a formal societal setting, it is the responsibility of the welfare state to meet the basic well being of all its members.

The need for welfare is as old as man himself. It is unfortunate that in the ancient primitive societies and even in the modern world, the issue of public welfare is left at the mercy of primary groups such as the family, kinship, neighbors as well as values and tradition such as group feeling, charity, generosity etc. Islam as a way of life has its welfare package for the members of its state as guided by the *Shari'ah*. It lays the solid foundation in

the form of basic principles upon which the responsibility of an individual to himself, to his family, to the society in general and to Allah is based and regulated in order to achieve the harmony of this world and the Hereafter. The provision of welfare to people constitutes a core value in an Islamic state. But the notion of welfare is comprehensive in the sense that it covers both material and spiritual components. Thus, an Islamic state in its pursuit of provision of welfare has to play active role in the economy as against the doctrine of secularism in which individual selfish interest is mistaken with societal interest. This doctrine (secularism) believes that if people are allowed to pursue their selfish interests, they will at the same time also contribute to the societal welfare.

The provision of the welfare of people and the relief of their hardship are the basic objectives of the *Shari'ah*. This is by implication to say that *Shari'ah* recommends well being of people through the satisfaction of all the basic human needs, removal of major sources of discomfort and improvement in the quality of their life socially, morally and spiritually.

The aim of establishing various organs in a government is essentially to ensure that the overall welfare of people in the state is promoted. It is in this regard that Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio insisted in El- Masri (1978:67)that the government should see "... to the welfare of the subjects..." and that this is "... more effective than a large number of soldiers." It is also in the light of this that Abdullah bin Fodio insisted in Tukur (1991:100) that the *Imam* should identify and appoint different groups of people who will assist in the proper organizations and execution of welfare services to the subjects of the Caliphate. Abdullah identified different groups of people to be appointed in order to help the *Imam* in discharging his responsibility on the welfare service of his subjects. He said each group should be assigned specific area of responsibility and concentration in order to achieve maximum welfare benefits. The Sheikh as quoted by Tukur (1991:100) identified them as follows:

1. The *Imam* should have domestic servants for his personal affairs, so that he does not demand the services of other people for his needs.

2. Wise men that are religious, learned and pious whose advice he will be seeking on anything that confronts him before the special and common people, so that he will not become autocratic.

3. Trustworthy people whom he will place on his treasury and charge with the responsibility of collecting revenue and dispensing it appropriately in accordance with his directive as well as those whom he will direct to inspect the affairs among the subjects as they occur.

4. Scribes who will be writing for the *Imam* the events and letters to distant countries and to the army, so as to know their salaries, shares and revenue in order to give it to those who deserve.

5. Accountant who will be calculating the amount of revenue generated for accurate recording.

6. Active employees who will work diligently towards achieving the overall objectives of the Caliphate.

7. Reliable tax collectors who will be collecting on his behalf Allah's dues in terms of *Zakah, Kharaj Jizyah* and other forms of fay'.

8. Trustworthy envoys that he will send on fact finding missions and to the kings to invite them to accept Islam.

9. Spies from his special loyalists who will be informing him about the enemies.

10. Bodyguards who will be carrying swords for his safety and guarding him at home and on journey against the enemies, so that they will not assassinate him unaware.

11. A team of patrol who will be protecting his town in the night.

12. God-fearing scholars who will give him formal legal opinion whenever he consults them on any legal issue.

13. Upright witnesses who will be testifying before him to various happenings in the state.

14. Policemen who will be executing his commands and treating the weak fairly against the strong.

15. Mediators who will be reconciling cases of unexpected disagreements between men of integrity.

16. Men who are glorified for the sake of Allah from among the saints and righteous people through whose supplication the blessings of Allah are sought.

17. Courageous men who will always remain with him at home or on journey.

18. Strong forces and horses reserved for the purpose of *Jihad* and the ups and downs of battles.

19. Powerful conveyors for carrying heavy loads such as camels and the like. They are often kept for the sake of carrying goods for Bait al-Mal (treasury) for eventualities, so that people might not be hired for this purpose.

20. A large quantity of arms and implements.

21. Experts and reliable physicians, so that his subjects will not be in need of medical doctors from another country.

22. Fortified fortress with adequate food and water.

23. A vizier who fears none but Allah and who will be deputizing on his behalf in the general administration of the subjects under his care in his absence.

24. A God fearing judge who cannot be affected by the blame of a blamer but will be acting adequately on behalf of the *Imam* in the discharge of laws and other similar things.

25. An inspector who will be investigating what is going on in the villages and markets concerning what is

commanded, prohibited or settled. He is the one also to be entrusted with market affairs.

26. Provincial emirs who will be acting on behalf of the *Imam* in the administration of his own town according to the requirement of the *Shari'ah*. Umar bin Khattab (ra) said "Oh people surely I have been put to trial and you with me. Whoever is in our midst will be attended by us. As for those who stay away from us, we will appoint people of power and honesty to manage their affairs. Thus, he who is doing good will have goodness added to him, but he who is perpetuating evil will be penalized. May Allah forgive us and those in charge of public complaints commission. "

27. Army officers who will be acting on his behalf with regard to their organization, such as the advanced guard, the central guard, the rear guard, the right and the left wings and their administration in general.

28. Army commanders who are charged with the responsibility of teaching the army officers, who are experienced in the art of knowing routes leading to the enemies as well as the best place for an ambush.

29. Military experts through whose opinions a source of grief can be uncovered since warfare is won by deception and not by numerical strength or fastness. The peak of all calamities (Abdullahi said) is of the *Imam* to make himself inaccessible to his subjects.

30. Eloquent speakers who will be cheering the hearts up and denouncing the acts of fleeing from the battle fields through their poems and speeches.

All these groups of people greatly contribute in enhancing the welfare of people in the society through the various services they render

Muhammad Bello also in Yamusa (1998:9) urged the leaders to provide public amenities to their subjects by encouraging all sorts of legitimate trades. This can be achieved through assisting in establishing artisans and craftsmen such as traders, farmers, blacksmith, tailors, dyers, physicians, butchers etc across the state in order to contribute to economic stability. He also advised the leaders to develop villages and country side (rural areas) via constructing fortresses, roads, bridges, markets and other facilities that contribute to their societal welfare. Knowing fully that material

well being is not the only objective of *Shari'ah*, Bello in the same book stressed that the leader, should provide such things that can bring spiritual well being. He thus advised the leaders to provide their followers with religious facilities by building mosques for worship, providing teachers for teaching children, appointing preachers for enjoining goods and prohibiting evils, appointing *Ulama* for encouraging virtues and preventing vices. All these will help in fostering the spiritual well being of the society.

In the same vein, Sheikh Abdullah in Alkali (2004:19) advised the leaders to take keen interest in ensuring that the need of their people such as worldly affairs, marital affairs, businesses, markets, portable water, graveyards etc. are effectively handled. Sheikh Abdullah further advised that teachers should be sent to villages and towns to teach the ignorant and illiterate people and their (teachers) salaries can be paid from *bait al-mal.* In *Diya al Hukkam*, Abdullah stressed that the leaders should provide the basic requirements for livelihood and also promote various types of crafts for the benefit of the people.

2.5.9 Brotherhood

One of the greatest concerns of Islam is to bring to the world a political and organizational structure that will ensure unity and peaceful co-existence among different interest groups living in communities. Islam thus teaches the consolidation of unity among people and wiping out every possibility of division and hostility. It calls the Muslims to fraternize the rights of the people of other religions.

During the early days of Islam, the Prophet (SAW)'s proclamation of brotherhood transformed the bond among Muslims into one of blood and real fraternity. This created a new, genuine brotherhood which forged the Muslims' ranks into an indivisible whole. Following the migration of the Prophet (SAW) from Makkah to Madina, each emigrant (*Muhajir*) was bonded to a member of the helpers (*Ansar*) in a form of mutual assistance. By this form of brotherhood, Islam achieved an operational unity which exhibit sound judgment and foresight.

It is worth noting and stressing here that a true brotherhood can be established only by the virtue of man's relationship with one another through strict adherence to the laws of Allah. But other

factors such as common interests, common occupation, common pursuits etc. may only help to foster friendship and brotherhood to certain degree and also the very same factors may engineer jealousy and hostility. It is only the consciousness that mankind are all equal creatures and servants of Allah and that they must all constantly seek the pleasure of Allah that can bring about the realization of true brotherhood which can stand the test of all contingencies to which life is subjected. Allah said in the Qur'an:

> *And hold fast all together by the rope of Allah and be not divided among yourself; and remember with gratitude Allah's favour on you; for you were enemies and He joined your hearts together in love, so that by His grace you become brothers. And you were on the brink of the pit of fire and He saved you from it. Thus, does Allah make His sign clear to you that you may be guided.* (Q3:103)

This verse implies that the Muslims should give the greatest importance to brotherhood and should make it the center of all their interests, and exert their utmost to establish it and cooperate with one another for its service. If the Muslims let loose this cord and deviate from its basic principles, they will inevitably suffer from disunity and would be divided into sections and sub-sections, like the communities of the former Prophets. As a consequence of this, they will meet with disgrace both in this world and the next.

From the foregoing, it is clear that brotherhood forms one of the foundations of the Islamic civilization. While one is expected to love for his brother what he loves for himself, he is equally expected to express the love through the acts of good deeds and showing mercy without any pride or expectation of gratitude. The enforcement of brotherhood and the stipulation of rights from one person to another is a great social ideal or value in Islam which gives rise to unity and harmonious living within a society as witnessed in Madina after the establishment of the institution of brotherhood.

The institution of brotherhood was given serious attention in the Sokoto Caliphate to the extent that Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio wrote a book titled *'Kitab al Tibyan li Huquq al 'Ikhwan*. In this book the Sheikh explained those rights that are due from one category of people to another as enshrined in the teachings of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW). Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio identified ten (10) different categories of people as may exist in any society who owe right to one another, which by implication lead to the establishment of brotherhood. These categories are individual Muslims, neighbors, friends, kin, parents,

children, spouse, slaves, concubine, and house help. The rights of all these categories of people were outlined and attended to in the process of establishing brotherhood in the Caliphate as shown by Abdullahi bin Fodio.

2.6 Summary of the Literature Review

The discussions in this chapter have been on various issues that helped towards understanding the Sokoto Caliphate. The literature review introduced us to a brief account of the Hausa land before the *Jihad* that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The discussions portrayed the political, social, and economic life of the Hausa states before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The entire life of the Hausaland before the *Jihad* movement was characterized by corruption and a lot of social ills\vices which include among others bribery, legal corruption, gratification and tyrannical leadership. Others also include inhuman slavery, mal-treatment of women, children, and the weak ones from among the men and the women. There was virtually corruption in all aspects of the life of the Hausaland. And most painfully and devastating is the corruption that befall the religious institution which gave birth to venal scholars (*Ulama' al- Su*) who interpreted Islam according to their selfish interests and the interests of the ruling aristocrats.

Through this chapter also, the values that guided the Sokoto Caliphate in its political, social, and economic affairs were brought

to light with the help of the literary contributions of the pioneers of the Caliphate, which shows that the achievements recorded by the Caliphate were not mere accident but through the help of some values cherished in the Caliphate. The literature review made it clear to the contemporary Muslims that the values cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate were based on the fundamentals of Islam, thereby avoiding unnecessary disagreement that would have created disunity among the general Muslims in the Caliphate and in particular among the pioneers of the Caliphate. This is (as observed) in sharp contrast with the practices of the contemporary Muslims whose values are based on trivial issues, the repercussion of which the Muslims are witnessing today i.e. disunity among all their ranks and files.

The prominent personalities who supported the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement were outlined in this chapter of the literature review. The discussions showed that most of the personalities participated in the *Jihad* Movement physically (as flag bearers) in all the nooks and crannies of the Hausaland, while others gave moral and financial support. It is also shown in the discussions that the personalities who supported the *Jihad* emerged from the three

major tribes known and living in the Hausaland; the Hausas, the Fulanis and the Tuareqs. This falsifies the assertion that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement was motivated by tribal factor i.e. a Fulani tribal uprising against the Hausa aristocrats.

The approach of both the colonialists and the Orientalists towards the Sokoto Caliphate was also discussed which revealed the negative interpretation given to the Caliphate by them (Colonialists and the Orientalists). These interpretations were summarized in the following assumptions as earlier mentioned; that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement was more of racial conflict than religious, that economic factor played a more dominant role in motivating the *Jihad* Movement than religious factor and that the *Jihad* Movement succeeded in only overthrowing the Hausa aristocracy than creating any positive change in the Hausaland. Each of these assumptions were discussed and were found to be false because the discussions showed that the colonialists and the Orientalists were sentimental in their approach and what is most important and glaring is that they (Colonialists and Orientalists) used the standard of their culture and civilization (which is secular in nature) to measure the success or otherwise of the Sokoto

Caliphate whose culture and civilizations are derived from the fundamentals of Islam. Thus, the judgment became subjective rather than objective.

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CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Methodology in any research is the operational blue print, which the researcher plans to employ in accomplishing the objectives of his research work. In other words, in a normal research work or any plan with a stated objectives, whenever a research topic is chosen or determined, what comes next are some initial questions which the researcher would have to develop and provide answers to. These questions relate to the type of Method(s) to employ to collect the information needed and the ways through which data collected can be analyzed. This refers to the overall plan, structure and strategy of investigation, which guide the collection, and analysis of the data so as to enhance the achievement of the stated objectives of the research. Therefore, the methodology of any research as observed by Tukur (1999:191) can be likened with a building plan which guides the builder at every stage of the construction such that the type of building constructed is exactly the same as that drawn by the architect. In a nutshell, research methodology always deals with the'' how and not the "what'' or ''why'' of a research. Conventionally, research

methodology contains essentially many items. But because of the peculiarity of some researches, especially in the field of Islamic Studies, the methodology of this research in particular will be focused on mainly three items. These are the sources of data to be used in the study, the data collection procedure to be followed and the type of research method to be employed

The methodology of research always helps in dictating the boundaries of research activity, which enable the researcher to channel all his energies towards the stated specific objective (s). This is because the instruments used in one type of method of research may not be applicable to another and thus, leaving the researcher with the option of looking for relevant instruments that can help him to achieve the stated objective (s).

It is nevertheless worth noting that research designs and methods are only serving as guidelines for research activity and not as hard or rigid rules that must be followed strictly even in the event of constraints or difficulties. This is due to the fact that immediately the research is began, certain constraints or conditions may dictate changes in the research methodology and it will not augur well for the researcher to stick to his earlier research

methodology even in the event of conditions or difficulties that call for changes, complete alteration or suspension of the design or method. Therefore the research design or method only serves as a proposal for what the researcher intends to do which may be subject to review depending on the circumstances around.

3.2 Research Methodology.

In every research, a given specific problem is investigated. Thomas (1998:56) said "The nature of the problem in most cases determine the selection of the primary method of its investigation in terms of data gathering, analysis and interpretation." In arts and social sciences research, various methods have been applied. Methods of research are classified into historical, descriptive and experimental as identified by Ayodele (2002:34). It is possible to adopt one or more methods of research in a particular research. Here is a brief discussion on the methods mentioned above.

a) Descriptive Method:

This is a fact finding approach method related mainly to the present and abstracting generalization through the cross- sectional study of the present situation. It helps to establish the nature of a given phenomena. Ayodele (2002:40) described descriptive

method of research as that method that "seeks to find out the condition or relationship that exists, opinions that are held, processes that are going on, effects that are evident, or trends that are developing ." He also said that there are also other Research methods that fall under the umbrella of descriptive method. These include survey research method, correlation studies and case studies. An element of this method of research is employed because the nature of the research problem has an element of determining relationship between what existed in the Sokoto Caliphate and what is existing among the Muslims in the present day Northern Nigeria.

b) Experimental Research Method.

This method of research is applied (in most cases) under the laboratory situation either in the field or in the pure science laboratory. This type of research helps to discover trends, new phenomena, or to confirm or disconfirm the work that has been done previously in the area. In social services and education this method is also used, for example in education, an experiment can be conducted in order to find out the effectiveness of a teaching method on students' performance or achievement. This method of

research cannot be applied on the problem under investigation because the nature of the problem does not demand both laboratory or field test to get the current data needed.

c) Historical Method.

In conventional terms, historical research method (under which this research falls) deals with the reconstruction of facts or events of the past objectively so as to pave way for understanding current situations or developments. The historical research is basically concern with the interpretations of past trends of events, attitudes, facts and developments viewed as an integrated part of human socio-cultural, political, economic and technological development. It is also a type of research that enables a researcher to understand the past and build on what is known and be able to predict the future. A researcher using historical method of research is always interested in the understanding current problems, which can be solved through a critical study of particular events in the past, which have far reaching implication on the identified problem(s). The boundaries governed by the Sokoto Caliphate are today (21st century) in a state of darkness and disarray because the values and ethics which guided the Caliphate and made it

politically, socially and economically balanced society have been forgotten in the dustbin of history. Therefore, if the values and Ethics that guided the Sokoto Caliphate are rekindled and brought close to the Muslims they will have far reaching effects on their life and they will begin to cherish them and put them into practice.

Kamil (1995:45) opined that historical research method has two main sources for its data. These are Relics and Documents. Relics refer to the unwritten archaeological or geological remains, which are got through excavation. These include farm implements, house utensils, skeletal bones etc. While Documents refer to the body of written materials from which valuable information about a given event are obtained. In Arts and social science, historical method of research found its expression and application. This shows that historical method of research has to do with an induction of principles through research into the past and social forces which have shaped the present. In this method past knowledge is always considered to be a prerequisite for present knowledge. It is also a research method which enables the researcher to document the past events and make certain generalization that may help to understand the past and the present.

The historical nature of the problem under investigation called for the adoption of this method of research. In other words, the method applied in this work is historical method.

There are basically two main sources of documentary information in the conduct of historical research. These are the primary and the secondary sources. The primary sources refer to the information obtained by a researcher from an actual eyewitness or a participant in an event or the historical object itself. The secondary sources on the other hand refer to the bits of information a researcher collected from the hand of a middleman who relays such information from the original witness to the researcher. But this type of source has a great limitation because of the tendency for distortion as the information moves from one person to another. This therefore brings the need for a researcher to be extra careful in the process of verifying the reliability and authenticity of the information.

Based on the above discussions therefore, the primary sources used in this research work include any of the available literary contributions, materials or writings of the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars particularly the pioneers of the *Jihad* Movement that

culminated into the foundation and establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, and the secondary sources also include the available literature written by some Muslim scholars on the Caliphate.

Tukur (1999:192) stated that in the Islamic methodology of research the Muslim scholars such as al - Ghazali (d.505 AH) and Ibn khaldun (d. 808AH) have identified three major areas of research in Islamic studies and classified them accordingly. These are jurisprudence, theology, *Hadith* and civilization, each of these identified areas or field of research has its unique method of research design except in few areas where they interwoven.

The topic of this research falls within the domain of Hadith and Civilization because it is historical in nature, which deals with authentication, validation and explanation of past records of events and providing moral values of intellectual contributions of Muslim scholars relating to the religion of Islam and other aspects of human endeavours. Therefore, this research sought to (essentially) answer the question "what was? In other words it is mainly concerned with how the past events actually occurred rather than how events should have occurred.

3.3 Instrumentation and Procedures for Data Collocation

This chapter tries to explain the methodology employed in the collection of data and the instruments used in the data collection of this research. In the general tradition of research, the procedure and instrumentation to be used in the collection of data are always determined by the research itself. The research may sometimes employ more than one method depending on the nature of the research problem. This explains why some researchers have to face difficulties in the process of analyzing their collected data.

As earlier specified in this chapter, the research method employed in this research is the historical research method because of the historical nature of the research problem. By extension therefore, the instruments used to generate the data for this research are basically literature written by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars and some related literature written by some reknown scholars in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate. But it is very important to note that the validation of the contents of the research instruments especially in historical research is an important and uncompromising principle of research methodology. This is why efforts were always made to ensure the content validity of the instruments in

order to avoid using distorted ideas from the ideas of the original authors. In a research of this type, a researcher is always faced with the difficulty of getting the literature written by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars because hardly does one lay his hand on the original manuscripts written by the Jihad scholars. Thus, in most cases only the edited works of the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars were used because they are closer to the original texts written by the scholars. The instrument of observation was also employed which enabled the researcher to see what obtained in the life of the contemporary Muslims in the Northern part of Nigeria for the purpose of making comparism with what obtained in the Sokoto Caliphate.

Because of the peculiar nature of this research and the fact that the data used for this research are mostly written and documented in both public and individual libraries, the search for this data involved visitations to individuals and public libraries where such documents containing the data were found. This therefore opened the researcher to many problems such as loss of some important documents, difficulty to get in touch with some personalities in position of some important documents and sometimes failure of some personalities to co-operate with the

researcher. This research further involved the following in the process of the data collection:

1. A careful study of the writings of the Sokoto *Jihad* Scholars thereby itemizing or identifying those traits or qualities that come together to form certain value.
2. Reading through the Qur'an and *Ahadith* of the prophet (SAW) in order to get relevant text to support and justify the identified values and also give the value a position in the *Shari'ah*.
3. Consulting other literature written by other scholars that have direct or close relation with the research problem. This procedure greatly helped in shading more light on all the values identified while being discussed.

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CHAPTER FOUR:

ETHICAL CONDUCTS IN THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE

4.1 Introduction

Ethical conduct is the anchor of the Islamic personality of the caller to the path of Allah. It is also the standard by which a leader is judged by the people and which, in the long run, is the only way to assure people's confidence in his ability to lead. This is why Islam concerns itself extensively with ethical conducts. Islam also places a very high premium on ethical conducts, a premium so high that it includes them in the Scripture as Allah's commandments. The Prophet (SAW) devoted a great portion of his efforts to teaching his companions manners and ethics. The Islamic manners and ethics constitute the lifestyle of a Muslim, his culture, his refinement and his humanity. Thus, Islamic manners are supposed to be consistent with and reflect the Muslim's identity. This is also why the Sokoto Caliphate concerned itself in the development and adherence to ethical standards in carrying out some essential activities that have direct effects on the life of people such as preaching, leadership, distribution of wealth, etc as will be seen in the subsequent discussions in this chapter.

4.2 Ethics of Preaching

Generally, the overall objective of preaching in Islam as observed by Bidmus (1996:40) is like a rescue operation prompted by a troubled passenger sailing in a ship on the high sea alongside with others. He is seen with his instrument working hard to scuttle the ship. The man has the impression that he is performing a civic and patriotic duty with his action while the other passengers in the ship think otherwise. Thus, they felt they cannot afford to keep watching but to stop him from his action in order to save themselves and the ship from drowning. The mission of preaching in the Sokoto Caliphate was to save the entire people from the social, political, economic and religious corruption that had been perpetuated by the Hausa rulers and the venal scholars at that time.

The duty to preach and call people to the path of Allah is necessary and obligatory which in most cases arise as a result of social and moral decay. Fundamentally, this is the duty of the learned and upright people in the society. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as reflected in El-Masri (1978:22) wrote a short treatise entitled *Al Amr bil Ma'ruf wan Nahyi anil Munkar* in which he showed the necessity of preaching and also implored his

contemporary Muslims (Ulama' and ordinary men, pious and impious) to carry on the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding the evils. The Sheikh in the short treatise explained preaching as both a historical and social necessity. Suleiman (1986:60) observed that if preaching is regarded as a historical and social necessity by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio, then a scholar "must call people to Islam even if their response is negative or hostile". He further said, a scholar must undertake this duty he owes to Allah and a duty for which there is no alternative in the period of social and moral crises. Furthermore, because a scholar has a responsibility to his society, which is to steer it in the course of regeneration when decline has manifested itself.

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio also in the treatise emphasized the necessity of preaching and calling people to the path of Allah supporting his argument with the saying of Allah in the Glorious Qur'an:

> *Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong: they are the ones to attain felicity.* (Q3: 104)

This implies that calling people to the path of Allah constitutes the only surest way through which the Muslim community can ensure

its enhancement and survival as a social and ideological entity respectively. This is indeed a fact attested to by the history of Islam itself since the time of the Prophet (SAW) through the period of the four rightly-guided Caliphs, the Umayyad period, the Abbasid down to the closest generation to us i.e. the Sokoto Caliphate.

In the field of *Da'wah*, Islam has accused those scholars who enjoin people to act righteously and forget about themselves and at the same time it has commanded the Muslims to extend the message of Islam to those who have not heard it. These two injunctions show that provision of accusation is made for those scholars who preach without complying with what they preached and those who maintain silence in the face of social degeneration when the actual need is to speak out. Putting these provisions into consideration vis-à-vis the nature and characteristics of the society in which Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio found himself, he concluded and adjudged in the short treatise (*al Amr bil Ma'ruf Wan Nahyi Anil Munkar*) that

> The duty to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil is not confined only to the pious one who does not perform the same act he forbids others from doing but the duty also lies on one who performs what he forbids people from doing. This is so because the two are distinct obligations and it is

> not proper for one who defaults in respect of one issue to abandon the other.

Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio further maintained in the same treatise i.e. *Al Amr bil Ma'ruf wan Nahyi anil Munkar* that "although it is a sin to perform an act which one forbids but it is also a great sin to remain silent in a society characterized by corruption, decay and ignorance." This clearly shows that it is better and safer for a scholar to take one moral risk in the event of necessity i.e. to preach and teach in an environment of prevalent moral decay and ignorance than to resort to the greater risk i.e. remaining silent with the excuse that one is likely to fall victim of the same sins against which one is preaching. This is a moral dilemma which threatens the activities of scholars not only in Nigeria but virtually the world over. The Muslim scholars should study the nature and characteristics of their environment and conclude on the moral virtue that would guide their activities. But the principle of Islamic moral value of selection should be put into consideration i.e. the perpetuation of one evil is of lesser effect than the effects perpetuation of two evils.

Although it is obligatory on every good and conscious Muslim to enjoin his brethren to do good deeds and forbid them

from doing bad deeds, but that has to be done in a proper manner and by observing the ethics of preaching, otherwise it may cause disharmony and arrogance among the Muslims. It is against this background that it becomes necessary for preachers to look up to those ethics that serve as guide in the conduct of preaching particularly in the Sokoto Caliphate. This is in view of the fact that in Nigeria today, a lot of preaching activities are being conducted by many individuals or groups of scholars under the umbrella of various organizations and associations but without getting the desired results.

Muhammad Bello as quoted by Bello (1983:77) observed and said that

> Admonition in public is a disgrace and comes only from an ignorant man, as the advantage of lawful advice is benefit and mutual love but if given in public, it will not be accepted and will result in enmity, because the person admonished, in trying to justify himself will call the preacher a liar and this will lead to corruption of many people. And if he had admonished him in privacy, he (the person admonished) would have thanked and loved him and the admonition would have been fruitful. But if the person to be admonished is shameless, the truth has to be said to him in any circumstance. He who removed the veil of shame from his face should be blamed (publicly).

This shows a typical ethical approach to preaching in the Sokoto Caliphate which implies that a preacher is expected to be extra cautious in the process of preaching because he may end up causing more harm than good. A preacher is ethically expected to approach his clients in privacy just as did the pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate when they met the venal scholars and the Hausa rulers in privacy. The Muslim preachers in Nigeria particularly in the North have a lot to learn from the above ethic because it will surely help in curing the disharmony and disunity created among the Muslims through the wrong method imbibed by the preachers.

In the process of calling to the path of Allah, it is not ethical to subject the people to unbearable moral pressure. This is because history has shown that the tremendous success achieved by the Prophet (SAW) in mobilizing and creating brotherhood among the Muslims was largely attributed to his gentle approach to issues. This is in view of the fact that individuals are naturally attracted to love those who are lenient and good to them. It should be noted that harshness and severity in preaching sometimes cause one to become obstinate and persist in his wrong with pride. Leniency and goodness in this context refers to gentle approach to preaching

which appeals to the heart and makes it accept the truth willingly. Preachers are not supposed to address the deviants in a recriminating and harsh manner. This is clearly reflected in the Qur'an where Allah instructed Prophets Musa (AS) and Harun (AS) to address Firaun (the great tyrant the world had ever witnessed) in a gentle manner.

> *Go, both of you, to Pharaoh, for he has indeed transgressed all bounds. But speak to him mildly, perchance he may take warning or fear (Allah)* (Q20:43-44)

In the *Sirah* of the Prophet (SAW), one finds various examples of the fascinating and influential methods of *Da'wah* through which the Prophet (SAW) achieved his goal. For example, Abu Umamah (RA) as quoted in Fatahi (1405AH:123-124) reported that a young man came to the Prophet (SAW) and said:

> *Oh Prophet of Allah, Permit me to commit fornication." The people shouted at him but the Prophet (SAW) said: "Come close." He came close and sat in front of the Prophet (SAW)..Then the Prophet (SAW) said "Would you like it for your mother?" "No! May Allah make me your ransom." The Prophet (SAW) said: "So would the people not like it for their mothers." The Prophet (SAW) said." Would you like it for your daughter?" He said: "No! May Allah make me your ransom." The Prophet (SAW) said: "Would you like it for your sister?".... "No! May Allah make me your ransom." Then the Prophet (SAW) placed his hand on the young man's chest and said: "Oh Allah, purify his heart,*

forgive his sin and protect his chastity" After that there was nothing more abominable to the young man than fornication."

In their efforts to call people to the path of Allah, the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement particularly Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio as quoted by Suleiman (1986:54) advised the preachers to abstain themselves from outright condemnation. He (Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio) said

> The scholar should never condemn them (people) for doing acts which are not expressly prohibited by the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, or by the consensus of the jurists. Similarly, he should not fault the people for failing to do acts which are not expressly made obligatory by the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, or by the consensus of the jurists. He should not be haste to condemn the mass of Muslims thus injuring their beliefs; nor bring forward a *fatwa* invalidating their worship and transactions merely on the strength of the rulings of some jurists without any explicit ruling of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* to that effect, or by an agreement of the jurists.

This urges the callers to the path of Allah to be lenient to those whom they call to Islam. They should patient with the people. This is the practice which enabled the Prophet (SAW) to bring together people of different backgrounds and different moral standards.

It is also unethical in the act of preaching to address the personality of people. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in his book *I'dad*

al Da'i ila Din al Allah advised that scholars should desist from addressing people in persons and criticisms should be addressed in general terms instead of addressing it to specific individuals or groups. This ethic is lacked among many of the Nigerian scholars. It is a glaring fact that many preaching activities in Nigeria today are characterized by blames and character assassination of individuals or groups of individuals and this is mainly the causes of the disunity prevailing among the Muslims in the Northern states of Nigeria today.

4.3 Ethics of Leadership in the Sokoto Caliphate

Leadership as defined by Altalib (1389AH:50) means "a process of moving people in a planned direction by motivating them to action through non-compulsive means". This means that leadership is both a role and a process of influencing others. Leadership does not operate in a vacuum, but in an atmosphere created by various elements. It is expected to be constantly active even though it may fluctuate in degree, intensity, or extent, but it does not turn on and off. It is either dynamic or non-existent.

The question of leadership has always been an issue of paramount importance to all human societies. Nations and

communities that give value to their honour, glory and existence, endeavour to fashion out for themselves a just, stable and God-fearing leadership. No nation evolves without leadership and no nation that evolves continues to thrive without a strong and just leadership.

Islam with its revolutionary message attaches great importance to leadership. Mankind in general is entrusted with the noble position of Allah's vicegerent/representative on earth. He is regarded as leader of all other creatures that live or exist together with him on earth. In his unique position, man is capable of impacting on other creatures around him, directly or indirectly. Thus, if his pattern of life is perverted and inclined to misguidance, injustice and corruption, the whole existence around him suffers the catastrophic effects of such behaviour. It is unfortunate that mankind is generally inclined to such behaviour as has been testified by the angels when Allah said to them that He will create and put His vicegerent on earth:

> *Behold thy Lord said to the Angels: "I will create a vicegerent on earth" They said: "Wilt thou place therein one who will make mischief therein and shed blood whilst we do celebrate Thy Praises and glorifying Thy Holy (Name)?" He said: "I knew what ye knew not"* (Q2:30)

However, not all mankind are the same. The community of Muslims was evolved by Allah to act as true vicegerents/representatives of Allah on earth. They are the ones who have absolute faith in His Oneness and strive to establish the supremacy of His laws on earth. Muslims are enjoined to lead mankind along the path of righteousness. As a model community, the Muslims are to teach how to operate a viable, just and effective system that will ensure true prosperity for individuals and nations. The Muslim community cannot possibly play this role effectively until they evolve within themselves a sound leadership structure.

The Qur'an emphatically stresses that there must be a system of leadership within the Muslim community. Such leadership must subject itself to the Laws and commands of Allah and His apostle. The followers of the leadership on the other hand must subject themselves to the authority of the leaders as are just, fair and God-fearing. Allah (SW) says:

> *And obey Allah and obey His apostle and those in authority (leaders) amongst you.*

This verse makes a case for the necessity of leadership with some specific hierarchy, criteria and guidelines. Absolute obedience is

only due to Allah and His Prophet and leaders who must be Muslims.

The Islamic system aims at creating orderliness, harmony and peaceful atmosphere that are necessary prerequisites for the existence of any human society. Where there is no leadership, there will be confusion and disorder, because there will be no one to implement the Laws of Allah. This explains the insistence by Muslim scholars that Muslims must never allow vacuum of leadership to exist beyond a reasonable moment. Based on this, one understands and appreciates the wisdom behind the stance of the companions immediately after the death of the Prophet (SAW). Without a quick settlement of the leadership of the *Ummah*, it could have easily disintegrated. This is not peculiar to the Muslim *Ummah* alone at that time or at any other time.

It is also worth noting to recognise the fact that, the necessity of leadership is not only restricted to the wider dimension of community relationship i.e. Caliphate, Kingdom, Republic etc. At every level of human interaction, it is necessary that there should be a form of leadership. Take for instance, a journey from one place to another; the Prophet (SAW) said:

> *It is not permissible for three men to be in the desert (on a journey) except that they appoint one from among them as their leader.* (Abu Dawud in the Book of Jihad Vol. III: 36)

This *Hadith* alone is enough a pointer to the significance of leadership. It is seen as one of the greatest obligations of Islam, without which Muslims cannot practice Islam in totality as directed by Allah.

Leadership in the Muslim political thought is classified into many categories. The first is the supreme leader and the last is the slave put in charge of the properties of his master. The Prophet (SAW) was reported to have said

> *Every one of you is a shepherd and every one of you is responsible for his flock.* (Sahih Muslim Vol. III: 1017)

In this tradition, the government's responsibility towards the citizens has been put on a par with a father's or mother's responsibility towards their children. Just as the father is a 'shepherd' i.e. a guardian who is morally and legally bound to ensure the maintenance and well-being of his family, the government is morally and legally bound to ensure the moral,

spiritual, social and economic well-being of its citizens, whose affairs it has undertaken to administer.

The simile of a shepherd is highly significant and relevance in this connection because it recalls to ones mind the sympathetic role the Prophet (SAW) as a guide of mankind. The idea behind it is that the shepherd is more careful of the well-being of his flock than even the flock itself. He is always on the alert with regard to his flock and takes full care of the animals so that they may not go astray and fall victims of the beast of prey. The Prophet (SAW) is the shepherd of humanity, always thinking of their welfare, always working for the alleviation of their sufferings and always exhorting them to move along the path of righteousness and religious piety.

There is a deep love in the heart of the Prophet (SAW) for the ailing humanity and a strong will to cure it. It is with a spirit of deep love, affection and self-sacrifice that the father serves his family and it should be with same spirit or emotion of love and spirit of sacrifice that a leader should serve the state and its members. The implication of this *Hadith* shows that every leader is the caretaker over all the people and other creatures under his domain.

4.3.1 Ethics of Appointing a Leader.

The appointment of a leader as maintained by Islam is obligatory on the Muslims according to the *Shari'ah*. It is mandatory on the entire *Ummah* to address themselves to it because of its importance in the life of the Muslims. But this can on the alternative be done by the *Ahlul Hal Wal Aqd* (the people whose opinions matters in the society) as opined by El- Masri (1978:61).

In the Sokoto Caliphate, the appointment of leadership was given serious attention to the extent that Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio in El- Masri (1978:74) insisted in his *Bayan Wujubil Hijrah Alal Ibad* that leadership should only be given to those men of resolution, capability, sincerity and honesty. He further said in his *Bayan Wujbil Hijrah alal Ibad* that appointments are to be made on the bases of the fear of Allah (*Taqwah*) and not on the bases of selfish interest. The Sheikh supported his argument with one of the admonitions given by Umar bin Khattab to his appointed governors. He said "I do not appoint you over men; their personality and honour nor over their wealth; I only appoint you to lead them in prayer and settle their differences equitably". This was

what gave the Caliphate a sense of probity and accountability. It was also the same ethic which ushered in good leaders in the Caliphate which paved ways for the successes achieved by the Caliphate within a short period of time.

The above ethics show that whenever the need for the appointment of a leader arises, the electorates should fear Allah and have the interest of the people in their minds, otherwise they would be found guilty and responsible before Allah on the Day of Judgment for any wrong committed by the leader so appointed. Similarly, Sheikh Abdullah bin Fodio in Tukur (1991:82-83) adjudged that the appointment of a leader must be based on consultation and mutual agreement among the Muslims that he is the best of them and most qualified. Sheikh Abdullah bin Fodio as shown in Tukur (1991:82) supported his opinion with the saying of Umar bin Khattab which reads "Indeed whosoever swore allegiance to a man appointed without due consultation among the Muslims, such a pledge is null and void from the pledge and he to whom it was made". Abdullahi also narrated the event which followed the murder of Uthman bin Affan when the common people came to Ali bin Abi Talib and said to him "stretch your

hand so that we make pledge of allegiance to you", Ali bin Abi Talib then replied: "that is not for you but for those who participated in the battle of Badr". He refused to accept the offer until they all agreed on him. This was also emphasized and strictly followed in the Sokoto Caliphate as reflected in the book *Diya'ul Anam* of Abdullahi bin Fodio that for a person to be appointed as a leader, he must satisfy the following qualities; Islam, adulthood, male hood, probity, knowledge and capability.

The appointment of leadership in Nigeria today, particularly in the areas under the domain of the then Sokoto Caliphate, (which is more of Secular) does not follow these ethical principles mentioned above which served as guide in the appointment of leadership in the then Sokoto Caliphate. These were enshrined in the literary contributions of the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* movement and which were put into practice in their political administration. In the present day Nigerian system of appointment to leadership, even a corrupt person in the society can assume leadership in any of the tiers of government as long as he is in the good book of the superior leaders. This is why the impact of leadership is not being felt by the significant majority of the

Nigerian people. Therefore, for leaders to serve the purpose for which they are appointed, the ethics that guided the appointment of leadership in the Sokoto Caliphate must be revived in the political life of the Nigerian people in general and the Muslims in particular. What is now clear is that a reform in the quality of Muslims' leadership (particularly in the North) based upon the moral and ethical values of Islam in general and the Sokoto Caliphate in particular, is not only necessary but inevitable. And for this to be achieved, Muslims must insist on having a leadership of competent, dedicated, visionary, selfless, just and God-fearing people. They must also begin to challenge the authority of the corrupt, inept, autocratic and morally bankrupt leadership of ungodly people as demonstrated by the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* movement. However, Muslims must work towards an effective change that will bring positive changes in the socio-political, economic and religious life of the Muslims.

4.3.2. Ethics of Paying Allegiance to Leadership

Leadership as outlined by Abdullahi Bin Fodio in Tukur (1991:83) is divided into four divisions; leadership by revelation i.e. Prophethood, leadership by inheritance i.e. knowledge,

leadership by ritual worship i.e. leadership in prayers and welfare leadership i.e. the supreme leadership for the establishment of the welfare of the *Ummah*. The Prophet (SAW) fulfilled each of the above types of leadership. And the type of leadership meant to be addressed in this discussion is the last type i.e. the welfare leadership which simply refers to the general leadership in both religious and worldly affairs

Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in his Tukur (1991:85) warned that any leader who does not act on behalf of the Prophet (SAW) in the improvement of religious and worldly matters of the Muslims according to the *Sunnah* is neither the representative of the Prophet (SAW) nor his successor even if such a person is called by such a name. He further quoted al – Nafarawi in his commentary of *Risala* saying that "those who changed the pattern of the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW) are monarchs", and that:

> The difference between the Caliphate and the monarchy is that in the caliphate, a situation is observed in which someone takes the position of the deceased with the full consent of those to be ruled. While in the monarchy what is observed is a situation where someone takes the position of another (willingly or unwillingly) through coercion and subjugation over those to be ruled.

Abdullahi bin Fodio further shaded more light on the issue of leadership by quoting the Prophet (SAW) who said "this religion began with Prophethood and mercy, thereafter it would change to Caliphate and mercy, then it would change to despot and kingship and finally tyranny and corruption." (Abu Dawud: *Babul Ashrab*) These narrations show that in the ethical principles of Caliphate ship in the Islamic political system, a successor (in leadership) cannot be established except after the death of another successor before him. Whereas in the monarchy, a king can be enthroned upon another who is still alive in which case it becomes unjust and rebellious against the latter.

The ethical leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate was characterized by the ethical principles of the Caliphateship. Muhammad Bello (son of Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio) was not confirmed as the successor of his father (Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio) until the death of his father (Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio). Thereafter, Muhammad Bello succeeded the throne of the leadership in the Caliphate and was paid allegiance as a successor and a leader. This created cohesion between the leader and the led in the Sokoto Caliphate, thereby establishing sense of harmonious

continuity in the overall management of the Caliphate. This serves as a challenge and also a lesson to the political system operating in Nigeria which impliedly affects the life of the Muslims in this country. The political system is more of Monarchy under the guise of democracy; because the political system is witnessing a situation where succession in leadership is made through coercion and subjugation over those to be ruled. The leadership of most Muslim leaders today has transformed into tyranny and corruption which is the last stage of the deterioration of leadership as shown by the *Hadith* earlier quoted and this forms the major cause of the Nigerian political upheavals.

Spirit and ethics of allegiance in the Sokoto Caliphate were generally derived from the practices of the generations of the *Sahabah* and the *Tabi'un*. These generations have provided ethical principles or instruments which guide the act of paying allegiance to a leader. Abdullahi bin Fodio cited in Tukur (1991:87) many personalities from among the *Sahabah* and the *Tabi'un* portraying the basis upon which they paid their allegiance to their leaders. For instance, he quoted Mu'adh bin Jabal (R.A.) when he was sent to the Byzantines by Abu Ubaidah (R.A.) and the Byzantines boasted

of their kingship before him and in response to their action, he said to them

> if your king is Heraclius, certainly our king is Allah (the Most High) and our commander is one of us. If he (the leader) carries out his administration according to the teachings of the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger we will allow him to continue in the office, but if he acts otherwise, we (will not hesitate to) depose him.

Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio also quoted Khalid bin Walid saying to the Byzantines when they boasted of their kingship:

> All praises are due to Allah who made us believe in our prophet your prophet and the other prophets. He also made the commander whom we appointed to take charge of our affairs a man like any of us. If he had claimed to be king upon us, we would certainly have deposed him. We do not consider him to be more virtuous than any other Muslim except that he might be more pious and upright in the Sight of Allah.

Abubakar al-Siddiq (R.A.) was also quoted by Abdullahi bin Fodio in order to show the ethics upon which allegiance to a leader is suppose to be based. He (Abubakar al – Siddiq) said

> Oh people! I have been appointed an administrator upon you, whereas I am not the best among you. If I do well support me but if I do badly, put me on the straight path. Obey me as long as I obey Allah and His Messenger but if I disobey Allah and the Messenger then I have no right upon you to follow me.

Yazid al – Naqis (one of the Umayyad Caliph) was also quoted by Abdullahi bin Fodio in *Diya'ul – Anam* who said after his ascension to the throne of the Caliphate:

> Oh people! Since I have been appointed to administer your affairs, it is therefore your right upon me not to make a gift of any property from any town until I satisfied the need of its people with it or at least give to the people what is enough to maintain them. If anything remains, I should return it to the next town as complement to their means of livelihood. However, if you see a person who is more capable of leading than me, and you wish to pledge your allegiance to him despite all that I have offered to you, then I will be the first to pay homage to him and come under his obedience. If I swerve from the path, then I have no right to be followed and it is on Allah we depend on correctness.

The above quotations by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio from the *Sahabah* and the past Caliphs portray the fact that allegiance can only be pledged to a leader on the condition that he adheres strictly to the teachings of the Qur'ân and *Sunnah* otherwise people's oath of allegiance will be no more binding on them. This is the type of allegiance that paves way for respect, obedience and trust between the leader and the led. It is worth noting that any allegiance whose motivational factor is based on worldly materials always leads to mistrust, disrespect and suspicion between the leader and the led. This is unfortunately what characterized the ethics of pledging

allegiance to leadership among the Muslims today in Nigeria and particularly in the North. Muslims should therefore refrain from giving recognition to leadership on the ground of materialism.

4.3.3 Ethics of Personal Conduct Required of a Leader.

The personal conduct of a leader in a society plays a great role in maintaining the integrity of a society and also helps in developing and maintaining good ethical behaviours in the personal conducts of individual in the society. The leaders are seen to be the mirror of the society through which the led look and dress themselves accordingly. Thus, leaders are expected to serve as models for the led to emulate. It is on the account of the importance of the personal conduct required of a leader that Abdullahi bin Fodio wrote a complete chapter in Tukur (1991:96) outlining the ethics that should guide the personal conduct of a leader which was exemplified in the Sokoto Caliphate. These ethics according to the provision of *Shari'ah* includes the following:

i. Wearing dignified dress: The leaders are allowed to adorn themselves, scent their ordour and beautify their clothes. These add to their charisma in leadership and help to protect their integrity in the eyes of their subjects. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio

warn that the materials to be used should be among the things permitted for men to use. He also warned that such adornment should be done without embezzling the public treasury. For example, the leader is not allowed to adorn himself with gold, silver, or silk because they are prohibited items in Islam for men to use for adornment and in addition, they may be a source of pride and arrogance to the leader. It is unfortunate that today in Nigeria; leaders live a life of ostentations and extravagancy at the expense of the welfare of their subjects. This makes the leaders (on one hand) to be arrogant and inaccessible and (on the other hand) makes the subjects to develop mistrust and lack of confidence in the leadership.

ii. Observing good manners: The leaders are enjoined to observe good manners in their sitting, talking, laughing, walking, etc. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in Tukur (1991:96-100) said a leader "should not speak superfluously or in what is of no use to him. His laughter should be smiling. His walking should be moderate. His habit should always be consistent with the requirements of the *Shari'ah*". This shows that a leader is always expected to maintain his integrity, sense of mission and dignity with self control,

preventing whatever will disgrace the religion and his sense of honour. This also reminds Muslim leaders to be extra careful in their public outings and dealings because all eyes are on them and the minds of all and sundry are out to imitate them as leaders in the society.

iii. Love of virtues and virtuous people: Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio called upon the leaders to develop the habit of loving virtues and virtuous people and equally develop the hatred of all evils and evil doers. This should be done as Abdullahi suggested in his *Diya'ul Anam* by honouring good people in the council and paying no attention to the evil doers even if nothing is manifested from them that necessitates disciplinary action or punishment. Abdullahi bin Fodio as quoted by Tukur (1991:90) further said:

> The *Imam* should not bring evil doers close to his attendants or council because one is judged through his companions and their deeds are generally ascribed to him. If the ruler brings the best of his people closer and turns away from the evil doers, then he is good. But if the ruler brings the worst of his people closer and turns away from the best of them, then he is lost. The companions of every person tells (you) about him, and this is a matter which is very evident among mankind.

Contemporary leaders among the Muslims have a lot to learn from this ethical value. It is a common knowledge that many of the

companions of the leaders today are evil doers; some of them are cultists, fornicators, adulterers, gamblers, drunkards, etc contrary to what operated in the Sokoto Caliphate. This is what is making Nigerian leadership to be corrupt and still sinking into the ocean of corruption in all aspects of human endeavours. Sanity in life can only be attained when the leaders interact and have by their sides' good companions who will help them to promote what is good and prohibit what is bad.

iv. Observing steadfastness in all dealings: Leaders in the Sokoto Caliphate are not permitted to see, hear or interact with anything (outwardly or inwardly) contrary to the teachings of the *Sunnah*. In Tukur (1991:90), Abdullahi bin Fodio said:

> It is not permissible for the *Imam* to see or hear what is contrary to the teachings of the *Sunnah* in his house, relatives, neighbours, mosque, village, country, or troops and remain silent about it. Neither should he fail to change it, for that is among what the ignorant use as a proof for the legality of such things. And if he commands, he must not ignore it until the purpose is achieved. He should avoid lip service or else his dignity will wane (away) in the heart of his subjects and employees. If the ruler acts contrary to his words, then his weakness becomes exposed in all affairs. And his commands and prohibition (interdiction) will become ineffective among mankind (people) and (with this) he has thrown away the garment of his honour and dignity.

The appointment of a leader in a society as earlier expressed is obligatory in Islam, and so also there are certain basic ethics that guide the relationship that is supposed to exist between the leaders and the led. These ethics pave way to mutual understanding and co-operation between the leaders and the led which eventually enhances rapid development in all aspects of societal life as witnessed in the Sokoto Caliphate.

In the Sokoto Caliphate, the ethics or principles of relationship between the leaders and the led are clearly defined and spelt out in the literary contributions of the pioneers of the *Jihad* Movement which were translated into action by both the leaders and the led in the Caliphate. It was the responsibility of every person or subject in the Caliphate to obey the leader outwardly or inwardly. The leader is compulsorily obeyed by all in all that he commands except in what is illegal in which case it becomes unlawful for the subjects to obey him. This was clearly reflected in both the *Diya'ul Umara* and *Diya'ul Hukkam* of Abdullahi bin Fodio. For instance he said in Yamusa (nd:6) that it is compulsory on every responsible person (*Mukallaf*) to obey the leader outwardly or inwardly in all that he commands (them) as long as it

is not a sin. Obedience to a leader in a sin is unlawful as shown by the *Hadith* which says that

> *There is no obedience to a created being in disobedience to the Creator.* (Sahih Bukhari Vol. VIII: 23)

Abdullahi bin Fodio in Tukur (1991: 90) further explained obedience to a leader as a basic relationship that exists between the leader and the led. He emphasized that:

> Obedience to the Imam (leader) is obligatory upon every adult Muslim outwardly or inwardly in all commands, provided they are not sins. But if they happen to be sins, then obedience to him is forbidden. Such cases include a situation in which the *Imam* commands someone to take away the property (wealth) of another person, beat, arrest, or cause him anything that will hurt him unjustly. The prohibitions also include reprehensible issues which are disapproved by consensus. But in *al Makruh*, or reprehensible issue which are not disapproved by consensus, there are two views. According to Ibn Arafah, it is obligatory to obey the command of the *Imam* in it, while according to al Qurtabi it is not obligatory to obey him.

The Sheikh in Tukur (1991:90) declared as rebel anyone who follows the *Imam* outwardly but inwardly disobeyed him.

It is unfortunate that in Nigeria today, people of such nature and characteristics are many. And more so, it is most unfortunate that such people include not only the ordinary people but even the

learned scholars and top government officials. The relationship between leaders and the led today is not characterized by objective and sincere obedience to leadership. The significant majority of the people around the political leaders do not desire anything from them (the political leaders) except issues concerning the affairs of this world and this is why insanity is always seen in the Nigerian political activities.

On the other hand, Abdullahi bin Fodio insisted in Alkali (2004:18) that a ruler or leader must under obligation rule and act with good intention in carrying out his duty (as a leader) with the sole aim of pursuing Allah's wishes for the good of the subjects concerning their faith and existence. He also said the leader is expected not to rule his people by force or by inheritance, because the whole essence of a leader is neither to acquire leadership (through any means) nor to carry out the affairs of his subjects according to his wish but to establish programme that will enhance the spiritual and worldly life of his subjects. He is above all expected to be good to his subjects as Allah has done to him.

Leaders in the Sokoto Caliphate always speak in low voice to their subjects and guard their tongues against reprehensible

statement let alone telling lies or breaking promises as advised by Abdullahi bin Fodio in Yamusa (nd:8). He also emphasized that leaders should try as much as possible to observe justice and kindness in their dealings with their subjects. Justice and kindness in dealing with people as defined by Abdullahi bin Fodio in Alkali (2004:19) simply refers to giving people their right in full and giving more than someone's right from their (leaders') properties but not from somebody's right. This simply means that a leader would prefer to give an extra above someone's right from his (the leader) personal right than to take it from others' right. In the contemporary society, the subjects are not only related with unjustly and their rights denied but even their personal rights are being confiscated unjustifiably. And this is what is causing mistrust and lack of confidence between some Muslim leaders and the led in Northern Nigeria.

4.4 Ethics of Levying and Distribution of Wealth.

Generally in Islam, the Muslims are not required to pay any fine beside what is made obligatory on them by the *Shari'ah*. They are only required to give out what the Qur'an and Sunnah have prescribed for them such as *Zakah*, the inheritance of a person to be

inherited by the *Baitil Mal* (Muslim public treasury) and the like. These are among others, the sources through which the Islamic state is able to carry out or relieve the burden of its subjects and its needs pertaining to army, social welfare, and the maintenance of the Islamic reputation.

However, in the event of any calamity or constraints befalling the state, the damage of which affects the entire state and the state treasury becomes incapable of relieving or alleviating the state from the agony of the calamity or constraints, then the government of the Islamic state will have no option or alternative than to resort to levying the subjects of the state. This is why the Sokoto Caliphate from time to time resorts to levying its subjects according to their means in the event of any need arising from an extreme case of necessity without making it a continuous act upon them. The permissibility of the collection of tax or levy from the subjects in the Sokoto Caliphate was not done arbitrarily as the case in the present day practice in the Nigerian setting but was strictly guided by some ethics or guiding principles. These ethics or guiding principles were clearly spelt out by Abdullahi bin Fodio as in Tukur (1991:93). The principles are -:

i. That the need to resort to levying the subjects of the state must be duly occasioned by the incapability of the state treasury to cater for the existing problem or constraint. The Sheikh further said that it would not be permissible for any Islamic state to charge its subjects of anything provided the state has something in its treasury with which it can execute its projects or solve any arising problem. He adjudged that "Whoever imposed levies on the people while there is something in the Muslim treasury is a tyrant". The judgment passed by the Sheikh has serious implication on the leadership of the contemporary Nigeria. Apart from the fact that Nigeria is blessed with a lot of mineral resources which generate a huge amount of revenue into the state treasury, yet the Nigerian people suffer one form of levy or the other such as Value Added Tax (VAT), Pay As You Earn (PAYE), Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF), Education Trust Fund (ETF), etc. Nigeria has all the resources to cater for its subjects but unfortunately corruption and lack of ethical conducts in the leadership of the country could not allow justice to flourish. Thus, the leaders siphoned the revenue generated from the state mineral resources to their personal treasury and levying the subjects to carry out the state projects.

This is an act of tyranny as adjudged by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio.

ii. That when the need to impose levy arises, then it should be imposed only on those who are capable of paying without any difficulty. In the Sokoto Caliphate, only those who have the ability are levied while those who have little or nothing were exempted. This is a clear indication or sign of justice in practice as against what is in operation in the present day Nigeria where most of the levies being charged are paid by those who have little or virtually nothing. This is because what most of them (average Nigerian workers) earn cannot meet even ten per cent (10%) of the basic needs of their families talk less of levying them which impose additional hardship on them.

iii. That the policy establishing the levy should be reviewed periodically. This is due to the fact that there could be a time when the levy will not be desperately needed due to the rise of the revenue of the state in the treasury or cessation of the circumstance that necessitated the imposition of the levy. But in Nigeria, hardly is levy reviewed downward even if there is no definite circumstance for imposing it.

iv. That in the Sokoto Caliphate, it is not only the collection of levy or tax that concerned the leaders but even the ethics and manners of distributing it do. Sheikh Muhammad Bello in his *al- Ghaythil Wabl fi Siratal Imamul Adl* insisted on the obligation for an *Imam* (a leader) to appoint state officials who will collect alms and distribute it to those who are entitled to it.

In distributing revenue, the Sokoto Caliphate considered the need of the immediate locality where the revenue was generated; if there was no need for the revenue in the locality where it was generated. Then the revenue was taken to another locality where it was most needed. And in case another locality was found to be in greater need than the locality in which the revenue was generated, then the revenue was shared between the two localities. Two localities are to be considered independent if the distance between the two reaches exactly or extend the distance required for *Qasr* prayer. Both Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio and Muhammad Bello spelt out these clearly in their books *Diya'ul Umara* and *al- Ghaythil Wabl fi Siratal Imamul Adl* respectively.

Abdullahi bin Fodio in Alkali (2004: 23) said "Alms for breaking the fast (*Zakatul Fitr*) is for the poor and the destitute

only, to be expended where they are (lawfully) due; and if necessary to the nearest place. The obligatory alms (*Zakah*) is to be expended on "the poor, the destitute, those employed in collecting them, those whose minds lean towards (Islamic) friendship, and in respect of slaves and the bankrupt, and in the cause of Allah and the wayfarer: (Q9 : 60). This is to be expended where it is (lawfully) due, in strict compliance, if those deserving it are available. If they are not available, then it will be taken to the nearest place. However, places that are not as far as the distance permissible for shortening prayers are to be regarded as one place. Furthermore, if there are deserving ones at the place where it is due, and there are more deserving ones at another place, it is to be divided between the two places. The Sheikh further said in Alkali (2004:25):

> With respect to *Bait al Mal*, expending it is at the discretion of the *Imam*. But it is necessary for him to do so with the fear of Allah, following the principle of importance (of recipients), but not as he may wish. The most deserving persons to benefit from it are Muslim judges, the learned ones, those who direct (others) to the right path and their like on whom rest the affairs of the Muslims. People from each place where *Zakah* wealth is derived are more deserving of them than others. Where a necessity for the need of others (in another place) arise, some may be taken to them after distributing to the rightful

> owners what is sufficient and adequate. City walls are also to be repaired from such wealth. Similarly, the army should be supported from that according to their ranks. Every Muslim should have a right to it.

Muhammad Bello in Bello (1983: 289 – 290) said:

> And it should be paid out completely in the place where it becomes due, if there are those who are entitled to it there. Otherwise it should be transferred to the nearest place where those entitled to it are to be found. And what does not extend to the distance of reducing prayer (*Qasr*), is regarded as a single place. And if there is one who is entitled to it in the place where it becomes due and in another place one who is in more need than him, some of it can be divided out in the place where it became due and some of it can be transferred to the more needy person...

The above discussion particularly on the distribution of wealth in the Sokoto Caliphate was clearly insisted on that the revenue collected should be spent judiciously, i.e. the revenue should not be spent lavishly and whoever is not entitled to it should not be given and each beneficiary should not be given more than his entitlement. This guideline governing the ethics of collecting and distributing revenue is to a large extent lacking in the Nigerian economic system because most of the revenue collected are embezzled and are not been enjoyed by those that are entitled to it. This can clearly be seen in the government lavish expenditure on projects that have no direct bearing on the life of the significant

majority. The governments spend more on the politicians, leaving the most important and life-touching projects unattended such as water supply, health care, education, agriculture, power supply, etc. The discussions also insisted that the revenue collected should be spent under the strict guidelines of the *Shari'ah* which gives priority to the needs of the society and public welfare. It is also an indication that the Sokoto Caliphate frowned at spending public treasury based on personal interest. Thus, the Caliphate insisted on protecting the levies by entrusting them to the most trustworthy and reliable people with the responsibilities of collecting and distributing them. It is also unfortunate that in the contemporary Nigeria even the *Zakah* which is sometimes collected is not being enjoyed by those that genuinely deserve it.

4.5 Ethics of Medication

The Prophet (SAW) as narrated by Abu Huraira is reported to have said

> *No disease Allah created, but He created its treatment.*
> (Bukhari: vol. vii: 395)

In the complex modern world, events have been surrounded by ethical issues in all facets of life. Consequently, there has been heightened interest in the field of ethics, in an attempt to get a

better understanding of how these ethics influence the life of man. Specifically, in health care delivery system, the focus on ethics has been intensified in response to the controversial developments, including advances in technology and genetics, as well as diminished health care and financial resources.

Today, sophisticated technological advancements as claimed by Smelter and Bare (2004: 28) "Can prolong life well beyond the time when death would have occurred in the past. Expensive experimental procedures and medications are available for attempting to preserve life even if such attempts are likely to fail." Smelter and Bare (2004: 28) further said:

> The development of technological supports has had an influence on all stages of life. For example, the pre-natal period has been influenced by genetic screening in vitro-fertilization, the harvesting and freezing of embryos and personal surgery. (More so), in the early stages of life, premature infants are given a chance for survival by the use of technical support. Children and adults who would have died as a result of organ failure are living longer because of organ transplantation. Technological advances have also contributed to an increase in the average life expectancy.

In the ethical conduct and belief of Islam, it is a known fact and belief that the modern sophisticated technological advancements do not (in any way) preserves or sustain any life

(even for less than a second) beyond its stated time. In Islam, conscious Muslims believe that the modern sophisticated technological advancement can only enhance and improve the quality of health care delivery system which brings more ease to both the medical professionals and the patients alike. This is because, Allah has made it clear in many places of the Glorious Qur'an that no soul will live beyond its stated time. For example Allah said:

> *Nor can a soul die except by Allah's leave, the term being fixed as by writing. If any do desire a reward in this life, we shall give it to him; and if any do desire a reward in the hereafter, we shall give it to him. And swiftly shall we reward those that (serve us with) gratitude* (Q3: 145).

Again in another place the Glorious Qur'an states:

> *They said: when will this promise (come to pass) if you are telling the truth? Say: the appointment to you is for a day, which you cannot put back for an hour nor put forward.* (Q34: 29 – 30).

In the Sokoto Caliphate, there are certain ethics which guide the practice of medication. This was exhaustively discussed by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in Sifawa et al. (2004). He essentially addressed the qualities of a medical doctor, and his ethical behaviours towards a patient. These qualities and ethical

behaviours were demonstrated in the medical practice in the Sokoto Caliphate. He further defined medicine in the same book as the science through which health can be protected and ailment can be cured. The Sheikh also said that the origin of some medicine is traced to revelation to some Prophets while others are traced to experiments.

The science of medicine in the Sokoto Caliphate was regarded as a communal responsibility or obligation as opined by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in Sifawa et al. (2004:62). He adjudged that the science of medicine has almost become obligatory on individual in view of the minimal number of those who partake in it. The Sheikh further stressed the importance of partaking in the science of medicine which he said cannot be over-emphasized. He said Muslims who partake in the science of medicine would not only benefit themselves and their fellow Muslims but would also relieve the entire community (*Ummah*) of the collective obligation bestowed on it by the *Shari'ah*. And above all, he said partaking in it with good intentions serves as one of the greatest acts of devotion. Therefore, the Sheikh (Abdullahi bin Fodio) advised that whoever wishes to partake in the science of

medicine should intend strict compliance with the Sunnah of the Prophet (SAW) in providing medical treatment to the Muslims. He should also ensure protecting the privacy of the patient, particularly his physical private parts. The doctor should as much as possible avoid looking at the patient's private parts except what is absolutely necessary.

The above discussions show that the efforts being put to encourage Muslims to partake in the science of medicine has been in existence since the days of the Sokoto Caliphate. This therefore should serve as an encouragement to the contemporary Muslims to pursue the science of medicine. Governors of states with Muslim concentration should create an enabling environment in which the Muslim medical professionals can practice under the strict guidance of the ethical standard of Islam.

Considering the importance given to quality control in all aspects of life in the Sokoto Caliphate, Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio insisted that certain basic ethical qualities have to be possessed by a person before he/she is consulted as a medical practitioner. In other words, this refers to the requirements or prerequisites which a

person is expected to posses before he/she is consulted for medical advice or treatment.

In this regard, Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio advised in Sifawa et al. (2004:63) that it is not proper for a sick person or his relatives to consult anybody for medical advise or treatment except somebody who is religious, honest, knowledgeable in the field (i.e. science of medicine) and with enough experience. He should as well be knowledgeable in what is Islamically allowed to be used for medication and what is not allowed. He further discouraged people from patronizing quack doctors or even trusting them and should also refrain from going to the followers of other religions as they don't believe in the sanctity of the Muslims.

On the contrary, the medical profession today is filled up with a lot of half-baked doctors to the extent that people always entertain fear whenever they go to consult a doctor as to whether he is qualified or not. And worst off all, some of the doctors are less committed to moral virtues such as honesty, trustworthiness, justice e.t.c. This ethical advice therefore serves as a great challenge to the contemporary Muslims in view of the above observation which subject the Muslim patients to patronize half-

baked doctors as against what was in operation in the Sokoto Caliphate.

It is a well known fact that the behaviour and approach of a medical doctor towards a patient sometimes helps in instilling courage and confidence in the condition of the patient and it also (sometimes) instills fear and lack of confidence depending on the type of approach or behaviour demonstrated by the doctor towards the patient. Each of the above two reactions of the patient has its side effect. The former helps positively in improving the condition of the patient while the latter helps negatively in deteriorating the condition of the patient. Therefore, considering the sensitive position of the types of behaviour and approach to be demonstrated towards a patient, certain ethical behaviour and approach were outlined which were expected to be demonstrated by a doctor towards a patient in the Sokoto Caliphate. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio outlined in Sifawa et al. (2004:63-65) some of the essential basic ethical behaviour that a doctor is expected to demonstrate before a patient so that courage and confidence can be developed in him. The following are some of the outlined basic ethical behaviours which were put into practice in the Sokoto Caliphate:

1. Visitation to a Patient: It is advised and insisted that a doctor should not wait until he is called to attend to a patient as it is the practice of some doctors which contradicts the teaching of the Prophet (SAW) where he encourages all Muslims to visit the sick. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio emphasized that the doctors have more moral obligation to visit a sick person because they are in a better position to give advice as to how the condition of the patient can be improved.

2. On arrival at the patient: On arrival at the patient, the doctor is expected to sit down before the patient with the intention of total compliance with the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW) in medication and in addition, the doctor is also expected to show a smiling and cheerful face and explain to the patient that his sickness is not all that a serious one. This will instill courage and confidence and will greatly help in the quick recovery of the patient. Contrary to what is in practice today, some doctors and nurses treat patients harshly with no sign of sympathy shown to their condition and this affects them negatively by demoralizing them and eventually compounding their condition.

3. Knowledge of the history of the patient: It is ethically important and necessary for a doctor to find out and know about the historical background of the patient, especially in the following as outlined by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio:

i. the condition of the patient as at the time when he was physically well.

ii. His temperament.

iii. His upbringing.

iv. His region.

v. his common food and medicine.

This knowledge will put the doctor in a better position to advise and give appropriate medication. And this ethical standard serves as a warning and pointer to those patients who go from one clinic to the other without the proper chain of reference from one hospital to another. This type of attitude of patients (in most cases) put doctors in difficult situation, which puts them at an incapable position to advice.

4. Patience. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio said this is one of the most desirable behaviour that is expected to be demonstrated towards a patient by all doctors especially when they ask the

patients question(s). The question(s) asked should be repeated where the need arises as it may be possible that the patient has no knowledge of his condition or he may not be able to give the answer to the question(s) because of the pain he is suffering from. In essence, this ethical standard is emphasizing that a doctor should refrain from taking hasty conclusion because it always lead to dangerous result. The practice of some doctors today is that they conclude and prescribe for a patient even before the patient finishes his explanation about his problems. This is why many patients end up developing compounded problem instead of been cured.

5. Privacy and Confidentiality of the Patient: While diagnosing a patient, the doctor should not allow anybody to be with him except the person looking after the patient and is aware of his/her situation and that the patient does not feel shy to say anything about his/her condition before him. This becomes necessary because it is possible that the patient (particularly among scholars and pious men) may be suffering from an ailment which he may not wish anybody to know about. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio quoted the Prophet (SAW) in Sifawa et al. (2004:63) saying "From among the

treasure of righteousness is the concealment of (one's) misfortunes".

This ethical standard is about the secrets of the patient which should be treated with all sense of confidentiality. Information obtained from a patient is not expected to be disclosed to another person except when the person looking after the patient is leaving someone in his/her place, in which case it becomes necessary to inform him/her about the condition of the patient. It is unfortunate that this ethical behaviour is not been observed by some doctors and nurses because in many instances people hear about the condition of a patient through informal way and this in most cases result into spreading false information and sometimes even leads to defamation of the character of the patient. This becomes worst when the patient involved is a great figure in the community.

6. Consideration of Economic Position: The doctor is encouraged to put into consideration the economic position of the patient while prescribing medicine for him/her. If the patient is rich or well to do, the doctor should prescribe for him/her medicine that is according to his position even if it is expensive. This is perhaps due to the psychological nature of most of the well-to-do people who always

prefer to go for expensive materials. Likewise, if the patient is poor, the doctor should prescribe for him/her medicine that is within his/her economic reach. The Sheikh further emphasized that the doctor should bear in mind that in the course of carrying out his duty as a doctor, he is bound to meet with different categories of patients and each category demands a different approach particularly on the issue of charges for the service(s) he rendered. The categories are as follows -:

i. Category of the rich people: Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio advised that this category of patient should be charged and be made to pay for the services rendered to them. This is to enable the doctor continue with his profession as a business transaction and in addition earn his means of livelihood.

ii. Category of the scholars and pious people: Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio advised that doctors should be encouraged not to charge anything from this category of people, but should (instead) seek for the pleasure of Allah through the services they rendered to them and solved their problems. And if they give them anything, the doctors are advised to return it to them provided they do not necessarily need it. It is unfortunate that today, unrestrained quest

for materialism has quenched this ethic in the minds of most medical professionals. There is no consideration for economic position while prescribing medicine and not only the scholars or the pious people are charged exorbitantly, even close biological relations are not sometimes spared from the exploitation of some doctors. If the above ethic will be adhered to strictly, it would help greatly in creating unity, respect and concern among the Muslims and more so, it would ease the life of the patients and the integrity of the doctors would be raised.

iii. Category of the poor and the needy people: Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio described this category of people as those who do not have enough subsistence even when they are physically fit. The Sheikh advised that they should not only be charged but should (if possible) be provided with the money to buy what was prescribed for them by either the doctor himself or by the government or any individual.

On a general note, for the above ethic (charges for services rendered by doctors) to operate in a society, there is the need for a disciplined society that is free from the attitude of exploitation. The attitudes of most Muslims today would not favour this ethic

because it is mostly characterized by exploitation with one waiting for an opportunity to exploit the other. In other words, while most doctors are always waiting for opportunity to exploit the patients (whether rich, poor, needy or scholar/pious person) most patients on the other hand are also waiting for an opportunity to exploit the doctors. Thus, the attitude of exploitation became a vicious circle in the society and this is not unconnected with the moral degeneration in which the *Ummah* finds itself.

4.6 Ethics of Administering Justice

Justice which formed the moral values cherished in the Sokoto Caliphate occupied one of the thinking of the triumvirate of the Sokoto Caliphate. This is because justice forms one of the great instruments that ensure harmony and development in a society due to its ability to put things where they properly belong. This is clearly seen in the extensive discussions made by the leading scholars of the Caliphate on the importance of justice in their literary contributions. Clear evidences of this assertion are seen in the Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio's books *Bayanu Wujubil Hijrah Alal Ibad* and *Najmul Ikhwan*, Abdullahi bin Fodio's books *Diya'ul*

Hukkam and *Diya'ul Umara* and Muhammad Bello's books *Usulus Siyasah* and *al-Ghaythul wabl fi Siratil Imamul Adl*.

There are certain principles outlined by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio that guide a ruler in the administration of justice. These principles have been divided into ten in his book *Usulul Adl li Wullatil Umur Wa Ahlil Fadli* as reflected in Mafara (2001:1-11).

In the first principle, Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio drew the attention rulers to seek to know and appreciate the value and importance of leadership. This is because leadership serves as a source of blessing particularly on the Day of Judgment to a ruler that carries out its tasks well. The ruler will get an everlasting happiness which is above all happiness. And whoever among the rulers that fails to carry out the tasks well will fall into an un-ending misery of which no misery is above it except disbelief in Allah, the most High. The Sheikh quoted a *Hadith* of the Prophet (S.A.W) showing the importance of doing justice. He said

> *Rulers who apply justice in this world for the sake of Allah will be seated on the Pulpit of Pearls on the Day of Judgement.*

The Sheikh further quoted the Prophet (S. A.W.) showing the danger of failing to carry out justice as directed by Allah. He said:

> Rulers will be brought on the Day of Judgement and Allah will say to them: 'You were once the shepherd of my creatures and treasures of my kingdom in the world.' Then He will say to one of them: 'Why did you beat my servants beyond the limits that I commanded?' He will reply by saying 'O my Lord I did so because they disobeyed you and transgressed your rules.' Allah will say 'your wrath must not precede Mine.' Then He will talk to another by saying: 'Why did you punish my creature less than he limits which I ordered? He will reply by saying: 'O my Lord I did mercy to them.' Then Allah will say: 'How can you be merciful to them more than Me? Then Allah will order His angels by saying: 'take those who exceeded and those who lessened and fill the corners of hell with them.'

The second division of the principles of justice as opined by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio is the love for religious scholars and the anxiousness to listen to their advice by a ruler. A religious scholar as maintained by the Sheikh is the one who does not desire what is in the hands of a ruler regarding worldly materials and one who deals with a ruler in preaching and discourse. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio narrated the story of Umar bin Abdul-Aziz once requesting from Ibn Ka'ab (a religious scholar) a word of advice. Umar bin Abdul-Aziz said to Ibn Ka'ab 'describe to me what is justice' and he (Ibn Ka'ab) replied 'Be a father to every Muslim who younger to you; be a son to the one who is older than you; be a brother to

everyone who is equal to you and punish every criminal according to what he does. This shows that it is a good and desirable act for a ruler to seek for the advice of righteous scholars wherever they meet. And it is compulsory on the scholars to advice the rulers.

The third principle of justice that guide a ruler in the administration of justice is for him not to be contented with himself that he is just but should seek the assistance of his servants, friends, employees and his representatives and should not tolerate any act of injustice from them. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio quoted Umar bin Khattab once writing to his governors saying: 'Verily the happiest ruler is one whose subjects become prosperous because of his rule, and the most unlucky ruler is one whose subjects are unhappy with him. Take care not to do injustice because your employees will imitate you.' The Sheikh also quoted a narration in the book of *Taurah* saying that 'If any injustice becomes known to a leader and which is committed by one of his employees and remained silent, such injustice would be regarded as if he was the one who committed it. So, he will be accountable for it and will be punished accordingly.

The fourth division of the principles of justice is for a ruler to avoid being arrogant which leads to indignation. The Sheikh advised that a ruler should always imbibe the principles of forgiveness and generosity because these habits make a ruler to look like prophets and saints. He also warned them to avoid succumbing to their tempers because such act develops a habit in a ruler that makes him to look like animals and beasts. Indignation of a ruler in most cases affects one who criticizes and talks about him as a result of which the ruler punishes or legalizes his blood. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio quoted the Prophet (S.A.W) saying:

> *Any Muslim who does possess three things, verily his faith is perfect; one who controls his anger, one who does justice whether he is in a state of pleasantness or not and one who forgives while he has power to avenge*

The fifth principle of justice according to Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio is for a ruler to know that in any matter to be brought before him, the ruler should assume that he is one of the subjects and that the ruler is another person. Therefore, anything he does not like to himself he ought not to like it to any of the Muslims. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio quoted Prophet (S.A.W.) saying that:

> *He who wants to save himself from Hell and he who wants to enter Paradise ought to be in a state*

whereby he can profess the Kalimatush-Shadah at the time of death. And anything that you dislike don't wish it for any of the Muslims.

The sixth division of the principles of justice is for the ruler to give more consideration or attention to the complaints of his subjects i.e. those who come and stand before his door for one complain or the other. The Sheikh adjudged that it is better for a ruler to attend to the complaints of his subjects than to busy himself with superegatory acts of worship because attending to the complaints of Muslims has more value than observing superegatory deeds.

The seventh principles of justice is for the ruler to abstain himself from been accustomed to wearing magnificent clothes and eating delicious food. The Sheikh advised that rulers should always imbibe the spirit of moderation and contentment in their ways of life. Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio quoted Umar bin Khattab once asking one his righteous men saying: 'Do you see any of my habit that you hate?' The man replied him saying: 'I hear that you put two pieces of bread on your dining table and that you own two garments; one for the night and the other for the day.' Umar then said: 'Is there anything beside these? The man said 'No.' Then

Umar said: 'I swear by Allah, these two things would not be any more.

The eighth principle of administering justice outlined by Sheikh Uthman bin Fodio is the treatment of the affairs of people with kindness and gentleness. The Sheikh quoted the Prophet (S.A.W.) saying:

> *He who does not show kindness to his subjects, Allah will not be kind to him on the Day of Judgement.*

The nineth division of the principle of justice is for a ruler to always be conscious of the alarms of *Barzakh* and its hierarchies and the alarms of the Day of Judgement and its hierarchies. This reminds the ruler of the act of accountability in the Hereafter.

The tenth division of the principle justice is on the obligation on a ruler to believe and have satisfaction in the Prophethood and Messengerhood of Muhammad (S.A.W.). He was sent as the seal of all Prophets and Messengers and chosen to give glad tidings and also warn mankind against evil acts that may lead him to Hellfire. A ruler does not need any guidance besides the guidance of the Prophet (S.A.W.) in all his activities.

Bearing in mind also the importance of administering justice in a society, Abdullahi bin Fodio as rightly observed by Tukur (1977:109) saw the necessity to have machineries to be used for the administration of justice. In Yamusa (nd: 16), Abdullahi bin Fodio strongly insisted on the formation of an independent judiciary because of its necessity and importance in the administration of justice. He said "the wisdom behind the formation of judiciary lied in its usefulness in serving as deterrent to quarrels and assaults. It suppresses injustice and helps the oppressed. It helps to end disputes." He further gave a highlight of the types of personalities that should be appointed and involved in the judiciary. He opined that the unjust should not be involved even if they are learned, likewise the ignorant. The only people to be involved are those who know what is right and always base their judgment on it and also those who, in their loyalty to Allah, have no fear of criticism or the blame of the blamers and do not look for gifts or anything of self – interest. Moreso, he said "No one who wants the office or asks for it should be appointed, even if he is fully qualified for it; unless he is the only qualified person (in the area". This is an effort to protect the sanctity and integrity of the judiciary. This ethic is

completely absent in the contemporary Nigerian setting, because appointments to positions are done in most cases based on paper qualification without due regard to moral probity. This is why injustice and corruption become the order of the day even among the Muslims and the society becomes more of a lawless society where the people (particularly most of the leaders) do as they wish.

Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in Tukur (1991:122) maintained that the administration of justice solely lies in the hands of the leaders. He spelt out in clear terms that it is part of the responsibility of a leader to care for justice and generosity among his subjects. He defined justice as giving every person his right and generosity as considering kindness as his personal obligation but not of other people. He finally adjudged that whoever (especially among leaders) fails to treat people equally against the actions of his close associates and governors, has not administered justice to them and will be found guilty of mal – administration of justice . There were basically two essential principles or ethics that guided the administration of justice in the Sokoto Caliphate as outlined by Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio in Tukur 91991:122-123). These are:

i. Equal treatment of two opposing parties: - Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio said it is part of the administration of justice to give equal treatment to two contending parties in either sitting with them, looking at them, speaking to them or other similar things connected with their affairs. It is important for a leader to avoid an open inclination to any one of them in a manner that will terrify any one of them or make him to run away or display extreme simplicity that will make him insolent.

ii. Open door policy of the leaders: Abdullahi bin Fodio insisted on the obligation of the leader to sit down every day for the sake of his people in such a way that the women and the weak may have access to him. In the Sokoto Caliphate, the leader was not allowed to regard what his officers do as satisfactory. This is because it is possible that the officers may be found wanting and the subjects may have one complain or the other against them. Therefore, this calls for sourcing of information from the grassroots and having direct contacts with the common man.

Abdullahi bin Fodio adjudged that the leader should compulsorily deal with any officer found guilty of mishandling the issue of justice and even dismiss anyone against whom there are

also necessary to make life more meaningful and more purposeful. History has shown that the Prophet (SAW) brought unity to the heterogeneous elements of the Arabian society ,and made it a homogeneous whole, bound by one cord of Islam. Following the footsteps of the Prophet (SAW), the Sokoto *Jihad*/Caliphate leaders tried in their various tracts and books to inculcate the spirit of unity and brotherhood in the life of their people who were one time divided into numerous states and were engaged into constant warfare among themselves. This effort can vividly be seen reflected in most of their writings which they did before and after the establishment of the Caliphate. The Sokoto *Jihad* leaders in most cases used to address their readers with the habitual warm, endearing and egalitarian term "*Ikhwan*" (Muslim brothers). Bello (1983:123) quoted Muhammad Bello stressing the importance of unity and brother hood in a society with particular reference to the Sokoto Caliphate. He (Muhammad Bello) said

> *Salah* (goodness) in religion and the world lay in the unity and harmony of people, which is a sign of Allah's Mercy (*Rahmah*) upon them and the *Fasad* (corruption) in religion and the world resulted from disunity which is the cause of tribulation and eternal damnation of people.

The establishment of the unity and brotherhood in a society is an aspect of a great *Jihad* in Islam and to preserve it is also another aspect of great *Jihad*. The Prophet (SAW) established unity and brotherhood in Madina immediately after his arrival from Makkah after he was forced to migrate. Thereafter, he established some ethics or principles which greatly helped in the preservation and enhancement of the established unity and brotherhood among the *Sahabah*. The ethics or principles established by the Prophet (SAW) include binding a relationship between the *Muhajirun* and the *Ansar*, where a *Muhajir* is attached to an *Ansari*. There was also the principle of inheritance between the *Muhajirun* and the *Ansar* where a *Muhajir* inherit an *Ansari* in the event of his death, even though the practice was later on abrogated with the revelation of the verses of inheritance which specified those to be inherited and the due share of each heir. The Prophet (S.A.W) also encouraged intermarriage between the *Muhajirun* and the *Ansar*. All these were initiated by the Prophet (S.A.W) in order to preserve the established unity and brotherhood among the *Sahabah*.

The Sokoto *Jihad* scholars and leaders, after establishing unity and brotherhood among their people in the Caliphate as did

> If everyman wishes other people to become like himself with regards to getting *Khair* (benefit), he will do good to them and will not harm them; there upon they will love him. Thus, mutual love and *Khair* spread among people and *Sharr* (evil) is eliminated from them. Their affairs in this world and hereafter become organized and their *Hal* (condition) becomes extremely upright.

Muhammad Bello in his book *al Ghaythul Wabl fi Siratil Imamil Adl* further quoted the following Hadith of the Prophet (S.A.W) in order to remind the readers of the literature written by the Sokoto *Jihad* Scholars in general and the people of the Sokoto Caliphate in particular about the desirability and necessity of establishing and preserving unity and brotherhood in a society. The *Hadith* quoted by Muhammad Bello reads as follows

> *By the one in whose hand Muhammad's life is, you will not enter paradise unless you believe (in Allah) and you do not believe until you love one another.*

Recognition of the dignity of human being was another vital ethical instrument employed in the Sokoto Caliphate in order to preserve and enhance unity and brotherhood among the people of the Caliphate. Muhammad Bello in his book *Nush Kafi* called on both the leaders and the general populace of the Caliphate to respect one another, to talk politely to one another, not to be rude

or tell one what he dislikes. He also stressed the importance of being lenient, tender and accessible to one another. The support of this ethical instrument or idea is found in the following verse of the Glorious Qur'an which reads as follows:

> *Strain not thine eyes (wistfully) at what We have bestowed on certain classes of them, nor grieve over them: but lower thy wing (in gentleness) to the believers* (Q.15:88).

To further show how leniency and kindness play an important role in the social ethics of Islam and in maintaining bond of unity and brotherhood among Muslims, Allah said:

> *It is part of the Mercy of Allah that thou dost deal gently with them. Were thou severe or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about thee: so pass over (their faults) and ask (Allah's) forgiveness for them; and consult them in affairs (of moment). Then, when thou have taken a decision, put thy trust in Allah, for Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him)* (Q3:159).

Establishment of *Ihsan* was another ethical instrument employed by the leaders of Sokoto Caliphate in their effort to preserve the established unity and brotherhood in the Caliphate. Muhammad Bello in his book *Nush Kafi* refers to *Ihsan* (as in this context) as a means of helping brothers by way of extending material support to one another particularly to those in dare need

among the people in the Caliphate. Muhammad Bello further said "The most vibrant way of alleviating tribulation from people is to exchange gifts. For this is one of the things which harmonizes dissatisfied people". He (Muhammad Bello) also quoted a *Hadith* of the Prophet (S.A.W) in the book *Nush Kafi* to support his view or position which says

> *Hearts are naturally disposed to love one who gives gifts to them.*

As long as people in a society cultivate the spirit of Ihsan among themselves, tribulation will never befall them because distress is always lifted from a group of people who extend the feeling of love to one another. The act of *Ihsan* to one another in a community always helps to maintain and enhance not only unity and brotherhood but also create a social insurance which is realized through fraternal sympathy in which individual is seen to be responsible for ensuring the livelihood of others according to his ability. This ethical instrument or principle was seen in real practice especially during the early period of the Jihad struggle that culminated into the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The first manifestation of this was seen as narrated by Muhammad Bello in his book *Infaqul Maysur* when Agali in the true spirit of

brotherhood sent some men and animals to the *Jama'ah* to help them in their migration to Gudu. In another instance, Monori (the leader of the Sullubawa) who had a large grazing area also came to the assistance of the *Jama'ah* at a time when they and their cattle were in dare need of food, water and pasture. These are as rightly concluded by Bello (1983:150) "All indications of brotherhood, sympathy and sharing of misery of their fellows in the *Jama'ah*".

It is evidently clear that this type of fraternal unity and brotherhood enjoyed in the Sokoto Caliphate is virtually lacking among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria, i.e. the domain in which the Caliphate reigned. This is largely because the ethical principle of *Ihsan* as a means of creating, preserving and enhancing unity and brotherhood has been abandoned in the social life of the Muslims. And in its place, hatred and lack of concern for one another become more prominent among people not only of the same community but even of the same family sharing the same faith. This is probably one of the major reasons why the Nigerian streets, markets, filling stations, motor parks etc are filled up with beggars and depressed people.

Giving public responsibility to those that are capable is also another ethical instrument that was employed in the Sokoto Caliphate in order to enhance and preserve unity and brotherhood in the Caliphate. Muhammad Bello as quoted in Umar (1983:126) said:

> If Allah wishes *Khair*, (fortune) for a group of people, He appoints the best of them over them, and ensures that his (the leader) companions are of his caliber and make him follow with them (the people) the straight path; Allah makes him manage their affairs properly, seek the help of high-minded people in terms of injustice, and the help of well-informed judicious people in solving serious issues, the help of physically strong people in manual performance, the help of intelligent people in administration and the help of prayers of holy men for the improvement of all conditions. Allah will also make the leader appoint those who ought to be appointed and remove those who ought to be removed; and makes him emulate knowledgeable people; as a result, people will be united around him and he will be successful with the help of Allah.

The above discussions clearly show that a meaningful unity and brother hood cannot be created and maintained except through certain efforts based on sincerity. History has shown that the *Muhajirun* and the *Ansar* were united into a single brotherhood because of their sincere intention and actions. In Nigeria, particularly in the North, many efforts were employed to create

unity and brotherhood through seminars, workshops, conferences, symposiums and other forms of meetings but they have all failed, because the efforts lack sincerity of purpose and intention. This failure is clearly seen in what follows all the efforts. Those involved in the efforts deny involvement in the various efforts or claiming ignorance of the efforts because their individual or group sentiments have not been addressed. This therefore, shows that for unity and brotherhood to be created, preserved and enhanced among the Muslims, sincerity of purpose is paramount in all the activities of the Muslims. It is only this that will create and maintain peaceful co-existence, good-will and lasting harmony among the Muslims in the North and significant reforms will also be realized.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This research has been on the comparative analysis of the ethical values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the contemporary Muslims in Northern Nigeria. In chapter one, the researcher essentially explained what constituted the background, problem, objectives, significance, research questions, assumptions and scope of the study. The problem and justification of the research were clearly spelt out in this chapter. It was observed that moral and ethical decadence have eluded most of the Muslims in the Northern Nigeria. This was the domain covered and governed by the Sokoto Caliphate. Thus, the need to bring to light the ethical values that guided the lifestyle of the Sokoto Caliphate with the sole aim of reviving them in the political, social and economic life of the contemporary Muslims particularly in the Northern Nigeria. And this also constitutes one of the core objectives of this research.

In the introductory part of this research also, an assumption was raised in relation to the tremendous achievements made by the Sokoto Caliphate. The assumption raised in the chapter was that

the Sokoto Caliphate was guided by some ethical values in its political, social and economic life, which made it to attain tremendous success during its reign. The need to prove the truth or otherwise of this assumption prompted the researcher to go into deliberate investigation to identify those ethical values, if at all the assumption is proved to be true. The scope or area covered by this research is the domain under which the Sokoto Caliphate exercised its rules i.e. the Northern Nigeria.

The introductory part of this research was followed with the literature review which formed the chapter two of this research. In this chapter, a survey of the historical account of the general lifestyles of the Hausa land was made. It was found that prior to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the general life styles of the then Hausa land was characterized by political, social and economic corruption which turned the entire land into a warring land with one state trying to exercise its supremacy over the other. Thus, this created an atmosphere of perpetual unjust enslavement of people, thereby creating social injustice, economic underdevelopment and above all religious corruption. These were

the conditions that necessitated the initiation of a process of rebirth or revivalism in the Hausa land.

The concepts of ethics and values were thoroughly addressed as they affect the lifestyles of the Muslims in general and the pioneers of the Sokoto Caliphate in particular. Ethics and values constitute a core in the life of every individual and society. And any society that fails to decide its ethics and values that would serve as guide in its political, social and economic life, such a society will loose the credit of being independent and will find itself under the subjugation of others. In the literature review, it was shown that certain cardinal values masterminded the great positive performances and achievements of the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement and the Sokoto Caliphate as a political state. The cardinal values include among others *Hijrah* and *Mawalatul Kuffar*, teaching and learning, Sufism, women education, high moral standard, public welfare, brotherhood and many others.

The prominent personalities who actively gave their physical, moral and financial support to the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement were discussed in this chapter i.e. chapter two. The

personalities contributed immensely towards the execution of the *Jihad* that eventually led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The research revealed that people from various ethnic groups participated actively in the *Jihad* Movement among which some participated in the capacity of flag bearers. The most notable ethnic groups that joint the *Jihad* were Hausa, Fulani and Tuareq. This further proved the falsehood of the assertion that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement was motivated by racial and economic factors. And finally, the researcher in the chapter of literature review analyzed the interpretation of the colonialists and the orientalists towards the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement. The interpretation given by the colonialists and the orientalists to the *Jihad* Movement influenced them to conclude that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement was more of a social conflict between the dissatisfied Fulani and the Hausa people and that economic factor formed the dominant factor that motivated the *Jihad* Movement. They also made the conclusion that the only change recorded by the *Jihad* was the overthrow of the Hausa rulers and their replacement with the Fulani aristocracy. It became obvious that the colonialists and the orientalists have erroneously used the standard of their culture and

civilization to judge the success or otherwise of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement. This therefore shows that it is ethically wrong to use the standard of one culture and civilization to measure the successes or failure of another, because the conclusion may turn out to be subjective rather than objective.

The chapter three of this research work gave a highlight of mainly the method of research employed in the process of carrying out this research work. The historical method of research was basically the method that was used to conduct this research, because of its historical nature. This is a research method that helps a researcher to gather past events and documents them and also helps to make certain generalization that may help to understand the past, present and project the future. The instruments used to generate the data of this research were also specified in this chapter. They essentially include the literature written by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars particularly the edited ones. Other related literature written by researchers and prominent scholars in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate were also used.

The major items discussed in the chapter four of this research were ethical conducts as they relate to the political,

economic and social life of the Sokoto Caliphate and their practice among the contemporary Muslims in the Northern Nigeria. These include ethical conducts in the acts of leadership, medication, collection and distribution of levy, preservation of unity and brotherhood, administration of justice etc. the research work was finally crowned up with chapter five which include the summary, conclusion and in its later part all the recommendations made by the researcher among which include the need for the introduction of a course in the higher institutions of learning that will introduce Islamic studies students to the ethical values in the Sokoto Caliphate.

5.2 Conclusion

This research conducted on the comparative analysis of the ethical values in the Sokoto Caliphate and the contemporary Muslims in Northern Nigeria has brought out some important ethics and values which played significant role in the Sokoto Caliphate and were found to be relevant in the life of the contemporary Muslims. The research further strengthens the need to intensify efforts by both governments particularly in the Northern Nigeria and individuals in reviving the legacies left by the

Sokoto *Jihad* scholars and the Sokoto Caliphate as a political state. This move will greatly help in re-directing the activities of the Muslims at both individual and communal levels. The exposition gained in this research has proved the truth of the assumption earlier raised in chapter one of this research that "The Sokoto Caliphate was guided by some ethical values in its political, social and economic life". The research was finally concluded with the following as its major findings:-

i. Any society that fails to decide its values and ethics will be left at the mercy of other societies to decide for her. This is why the western world particularly United States of America (U.S.A) and Britain are today controlling the lifestyle of many other countries in the world particularly Africa and the Middle East. This therefore, shows the need for any given society or state to decide its values and ethics based on its own norms and cultures. This is also why the Sokoto Caliphate as a state decided its values based on the provisions made in the Glorious Qur'an, *Sunnah* and the *Ijtihad* of the great scholars of Islam.

ii. The study has shown that moral values and education played the leading requirement in deciding who should be a leader. This is why the Sokoto Caliphate insisted on the training that would lay emphasis on the necessity and desirability of selflessness, commitment to truth and above all accountability to the Almighty Allah. It also insisted on the education of its leaders by making them to study the Qur'an, the *Ahadith* and other fields of knowledge.

iii. The research found and confirmed the truth of the assumption that the Sokoto Caliphate was guided by some cardinal and important values that were of great significance to the Muslims' life and their overall development. These values include women education, public welfare. Brotherhood, Sufism, teaching and learning, high moral standard etc.

iv. The research found that although the values cherished and desired in the Sokoto Caliphate are still in the midst of the contemporary Muslims in Northern Nigeria, yet significant majority of the Muslims are showing less or no commitment and determination to act in accordance with the ethics that

guide the practice of those values. This therefore makes the values ineffective in the life of the contemporary Muslims.

Furthermore, a sharp dissimilarity was observed between the Sokoto Caliphate and the contemporary Muslims particularly in their perceptions of what constitute core values in the life of Muslims both at individual and communal levels. While the Sokoto Caliphate conceptualized and derived its core values from the fundamentals of Islam, the contemporary Muslims on the other hand derived their core values from trivial issues. This is perhaps largely due to the fact that the system which guided the Muslims in the Sokoto Caliphate was purely Islamic while the one that is guiding the contemporary Muslims is secular in nature which (directly or indirectly) affects their thinking, actions, and perceptions of issue through the mirror of secularism. These secular perceptions have serious negative impacts on the life of the Muslims among which include confusion (as a result of clash of culture), inferiority complex, indiscipline, unrestrained quest for worldly materials and inability to draw a line between permanent and changing values. Thus, the need to

aspire and struggle to establish a system and environment where Muslims can live the life of Islam as did by the pioneers of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement.

v. The research was able to reaffirm and establish the earlier finding in other researches that the religion of Islam had been in existence in the Hausa land long before the advent of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement that led to the foundation and establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. It was also re-affirmed that some good Muslims existed in the Hausaland before the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement.

vi. The research was able to determine the falsification of the assertion that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement and the eventual establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate was purely a Fulani affair because it has been confirmed that the successes of the *Jihad* Movement and the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate were achieved through the joint struggle of some prominent Muslim leaders, Scholars and Students that came mainly from the ethnic groups of Hausa, Fulani, Tuareq and many others.

vii. Through this research it was found out that it is wrong for one to use the standard of one culture and civilization to measure the successes or failures of another culture and civilization because in most cases one arrives at a wrong result or conclusion. The evidence of this is seen where the colonialist and orientalists used the standard of their culture and civilization and measured the successes of the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate whose culture and civilization was purely Islamic. This therefore led them (the Colonialist and the Orientalists) to conclude that the Sokoto *Jihad* Movement was more of a tribal uprising (than religious struggle) which was mainly motivated by political and economic factors. They further concluded that the only success recorded by the *Jihad* Movement was the replacement of the Hausa rulers with the Fulani aristocracy.

5.3 Recommendations

The research strongly recommends the following to the Muslims for implementation:

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