BIRNIN SHEHU THE CITY OF SOKOTO: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY, c.1809-1903.

BIRNIN SHEHU, THE CITY OF SOKOTO: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY, c.1809-1903

BY

SALEH ABUBAKAR

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY ……

Department of History,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

28TH OCTOBER, 1982

(c) All Rights Reserved.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me, that it is a record of my own research work, and that it has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations and sources of information are to the best of my knowledge duly and specifically acknowledged in the references.



(SALEH ABUBAKAR)

28th October, 1982.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

In the preparation of a work that has dragged on for the best part of a decade, it is inevitable that an author's list of indebtedness be lengthy. Equally, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reduce the depth of this indebtedness to a few lines like these. We therefore wish to acknowledge this debt by expressing our profound gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, have helped in the attainment of this objective. We owe a special debt to the informants whose assistance has helped fill a gap which would otherwise have made the writing of this thesis impossible, and especially to that great but humble scholar and philosopher, Dr. Junaidu, the Wazirin Sokoto.

We have had the great privilege to be supervised at various times during the preparation of this work, by scholars with a keen sense of history and intellectual responsibility: Professor Abdullahi Smith, Dr. Y.B. Usman, and Professor Mahdi Adamu. We have also benefited from the scholarly and dedicated contributions of Professors O.A.S. Ismail, R.J. Gavin, and Sa'ad Abubakar,

and the teaching staff and students of the History Department, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Our debt to Professor Abdullahi Smith is enormous, its burden heightened by our knowledge that we did not strive hard enough to repay.

To the staff of the National Archives, Kaduna, the Kashim Ibrahim Library, A.B.U., the History Bureau, Sokoto, the Sokoto Local Authority, the Arewa House, Kaduna, and clerical and supportive staff of the History Department, A.B.U., we wish to express our gratitude for their assistance, patience and understanding.

It is our fervent hope that all of these may find sufficient merit in this work not to regret their having had something to do with it.

We wish to acknowledge the debt to our family, which waited with fear and hope, for an end that seemed ever to be moving away like a mirage. We thank Barka Mshelthlila for his friendship, and himself and Ibrahim Mamuru for the good job they have done typing this thesis under difficult conditions and constant harassment.

Lastly, we wish to say that unnecessary thing which one ought to say: that we alone are responsible for this work.

ABSTRACT

The nineteenth century has been a period of far-reaching changes in the economic, political and social systems in virtually all parts of the Nigerian savanna. One significant aspect of these changes concerns the development of new towns and cities which owed their origins to a set of broadly similar forces, one of which was the social revolution known to history as the Sokoto Jihad.

Unfortunately, this urbanization of the nineteenth century has not been studied by scholars of the Jihad, who prefer instead to discuss the ideas, ideals and conflicts that shook the age, as it were, and systems or forms of government that were evolving. Yet, as a product of economic and social change not only in that period but also, like the Jihad, having roots in the economic and social past, this urbanization merits serious attention. Even on a merely physical plane, the products of this urbanization (Sokoto, Yola, Gombe, Gwandu, Jalingo, Jega, Bauchi, etc.) remain to this day the most visible legacy of that period. But that is not

all, for though relatively young compared to older-established settlements (many of which, such as Kano, Katsine. and Zaria were centuries old even by the beginning of the nineteenth century) the settlements produced by this spate of urbanization have had a tremendous impact on the course and shape of history, deriving largely from their being centres of power, of education, manufacture and commerce. And while many of these settlements developed identities and characteristics that were broadly similar, they also exhibited significant differences deriving from their specific experience. Thus while both Sokoto and Yola cut a figure as aristocratic cities, the scholar element was more pronounced in Sokoto society, identity end administration than it was in Yola where for the most part, clan leaders dominated the field, the ascendancy of the lineage of the Modibbo Adama notwithstanding. Nor was Yola able to develop a manufacturing and commercial base to the same extent as Sokoto did, since the integration of the Yola hinterland into the extensive commercial networks of the central Sudan began fairly late compared to regions further to the north and north-west. These and

other differences point to important variations in the local and historical conditions that affected the development of these settlements and we cannot fully understand the processes at work until we have studies of several or some of these settlements in different ecological and social settings. This study therefore hopes to provide a beginning in that respect.

Furthermore, Sokoto's links with the Jihad of the nineteenth century and through that with the history of large parts of the Nigerian savanna, make it the most important of these new settlements of the nineteenth century. Though a vast amount of literature has been churned out on the Sokoto Caliphate, Sokoto Jihad, Sokoto Fulani, etc., not much has been written about this Sokoto itself nor about social and economic history of the 'Sokoto Caliphate', 'Sokoto Jihad' or the 'Sokoto Fulani', etc. This study hopes therefore not only to redress this imbalance, but also to provide a. framework for the study of the history of settlements and the nature and dynamics of urban social organization in a specific cultural and historical context. Chapter One of the study provides a useful introduction by

analysing the general ecological conditions in which the city evolved. A historical section of this chapter looks at the way in which the history and relationship of settlements has been changing in the Rime basin especially in the century or so before the Jihad, and how the Jihad itself affected demography and the configuration and function of settlements.

Since one of the consequences of the Jihad was the rise of Sokoto to prominence, Chapter Two looks at the origins of Sokoto, its changing role and functions, and its growth from a tiny hamlet at the beginning of the Jihad in 1804 to a large and populous city barely twenty years later. The chapter attempts to show the role of immigration, of the effects of changing power relations, and also of contemporary currents of economic and social relations and change, in this process.

Chapters Three and Four discuss craft production and the commercial economy of the city. The nature of specialisation, the organization of production and the peculiarly urban form and institutions of production, economic organization and exchange, are as much as possible clearly brought out, and the relationship

between production and social structure hinted at. In Chapter Five the philosophy, goals and character of (urban) administration as practised in nineteenth century Sokoto, and its relation to the social structure and to the historical conditions in which the city has had its origins, are discussed.

In Chapter Six, the concluding chapter, the development of the city in the period c.1837-1903, the structure of its society and its kind of urbanism, are analysed.

THE SOURCES.

The information used in the preparation of this study has come from a variety of sources the most important of which are contemporary manuscript material from different periods (but especially the first half) of the nineteenth century, the journals and writings of European travellers who visited Sokoto or had heard and written about it at different times in the century, the records and reports of British colonial officers early in the present century, oral traditions, the ethnographic present, as well as a miscellany of secondary works.

The manuscript material consists of compilations of the leaders and scholars of the Sokoto Jihad (outstanding among whom were the Sheikh Uthman, Abdullah b. Fodio, and Muhammad Bello) on issues pertaining to government, history and religion. Some of this material has been translated, edited and published by scholars of Jihad literature (notably Abdullahi Smith, Mervin Hiskett, M.A. Al-Hajj, Haliru Binji, Abubakar Gumi, B.G. Martin, etc.). Yet some has formed the subject of translations and editions submitted for the award of

M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, but not yet published. A second category or set of translations, less scholarly than the above, has also been produced at the instance of the colonial administration in Sokoto early in the twentieth century. Examples of the manuscripts thus translated include the Tanbih al-Ikhwan of Sheikh Uthman b. Fodio, Sard al-Kalam of Muhammad Bello, Tarikh Sokoto of al-Haj Said, Khashf wal-Bayan of Gidado b. Laima, Majmu al-Manaqib of Abd al-Qadir b. Gidado, etc. etc. These translations are to be found in the Burdon and the Edgar Papers of the Kadcap Series, National Archives, Kaduna. Being translations, they are at best simplified renderings which in most cases do not indicate any basic information concerning the manuscript in question, or the translator. Many are simple and even partial paraphrases which have lost the essence of the original in the course of rendering from Arabic first to Hausa and then English. Those translated or transliterated into Hausa only may be closer in meaning to the Arabic or Hausa-in-ajami original. When used in conjunction with the first category of translations however, they provide, for the student who has no knowledge of Arabic to be able to read

the originals, a rough but useful picture of the background to - and even some details of - social and economic life in nineteenth century Sokoto.

These translations are especially useful on matters pertaining to Muslim political belief and ideas and the political philosophy and administrative practice of the early rulers of Sokoto.

Sokoto and areas near it have been visited and written about at different times in the course of the nineteenth century by European travellers. These include Hugh Clapperton (1824; later with Richard Lander in 1826/7), H. Barth (1853, 1854), E.R. Flegel (1880, 1881), Joseph Thomson (1885), Paul Staudinger (1886), P. Monteil (1891), and William Wallace (1894). We have used only the accounts of Clapperton, Lander, Barth, Thomson, Monteil and Wallace in the preparation of this thesis. Clapperton's observations represent the earliest independent account of the political order brought into being by the Jihad. Though in many ways sketchy, these accounts provide useful information on the fauna and flora, as well as agriculture in the Sokoto area early in the nineteenth century. Clapperton's

description of the general political situation, the economy and the relations of Sokoto and of its character as a city in the twenties, indicate clearly the extent to which the hamlet of the first decade of the century had developed into a bustling city by the middle of the third. However, Clapperton was neither a keen historian nor a meticulous observer or reporter. Thus both he and Lander kept on claiming that Sokoto had eleven or twelve gates, even though they had with them a sketch of the city, made on the order of Muhammad Bello, which showed only eight gates! And interesting as it is, for a person who lived in Sokoto for well up to eight months, Clapperton's account is for the best part frustratingly sketchy. Barth, a keener historian and observer than Clapperton, is nonetheless prone to embellishment and exaggeration. His assessment of the state of insecurity in the fifties is definitely exaggerated, while his identification of the Zoromawa as leather-workers[1] is

1. H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, vol.III. Frank Cass, London, 1965, p.129. Following Barth uncritically, we have repeated his error in our "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to c.1850", in Y.B. Usman(ed.), Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate. Third Press International, New York, 1979, p.132.

false. Thus though travellers' observations tend to be more accurate or reliable than their assessments or information, even the former can be quite erroneous. However, oral traditions gathered in Sokoto and some gleaned from other sources, corroborate much of the observations of Clapperton and Barth regarding agriculture and the economy of nineteenth century Sokoto. The accounts of Thomson, Monteil and Wallace, though generally not detailed, can be used for the purposes of comparison in a few areas. The journal of G.F. Lyon and travellers who visited areas distantly related to Sokoto contain some indirect, peripheral information which may indicate the nature of economic contacts with Sokoto or the extent and nature of its reputation as a city.

The records of British colonial officers compiled in the decades following the British conquest of Sokoto in March 1903 consist of assessment reports and histories based on local oral tradition. Their direct observations bearing on the state of agriculture, of trade and manufacture in the Sokoto area are especially useful for the insight they provide into the state or aspects of the economy and of administration at the end of the nineteenth

century and the beginning of the twentieth. The historical component of the colonial records and writings are based partly on oral tradition current at the time, partly on extant historical accounts compiled at various times in the nineteenth century in Arabic or ajami and are heavily conditioned by colonialist conjectures and aims. Statistical data are available in matters pertaining to tolls, taxes etc. in some parts of the Sokoto hinterland, but these are not in all cases reliable due to a number of factors. In the first place, some of the statistics have been compiled under unstable political conditions which elicited fear, evasiveness and even deliberate misinformation on the part of 'the natives' and are therefore unreliable and unrepresentative. Furthermore, the avoidance of toll stations by caravans limits the accuracy and representativeness of caravan and trade statistics as economic indicators. The need to justify and validate colonial occupation has also impaired the accuracy of many of these colonial reports and records, and attention has been drawn to some of these cases in the thesis. The need for historical and ethnographic information with which to lay down a

sound foundation for colonial administration has produced an important response on the part of the occupying power, resulting in the writing of historical works (based on translations, transliterations of local manuscript material, on oral tradition and ethnography) and ethnographical surveys and studies of the subject population. In the case of Sokoto, the translations and transliterations of manuscript material bearing on local history (in particular, the collections, translations and transliterations of J.A. Burdon - first British Resident in Sokoto - and Frank Edgar which are in the Kadcap Series in the National Archives, Kaduna), the District Notebooks, the Gazetteers /e.g. E.J. Arnett's Provincial Gazetteer, and P.G. Harris' Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer/ and studies of the local pastoral people and economy /C.E. Hopen's on the Gwandu Fulani for instance/ are particularly relevant.

Oral tradition is comparatively richer in the kinds of information this study is interested in: as for example information on crafts, local industries, on trade, on the histories of the small groups and common folk that made up the greater proportion of the Sokoto

society. For this reason, the study has depended, not without cost, substantially on oral tradition. The oral tradition used in the preparation of the thesis can be classified into two broad categories: that already incorporated into existing compilations of local history whether as Arabic manuscript material or other written forms, and that gathered by us in the course of field-work. The material from which the former is derived has already been discussed in the foregoing, but perhaps its anonymity may be emphasized here. Except in a few cases, such as (partially) in Muhammad Bello's Infaq al-Maysur, both the local Arabic manuscript material and histories by colonial officers do not indicate or acknowledge the source of the oral traditions that they incorporate. This has tended to obscure important differences in the historical experience of different classes of people, and in the production of general histories seen largely from the point of view of the ruling or scholarly class whose perspectives they inevitably portray. The relative silence of this material on such things as the crafts, trade and the ordinary folk, and its obsession with royalty, scholarship, power, with big lineages and

heroes and their eccentricities and qualities, is perhaps the most obvious result and nature of the bias inherent in these traditions and the histories based on them.

The oral tradition gathered by us in Sokoto was assembled during fieldwork in the period January 1975 to July 1977, punctuated by short breaks of one to two or occasionally three weeks necessitated by trips to Zaria or Kaduna. In the course of fieldwork, we have conducted interviews with elderly or knowledgeable people in almost all the more than sixty wards we could identify in the city. The people interviewed ranged from such big names in local historiography as Dr. Alhaji Waziri Junaidu to peasants, tanners, butchers, masons and even housewives; the subjects ranged, depending on the specialisation and situation of the informant in question, from the history of the Jihad, or of a craft, or a group, to a ward, or a family, and so on. The object was to capture, as it were, the disparate and complex currents of experience, culture and interests that were brought together in the Sokoto society and to establish how this has been done.

This has not been easy. For one thing, our initial

efforts at evolving a satisfactory and useful methodology were quite frustrating, and our very first interviews were pretty useless in terms of the overall objectives of the thesis. And though we learnt a little from our mistakes, we certainly could have done without the cost. Secondly, we still strongly suspect, from the names of wards that we hear but which we have not visited or have information on, that we have omitted some wards in the course of gathering field data. However, both these problems are minor compared to the headaches and challenges poised by the oral data itself. The chronology of events has remained a vexing issue. Everything seemed, in the world of informants, to start and end with the Jihad, with the Sheikh Uthman, with Muhammad Bello. Consequently, it has not been easy to elicit information on the pre-Jihad and post-Jihad periods, except in a very generalised and often fixed form. Moreover, informants literally endeavoured to establish as close an association with the Jihad, with the Sheikh Uthman and Muhammad Bello as was possible, in many cases falsifying the period of their immigration or settlement in the city. However, the imprecision of the chronology

is not in all cases a result of deliberate or conditioned telescoping, for information transmitted freely and orally can hardly be expected to have a precise chronology if it concerns events occurring several generations ago. Thus informants resort to such time-reference terms as the coming of the Sheikh Uthman to Sokoto, or the death of the Sheikh Uthman, the reign of rulers and the coming of the British to indicate or fix the occurrence of events. When this is coupled with deliberate telescoping, the entire chronology of events becomes skewed. We have tried to minimise the distortion by using dates established through other sources, notably some of the translated contemporary Arabic manuscript material and the travellers' accounts, and often by asking different informants concerning the dates of certain events or occurrences. We did not awaken to the usefulness of genealogies sufficiently early in the fieldwork to exploit its potentialities in this respect, even though we had gathered considerable amount of genealogical information. In consequence of all this, the chronology of events and occurrences in this study is not very accurate, especially regarding the establishment or the time of

settlement of wards, or the introduction or cessation of certain administrative practices and functions.

One other problem related to the issue of chronology concerns the informant's awareness or knowledge regarding the past. We have met numerous articulate and knowledgeable informants, but we have also met some whose knowledge of their past is amazingly shallow. That people can forget or lose so much knowledge in so short a time makes the careful and systematic recording and collection of oral history an urgent task requiring immediate national attention. We have generally found scholars and traders to be the most retentive and informed category of informants, perhaps because of their exposure to a much wider world. Craftsmen have been equally useful on the history or technology of their craft, however. While varying the pattern, as circumstances demanded, we generally asked traders or descendants of traders about trade, craftsmen about their crafts, ward-members about their wards, and so on. The average age of informants is fifty or thereabouts, and that means that the bulk of them had no direct experience of the nineteenth century. The tape-recorder

has proved a useful companion in these interviews, but quite often it excited informants and we had great difficulty in making sure that it did not 'steal the show', especially where children were in attendance.

Not all interviews were recorded on cassette however, since some informants (the Waziri Junaidu for one) would not allow it or the circumstances often did not permit or make it advisable. We met with hostility in only one case, when a gentleman stopped his adult son from giving us information concerning their past. Otherwise our reception was cordial and even spontaneously friendly in the majority of cases. One last point about the oral tradition: the bulk of our interviews were conducted within Sokoto and its immediate environs. While this no doubt places limitations on the study, we have wherever necessary and possible, tried to catalogue and analyse the relationship between the city and the outside world using evidence of such relationship gleaned not only from the Sokoto traditions but other non-Sokoto based sources.

The ethnographic present is a necessary and inescapable component of history and like other sources,

it has its advantages and pitfalls. Its relevance lies in the fact that it is incorporated in current oral tradition anyway, and in some cases even colours that tradition considerably. For a researcher collecting oral tradition about crafts and the formation, structure and functioning of wards etc., it is impossible not to use or to be influenced by the ethnographic present, since if nothing else its understanding is basic to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the oral tradition itself. And given the slow pace of technological change, and the persistence and tenacity of social values, practices and institutions or their slow adaptability, the present is in many ways a close indicator of the past. This is especially the case in the crafts, and in social organization. The fact that Sokoto has - inspite of its experience of roughly sixty years of colonial and twenty more of post-colonial rule - maintained a strong traditionality and links to the past, is most helpful. Throughout virtually all of this period, Sokoto lost first its former political glory and clout and then retreated into the backwaters of the national economy, cut off from its sustenance in the

system of tributary political relationships and its traditional markets in the north (Adar especially) and the south (Gonja) and west (Hombori, the Niger bend). While this did not insulate it from outside influences or from internal change, it meant that the 'traditional' economy and social organization changed at a relatively slower rate. Thus while the indigenous textile industry in Sokoto is a sad shadow of its former glory, it still persists in a restricted form, using much the same technology and producing many though not all of the old cloths for which a small clientele still exists. The same can be said of smithing, and in tanning informants in fact claim that more is produced now than before, due principally to the continued popularity of colourful leather articles (cushions, bags, puffs, etc.). This means that survivals of nineteenth century industrial products and even organisation do exist which can in fact be studied. However, now is not then, and the danger is that one may end up talking as if it were. This would be foolish and ahistorical, since a lot has actually changed. In dyeing for instance, not much shuni or baba (the indigo dye) is produced, dyers preferring instead

to use the imported varieties which the colonial administration strenuously succeeded in implanting. The market for dyed cloths having been taken over by new national frontiers and factory-produced products, not much dyeing is done now anyway. In iron-working, iron ore is no more mined, the cost in labour and time made unnecessary by the availability of abundant and cheap scrap metal. In labour organization, the family or household still occupies a central place, but large-scale labour migration out of the Sokoto close-settled zone and the absence of slavery has altered many aspects of the system of production. All this calls for caution lest the ethnographic present obscure and pervade our perspective of the past. We consequently have found it necessary on occasion therefore, to check ourselves on this score - just in time.

A wide range of secondary works has been studied and used in the preparation of this thesis, the most important of which is made up of historical studies pertaining in one way or another to Sokoto or the Jihad or the Rima basin generally. The M.A. theses of Mahdi Adamu and M.B. Alkali, the Ph.D. thesis of Garba Na-Dama, Murray Last's

study of the Sokoto Caliphate, are the more relevant but by no means the only examples. These have provided an indispensable insight into the political and social conditions in which the forces that produced Sokoto were nurtured, and of the dynamics of change in the region as a whole, particularly in the century before the Jihad. We have found Murray Last's book a most useful companion and reference book, whose main value lies in its rich content of basic information derived from the primary Arabic material which ignorance of the language precludes us from reading personally. We have however found Last's perspective, specifically his ethnocentrism, totally misguided and unacceptable. We have drawn liberally from several other secondary works on the Jihad and the Sokoto Caliphate, but also gained from works dealing with the subject of urbanization either in a general sense - such as Gideon Sjoberg's The Pre-Industrial City - or specific studies of cities, cultures and urbanisms as for example the works of Miner on Timbuctoo and Fez, that of Krapf-Askari on Yoruba towns and Hourani and Ira Lapidus on Middle Eastern and Islamic cities.

The bibliography at the end of this work has a

comprehensive list of the sources we consulted in this category. The weaknesses of some of these sociological works lies either in their rigid ethnocentrism which belies and over-simplifies social complexity in the so-called traditional societies they are studying, or as in the case of Sjoberg, in their near-static view of pre-Industrial urbanism, as if Industrial society and urbanism have an origin other than in the womb of primitive, pre-Industrial society (which, therefore, cannot be as static and as self-contradicting as is quite often implied). On the credit side, the specific studies of cities and cultures provide useful insight into the similarities and differences in the character of urbanism in different cultures, periods and modes of production. This is in itself an important contribution to, and test on the relevance of theory in the study of urbanization. The bibliography lists the primary sources in the order: Contemporary Nineteenth Century Arabic Material, Travellers' Reports and Journals, Oral Tradition (list of informants), and Archival Material (which is partly contemporary and primary, and partly secondary). The secondary and general works on history, urbanization etc. are listed last.

A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND THE USE OF TERMS.

The orthography of Hausa terms and Anglicised place-names in this thesis may pose problems and even raise objections, but it is hoped that this brief note will be found both helpful and acceptable as an explanation.

The first issue of course relates to the name Sokoto itself. The Hausa people 'traditionally' pronounce the name of the city as 'Sakkwato', and its people 'Sakkwatawa'. While we have retained the use as well as the sense or meaning of the latter, the former is throughout this study rendered as 'Sokoto'. This has been done for the simple reason that this is in fact the official and common rendering of the city's name in available maps, newspapers, school textbooks and virtually all official correspondence and records.

'Sakkwato' is, inspite of its considerable currency, not quite common in writing and usage as 'Sokoto' and to employ the former would create or invite confusion in the minds of people used to 'Sokoto' and unaware of or unaccustomed to, the existence of 'Sakkwato'. At any rate, users of the latter will be at no loss as to the

intended meaning or reference of the term and only a little wounding of orthodox Hausa pride may be caused by its use.

We have as much as possible maintained the standard practice in the spelling of Hausa and Fulfulde terms used in this work, but in a few instances, as for example where they occur in names of titles, we have used the spelling peculiar to the Sakkwatanci dialect. Thus instead of the usual Sarkin Kasuwa (head of the market) we have used Sarkin Kassuwa. Most Hausa and Fulfulde terms employed in this work are explained in the text, usually in parenthesis immediately after the term in question, thus: kira (smithing). However, intonation can make a world of difference to the meaning of a word, since in Hausa the same word may have more than one meaning, the particular meaning intended being conveyed by the tone used. Examples of such words are makera (smithy, or smiths), marina (dyers, or a place of dyeing), majema (tanners, or tannery), magina (potters, or a place where such work is done). We have refrained, when using these terms, from employing diacritical marks for the simple reason that they would make the work clumsy and

at any rate are, we suspect, not intelligible to most(?) readers anyway. We have therefore endeavoured wherever there is possibility of confusion, to specify the intended meaning in English (in parenthesis) after the word. In the circumstance, we have found it necessary to include in the glossary only those Hausa and Fulfulde terms which are not explained in the text.

We have also allowed ourselves a certain inconsistency in the use of certain terms, especially titles and names. Thus the Arabic Amir al-Muminin and its Hausa equivalent, Sarkin Musulmi; the Arabic Sheikh and its Hausa equivalent Shehu; the Arabic names Uthman and its Hausa/Fulani equivalent/rendering Usman, are both used at different places in the text to refer to the same thing. In addition, the term 'Caliph' has also been used for Amir al-Muminin or Sarkin Musulmi (pl. Sarakunan Musulmi) - 'the Ruler of the Believers'. As long as these equivalents are kept in mind, no problem will be encountered. The rationale behind the lack of consistency in this case arises from the fact that these terms are widely used in the literature (Arabic, ajami, and English etc.) and a familiarity with them is therefore necessary.

Lastly, we need to say, even if briefly, why it is that we have chosen to name this study 'Birnin Shehu' (lit. 'the Shehu's City'). This is because, in the first place, this epithet is and has been popularly used in referring to Sokoto, in recognition of the fact that the Sheikh (Shehu) Uthman (Usman) occupied a central and special position in the movement that shaped its history: the Jihad. And further, that in the politics no less than the cosmology of the people of this city, this personage and what he stood for and represented had tremendous impact. Those who loved Sokoto as well as those who ridiculed it used this epithet, and we feel it is a fitting one indeed as the title for this study of its economic and social history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page(s)

DECLARATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

ABSTRACT v

THE SOURCES x

A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND THE USE OF TERMS ... xxviii

TABLE OF CONTENTS xxxii

LIST OF FIGURES xxxiv

ABBREVIATIONS xxxv

GLOSSARY xxxvi

CHAPTER ONE: NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOKOTO: THE ECOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING 1 - 23

The Ecology of the Rima 1

Nature and the Economy 5

Population and Settlements 10

The Jihad, Population, and Settlements 14

CHAPTER TWO: FROM HAMLET TO CITY: SOKOTO, c.1805-1837 ... ... 24 - 61

Nineteenth-Century Sokoto: A Description 45

Migration and Urban Accretion 55

CHAPTER THREE: THE SOKOTO URBAN ECONOMY: CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES ... ...62 - 121

The Organisation of Craft Production ... 62

Manufacturing in Sokoto: The Historical Background 67

Smithing 72

The Textile Industry in Nineteenth-Century Sokoto 81

Leather-Working (Aikin Fata) 87

Pottery and Woodcarving 107

CHAPTER FOUR: COMMERCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOKOTO ... ...122 - 167

The Historical Background 122

Commercial Organisation 129

The Commercial Relations of Sokoto ... 142

The Trading Communities of Sokoto ... 157

CHAPTER FIVE: URBAN ADMINISTRATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOKOTO ...168 - 203

The Philosophy and Social Basis of Urban Administration in Sokoto 168

The Administrative System 179

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION: ANATOMY OF AN URBANISM ... ...204 - 244

Stagnation or Growth? Sokoto, 1837-1903 204

Anatomy of an Urbanism: Sokoto Society in the Nineteenth Century 215

BIBLIOGRAPHY 245

LIST OF FIGURES.

Figure	Description
I.	The States of the Rima Basin in the Eighteenth Century.
II.	The Sokoto Area, c.1800 (after Last).
III.	Sokoto, c.1809-1814.
IV.	Sokoto in 1824.
V.	Sokoto, c.1826-/7.
VI.	Barth's Map of Sokoto in 1853.
VII.	Last's Map of Nineteenth-Century Sokoto.
VIII.	Nineteenth-Century Sokoto: The Wards.
IX.	Nineteenth-Century Sokoto: Suburban Hamlets.
X.	Nineteenth-Century Sokoto: An Occupational Map.
XI.	Some Places Mentioned in the Thesis.
XII.	Nineteenth-Century Sokoto: Trade Routes.

ABBREVIATIONS.

ABC/ABU	= Abdullahi Bayero College, Ahmadu Bello University, Kano.
A.B.U.	= Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
B.S.O.A.S.	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
I.M.	= Infayq al-Maysur.
J.A.H.	= Journal of African History.
J.A.S.	= Journal of the African Society.
J.H.S.N.	= Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.
J.M.G.S.	= Journal, Manchester Geographical Society.
J.R.A.S.	= Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society.
J.R.G.S.	= Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
K.I.L.	= Kashim Ibrahim Library, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
M.S.O.S.	= Mitteilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachen (zu Berlin).
N.A.K.	= National Archives, Kaduna.
N.H.R.S.	= Northern History Research Scheme, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
N.O.R.L.A.	= Northern Region Literacy Agency, Zaria, Nigeria.

A PARTIAL GLOSSARY.

(H) = Hausa. (Ar.) = Arabic.

Banza Bakwai(H) = a term used in Hausa origin legend to denote peoples or states (Kebbi, Zanfara, Yauri, Gwari, Nupe, Kwararrafa, Yoruba) who had less prestigious origins than the Hausa Bakwai (Kano, Zazzau, Daura, Gobir, Katsina, Rano and Biram). However, different 'Hausa' states had each their own list of who belonged to the Hausa Bakwai and who to the Banza Bakwai.

Fadama(H) = marshy ground.

Fare(H) = a musical instrument made of metal.

Kakaki(H) = a long musical instrument made of metal and blown for royalty.

Manya(H) = elders.

Marmaro(H:Sokoto) = a spring gushing out of rock.

Masu Sarauta(H) = holders of political office and members of the dynasty.

Ribāt(Ar.) = a frontier post.

Sarakuna(H) = kings, chiefs;(plural of Sarki).

Sarki(H) = a king or chief.

Sarkin Sudan na Wurno = title of Emir of Wurno.

Toronkawa(H) = members of the Sokoto ruling dynasty.

CHAPTER ONE

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOKOTO: THE ECOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING

The Ecology of the Rima Basin

The Rima river basin, lying roughly between parallels 10° N and 14° N and between longitudes 3°31' East and 7°15' East and drained by the river Rima and its tributaries the Sokoto, Ka and Zanfara, provides the ecological setting in which the city of Sokoto developed. The Rima basin ecology has in consequence exercised an important influence on the development of the city and its surroundings, as we shall see presently.

Geologically the basin is made up of a zone of Pre-Cambrian Basement rocks in the east and south-east and a zone of Cretaceous sedimentary rocks in the west. Over the area of Basement rocks the landscape consists of a badland topography of sandy plains broken by smooth steep-sided inselbergs and ranges. Over the area of sedimentary rocks in the north and north-west the landscape consists of monotonous undulating plains occassionally broken by groups of steep-sided, tabular ironstone-capped hills

some of which average 300 metres or so above sea-level.[1]

Except where it is overlain by a crust of lateritic ironstone or eroded to expose rocky surfaces the soil profile in both areas consists generally of a sandy topsoil and a clayey subsoil. The soil may contain as much as 90% sand in parts, as a result of erosion. This and the consequent deposition of the eroded material in internal basins, has led to the improverishment of much of the soil and the creation of fertile basins, respectively. The soil can be divided broadly into two types: upland soils, and fadama soils. Upland soils make up about 95% of the land but are less fertile than the heavy clay-and-silt fadama soils lying in the flood plains and internal basins.[2]

By far the most crucial environmental or ecological feature of the Rima basin is its drainage. Lying in an otherwise arid zone, the Rima river system, by providing surface water - some of it perennial - ameliorates what would have been a harsh environment

---

1. These details are put together from Jones, B., The Sedimentary Rocks of Sokoto Province, Kaduna 1948, pp.2-3, 9-10; R.K. Udo, Geographical Regions of Nigeria, London, 1970, pp.167-8; K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria, London 1969, pp.1-4, 20.

2. See the works of Jones, Udo and Buchanan cited above, and A.D. Goddard, "Population Movements and Land Shortages in the Sokoto Close-Settled Zone" in Samir Amin (ed.) Modern Migrations in West Africa, Oxford, 1974, p.261.

and exercises a great influence on the distribution and activities of its human and animal population.[3]

The rivers Sokoto, Rima, Gawan Gulbi (or Ka), Zanfara and Shalla drain more or less the entire region, taking their rise on the high plains at the eastern edge of the basin and flowing westwards and then south-westwards. The Rima is perennial as far upstream as its confluence with the Sokoto river, the Zanfara as far upstream as Jega, while the Shalla is entirely perennial.[4]

The river valleys are narrow and rocky in the area of Basement rocks but open out into wide flood-plains on encountering the sedimentary rocks. Thus above Talaka and Raba the valleys of the Rima and Sokoto are bound by gentle slopes merging into the surrounding plains, but are deep and trench-like below them, with high cliff borders and wide flood-plains containing swamps, lagoons, ox-bows and abandoned channels. In consequence of this settlements are generally nearer the river channels in the upper than in the lower and middle reaches of the

3. The Lake Chad and the rivers draining into it exercise a similar influence and perform a similar function in the area of the Chad Basin. See Graham Connah's Three Thousand Years in Africa: Man and his Environment in the Lake Chad Region of Nigeria, C.U.P., 1981.

4. See the works by Jones, (Sedimentary Rocks ...); Udo (Geographical Regions...) and Buchanan and Pugh (Land and People...).

rivers. And while a retreat of farming is also occasioned in some parts of the floodplains, they are well suited on the whole, and also noted, for rice cultivation.

The significance of the rivers for water supply is all the more strategic because permanent lakes are very few in the Rima basin. The only notable lake in the region is Kalmalo, which lies in a drainage line which had been obstructed by sand. There is of course substantial surface water in the rainy and early dry season, but this is not available when it is most needed. In fact the bulk of it is drained wastefully away.

The wet season falls between mid-May and mid-September, but most of the rain actually falls in the period July to September. Annual rainfall decreases from over 100 cm in the south of the basin to 50-62 cm in the north. Sokoto city has only 72.5 cm annually. Annual averages are not always uniform and often exhibit disastrous variations. The dry season is particularly arid between November and March when no rain falls at all.

Daylight temperatures are generally high and in the period just before the rains (April/May) shade temperatures may be as high as 37.8°C. In the cold season between November and March, especially in the period December-January, minima of 10°C

occur in the shade. In general, considerable diurnal variations occur which at times may be as high as 10° in March and as low as 4° in August.[5]

The vegetation in the Rima basin is of the type referred to as "biotically-determined sub-climax vegetation".[6] This is a vegetation type which is the result of human and animal activity. In the Rima basin this consists of a "typical" Sudan Savanna of continuous grass and thick tree cover. Low permeability and chemical weathering have produced taller and denser vegetation in the area of Basement rocks, consisting of orchard bush with an undergrowth of tall grass. Over the area of well-drained sedimentary rocks the vegetation consists generally of open scrub, the trees averaging six metres in height and having thin stems. The baobab (Adansonia digitata), locustbean (Parkia Filicoidea), shea-butter, gawo kapok and Acacia arabica or (Acacia albida), / gum-arabic trees are more or less the dominant or typical vegetation on farmland and near settlements.[7]

Nature and the Economy

The influence of the environment on human and animal existence is varied and cumulative and here we

5. Jones, Sedimentary Rocks..., p.1; Udo, Geographical Regions..., p.169. In both books the figures are given in °F.
6. Buchanan and Pugh, Land and People..., p.33.
7. Jones, Sedimentary Rocks..., p.169.

can only discuss those that are pertinent to this study.

Obviously, the major influences are climatic but soil conditions are also very important. Rainfall in the short wet season of 4 - 5 months is highly variable but on the whole adequate enough for cereal growth. Farm activity which begins in late-April or May rises to a peak in June-August, the main crops being millets, guinea corn, rice, cotton, maize, tobacco, groundnuts and sugar cane. The growing season generally comes to an end with the harvest in September - October (the millet is harvested in September), but on fadama soils the labours of the field may stretch through December, well into the harmattan season. In the more arid north and north-west the main crop is the quick ripening gero (bul-rush millet: Pennisetum typhoideum) which is well-suited to the sandy soils as well as the short growing season. The bulk of the guinea-corn is grown in the area of higher rainfall and more hospitable soils in the eastern and south-eastern part of the basin (in Zanfara principally). The more abundant rainfall and hospitable soils here are also responsible for the concentration of groundnut and cotton cultivation in the eastern and south-eastern part.[8]

---

8. For these details, see Goddard, in S. Amin, Modern Migrations ..., pp.61-2; Udo, Geographical Regions of Nigeria, pp.170, 172.

The variability in the amount and distribution of rainfall (spatially as well as temporally) has made the prospects for adequate food supply for humans and animals rather unstable. Crop failures occur frequently as a result either of delayed rains or drought, often accompanied by famine and pestilence[9] and exacerbated by the southward drift of population (human and animal) from the desert-side regions lying immediately to the north. This tended to complicate the problem of disease and the hungry periods of the late-dry and early-wet seasons.

The dichotomy of the seasons and the drainage system (in particular the availability of surface water and with it, grazing) also evokes a rythmic response from the pastoral population and their livestock. In the rainy season the herds remain stable once they move out of the river valleys (which are becoming too wet) or up north. Such movements normally reach a maximum in the period July-September with the deterioration of riverine pastures and the onset of the very wet period in the south of the basin. But when upland pastures begin to deteriorate and surface water to disappear around October, the herds are moved closer again to the fadama. In this season constant and often

---

9. See for instance, Abd al-Qadir b. Mustafa's Raudhat al-Afkar and Clapperton, H., Journal of a Second Expedition, London, John Murray, 1829, p.192.

extensive movements are necessary to the survival of the herds. The deterioration of pastures which begins during the harmattan worsens still further in the hot season at which time southerly movements of herds to the lower Rima and towards the river valleys in Kebbi are at a maximum. The herds remain in these areas until the rains come again and planting commences, when they return northwards and onto the plains.[10] A number of transhumance circuits associated with these rythmic movements of the herds are recognisable, the apparent stability of which has perhaps led Murray Last to speak of them as "the grazing lands" of "this" or "that" pastoral group.[11] A long period of increasing sedentarisation and semi-nomadism in the Rima basin has certainly helped to bring about a higher degree of geographical separation among the pastoral population, but the existence of exclusive grazing lands is more apparent than real. Gradual migrations of pastoral groups is in fact the norm, and in the eighteenth century at least such migrations have been very extensive. Murray Last himself acknowledged that it is difficult to fix the position (or even trace the movement) of the pastoral groups in this area in the eighteenth century with any precision.[12]

---

10. Hopen, C.E., Report on the Study of Field Fulani, Government Printer, Kaduna; pp.29-29; also see Hopen's The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu, O.U.P., London, 1958.
11. Last, D.M., The Sokoto Caliphate, Longmans, 1967, pp.lxii, lxiii, lxx-lxxv.
12. ibid., pp.lxii, lxxiv.

Though in some ways the influence of the rivers depended on the fluctuation of the seasons, these rivers also had a vital significance on account of the resources they contained, particularly fish. The perennial nature of fairly long stretches of these rivers made this all the more siginificant. The lower Rima in Kebbi has been the home of a fishing industry of great antiquity, complete with its technology, rituals and a specialist class. In fact, the culture of these specialists, the Sarkawa, has for a long time been (and might even have developed as) part of a wider aquatic civilization straddling not only the Rima but also extensive parts of the Niger of which the Rima is a tributary.[13] The main fishing season on the lower Rima falls between September and April (in other words in the dry season), though of course fishing generally is carried on throughout the year. Because of its water resources and the prominence of fishing and water-hunting in its economy, Kebbi has been an important supplier of fish to some parts of the Rima basin and areas beyond it. In return the area imported boats, because only inferior ones can be made from such local giants as the Gawo (Acacia albida) and Rimi.[14] or white silk cotton

13. Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the Nineteenth Century", M.A. Thesis A.B.U., 1968, pp.27f; J.E.G. Sutton, "The Aquatic Factor in Northern Nigerian History", paper presented at the Kano Seminar, January 1976, p6; Alkali, M. Bello, "A Hausa Community in Crisis: Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century", M.A., A.B.U., 1968, pp. 30, 40-41, 123-4.

14. Lely, H.V., The Useful Trees of Northern Nigeria, London, 1925, pp.1, 51.

tree (Eriodendron orientale); also imported were fishing equipment and other goods. In short, the river system contained resources which were important to human existence in this region and which formed an important basis of its relations with people and areas outside.

Population and Settlements

The ecological factors considered above, as well as others, have affected not only the conditions for agriculture but also the distribution of population and settlements in the Rima basin. The availability of, and access to, water has been a particularly strong factor in this regard. Thus the bulk of the population - both pastoral and sedentary - has since antiquity been concentrated in or near the river valleys where regular water was available for human and animal use.[15]

In "ancient" Kebbi all the major settlements - as for example the great cities of Surame, Gungu and Leka - were within three to five kilometres of the flood-plains. The seventeenth century Gobir cities of Naya and Goran Rami, the eighteenth century Gobir capital Alkalawa and such Zanfara cities as Dutsi and Birnin Zanfara were all located on the banks of the main gulabe (rivers). Prothero estimates that even in modern

---

15. Jones, (Sedimentary Rocks ...), p.66; Udo, (Geographical Regions...), p.169; Sutton, "The Aquatic Factor...", p.7; Garba Nadama, "The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State", Ph.D. (unpublished), A.B.U., 1977, p.91.

times 75 - 80% of the population lives in or near the river valleys which also contain all the major settlements.[16]

Water supply was of course not the only consideration. For instance, Nadama has observed that most of the early urban centres of Zanfara were located in those areas where iron-ore was most abunddant; many others had evolved either in strategic frontier zones, on major trade routes or in areas richly endowed with natural resources (including fertile soils). Thus Kiawa had grown in an area of economic and political importance on the Zanfara-Katsina frontier, commanding a junction of routes.[17]

Generally, the heartland of the states and several prosperous regional zones exhibited high densities at the end of the eighteenth century: the Gobir heartland in the upper Rima basin, the area of southern and south-eastern Zanfara and the area stretching north and north-eastwards between Birnin Kebbi and Adar. Smaller zones of high density were to be found scattered here and there in the region.

---

16. Udo, p.174; Alkali, "A Hausa Community...", p. 36; Adeleye, R.A., "Hausaland and Bornu, 1600-1800" in J.F.A. Ajayi, and M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa, Vol.I, London, 1971, pp.513, 515; R.M. Prothero "Migrant Labour From Sokoto Province", (Mimeo.), Lagos, 1954.

17. Krieger, K. Geschichte von Zamfara, Berlin, 1959, p.72; Y.B. Usman, "The Transformation of Kasar Katsina", Ph.D. (unpublished), A.B.U., 1974, pp.96-118; Mahdi Adamu, op.cit., pp.35-40 and Garba Nadama, op.cit., pp.34, 71.

The settlements which formed in these areas of high density tended to do so in clusters each of which consisted of a dominating city or cities surrounded by a much larger number of smaller settlements. In Kebbi there were such clusters around the Birnin Kebbi, in Zaberma, Dallol Fogha, Dallol Mauri and the Kengakoi-Gaya area.[18] In Gobir and Zanfara there were similar clusters around Birnin Konni, Birnin Zanfara, Kiawa, Maradun, Zurmi, Mafara, Anka, Gummi and Sabon Birni. The bulk of these clusters, as can be seen, were in the eastern portion of the Rima basin which had more abundant rainfall and other natural resources (fertile soils, iron ore deposits, etc.).[19]

Political conditions of course affected the stability of the population and the pattern of its distribution and therefore that of these settlements. Thus the upheavals of the eighteenth century in Kebbi, Gobir and Zanfara had caused considerable population movements across the length and breadth of the Rima basin. When Gungu, Surame and Leka were destroyed

---

18. Alkali, M.B., op.cit., p.36. Even the ruins of Gungu, Surame and Leka exhibit this pattern clearly.

19. This "bunching" pattern appears even in neighbouring Katsina and Yauri areas. It probably had its origin in the development of satellite towns or the simultaneous development of settlements growing at different rates; the need for the security and greater prosperity accruing from such bunching may have been a great (if subconscious) motivation. The clusters around Mafara and Sabon Birni were later developments.

early in that century there occurred a movement or perhaps even exodus of people from north-eastern into western and south-western Kebbi causing further dislocation in those areas.[20] Similarly, political pressure by the Touaregs is believed to have been one of the factors that caused the Gobirawa to move southwards into the north-eastern portion of the Rima basin. And in Zanfara, the sack of the capital in 1762 and the resulting dislocation is said to have forced large numbers of people into Katsina kingdom and the already densely-peopled area of southern Zanfara, building up high density in both southern and south-eastern Zanfara. There also were, as part of this process which was still in progress at the beginning of the nineteenth century, considerable movements of people westwards into the middle Sokoto and Zanfara river valleys.[21]

The eighteenth century was indeed an eventful period in the history of the states of the Rima basin as they went through a process of social and political transformation associated with changing economic conditions, social values and increased social and political polarization. This process

---

20. Alkali, "A Hausa Community...", pp.86-7, 93-5.

21. For these important movements of population, see Krieger, Geschichte..., pp.51, 54-6; Nadama, "The Rise and Collapse...", pp.299-302 and P.G. Harris, "Gazetteer of Sokoto Province", (Unpublished), passim.

produced a revolutionary situation in the birane (cities) and garuruwa (towns) of the region which undermined the cohesion and harmony of the social and political order and made the cities in particular the source and focus of social conflict and change. As the foci of immigration, the receivers, blenders and transmitters of new cultural influences, as centres of manufacture and commerce and as places where social differentiation was proceeding at a rapid rate these settlements exercised a considerable influence on the direction - and themselves reflected the nature - of social change.[22]

The Jihad, Population and Settlements

The Jihad of the early nineteenth century reveals important aspects of the social significance and function of these settlements. Itself a product of the revolutionary situation in the Rima basin in the late eighteenth century, the Jihad also occasioned major changes in the distribution of population and settlements. The initial demographic impact of the Jihad was the hijra of the Shaikh Uthman and his jama'a

---

22. See the works of Krieger, Nadama, M.B. Alkali, Mahdi Adamu, Y.B. Usman and Adeleye (in Ajayi and Crowder, op.cit.) already cited; as well as Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Longmans, London, 1967 and Abd al-Qadir b. Mustafa's Raudhat al-Afkar (translated by H.R. Palmer as "Western Sudan History", in JAS, Vol.xv, lix, 1916).

out of the high density area of Gobir and neighbouring Zanfara and westwards into the middle Rima valley. After approaching the high density area of eastern Kebbi this initial flow deflected sharply in the region of the Sokoto-Rima confluence and thence assumed a north-eastward orientation. By the end of the third decade of the century this flow had deposited its demographic load in the area lying just south of the Rima and Sokoto rivers due chiefly to the eastward shifting of the theatre of hostilities. As the theatre of war moved towards the Gobir and Zanfara heartlands (and towards lower Kebbi in the west) further movement of population occurred into the area lying in the rear of the zone of active conflict. Population also shifted out of the Gobir high density area northwards, but in the decades following the fall of Alkalawa there was a much larger and steady movement of population out of Adar and south into the middle Rima valley.

The result of all this dislocation and readjustment of the demographic pattern manifested itself in the destruction, abandonment and reduction - but in some cases expansion - of many existing settlements and the establishment of new ones. Thus the Zanfara birane of Kiawa, Jata and Banaga were destroyed, while many others

had their sizes, significance and functions reduced; as, for example, Dutsi.[23] Birnin Alkalawa and the town of Yandoto on the Zanfara-Katsina frontier were destroyed and many other settlements were seriously affected.

However, new settlements also came into being, especially from 1806 onwards, in the area of the middle Rima and the Sokoto river valleys which thus became a sphere of major urban development. At the same time, most of the existing settlements receiving immigrants from the population flow expanded considerably. The establishment of Gwandu in 1806/7 was followed by that of Sifawa (autumn 1809), Bodinga, Sokoto and the rebuilding of Yabo and Shagari.[24] This building and fortification of settlements was a well-coordinated programme which the Caliph Muhammad Bello pursued with vigour and social purpose.[25] Built as they were under war-time conditions, many of them at first were more or less military posts. In this respect they all played a key role in the

---

23. Nadama, "The Rise and Collapse...", pp. xxiv, 42..

24. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.41, 42.

25. See his Al-ribāt wal-hirāsa..., (ms), Arewa House, Kaduna and the Northern History Research Scheme, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria.

stabilisation of population in this area, while some of them took on new and important functions previously discharged by Alkalawa, Birnin Kebbi, etc. Gwandu and Sokoto in particular became central in the charting of the ideological and political direction of the Sokoto Caliphate as a whole, while other towns like Wurno, Chimola, Bakura, Katuru and Lajinge became important pillars of state power in the rural districts. The settlement in them of artisans, traders, scholars and other professionals, often at the initiative of the state,[26] widened their functions even further and made them important centres of production and exchange in a relatively short period.

Because the birane and garuruwa and their specialised groups and institutions were important props of the economic system, these developments had a significant impact particularly on commercial networks. The disruption of manufacture and trade caused by the destruction of the settlements and

---

26. In the letters of appointment and instruction given to the rulers of these ribāts the Amir al-Muminin Muhammad Bello charged them to encourage production, build and protect markets and actively promote learning and religion. In all the places he directly controlled Bello gave a personal lead and practical expression in these regards.

the interference with commercial traffic[27] by both sides in the Jihad, as well as the rise to prominence of new or previously minor settlements, occasioned important changes in the trade routes. Thus the destruction of Yandoto and the rise of Sokoto altered the former route linking Kano and the Rima basin at both ends. Formerly going through Yandoto, it now went thus: Kano-Farin Ruwa-Gyaza-Radda-Birchi-Zurmi-Sokoto.[28] Similarly the main route from Adar, which in former times went from Birnin Konni to Alkalawa (with a western branch to Birnin Kebbi), now focused mainly on Sokoto. Relatively new, both Sokoto and Gwandu became important links in the routes linking Hausaland, the Rima basin and the middle Niger region. Jega, which rose to prominence as a major regional market and route-junction at about the same time, became the major link in the commercial networks that crossed the southern part of the Rima basin, carrying the bulk of the

---

27. Muhammad Bello complains in the Infaq al-Maysur that the Gobir rulers outlawed trade with the Shehu's jama'a, but the jama'a itself was attacking caravans which were trading with the enemy. See Arnett, E.J., The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani, Kano, 1922, p.85.

28. See Y.B.Usman, op.cit., p.446.

central Sudan's commercial traffic with the west and south-west.[29] Thus, the first three decades of the nineteenth century saw the establishment in this area of a new pattern of trade routes based on the modified distribution, function and gradation of settlements.

On the issue of the function of settlements, special mention must be made of the scholarstic centres which have played such a significant role in the political upheavals that rocked the Rima basin and beyond in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The development of these centres, the most important of which were Marnona and Degel, marked a stage in the development of Islamic learning in this region when the seat of scholarship more or less moved out of cities like Birnin Konni, Agades and Birnin Kebbi, etc. - which for long have been the main base of Muslim scholars and jurists - into their rural hinterlands.

In particular, the rising importance of these settlements in social and political life reflected

---

29. For the place of Jega in the commercial network across this region, see Alkali, "A Hausa Community...", p.273; Usman, Y.B., The Transformation..., (Ph.D. Thesis), p.447; Jack Goody and T.M. Mustafa, "The Caravan Trade...", JHSN, III,4, 1967, p.614; and Barth, Travels ..., Vol.III, p.149.

a very fundamental development in not only the development of Islam but of society as a whole: the coming of age of a class which was soon to wrest power from the ruling dynasties and which was to try to transform society in its own image and on the basis of a clear objective. Due largely to the widening gulf (particularly in the cities) between the Sarakuna and Masu Sarauta on the one hand and the talakawa on the other, between the mores and values on which the Sarakuna based their allegedly repressive authority and the new values which stressed the dignity of the individual and the sovereignty of God and, no less important, the violent conflicts among the ruling class itself arising from competition for a larger share of the spoils of power, the intelligentsia class in such scholarstic centres as Degel, Marnona and in the cities found it easier to appeal against the ruling aristocracies and to topple them. Yet Last[30] has more or less explained the Jihad in terms of the revolt of 'Fulani' Mallams (i.e. the ʿulamā in these centres) against their exclusion from society (presumably by the more numerous and predominantly urban 'Hausa'). This is simplistic. Settlements such as Degel and Marnona were not 'excluded' from society and nor were their inhabitants.

---

30. Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.lxxvi-lxxx.

The so-called withdrawal of the scholars from society is a misconception and a myth for if that had been so they would not have been able to articulate the ideology of the Jihad and assume its leadership as they did. Besides, the largely rural location of the scholars came only at a certain stage - especially that stage at which the crisis with the ruling aristocracies approached a climax - and did not characterise the entire history of their evolution. In fact, the class was nurtured in the womb of the cities, which were also their sources of books, of information and contacts and of most of the major grievances and vices against which the scholars were preaching. True, these scholars found life in the cities odious, but their aversion to it did not arise from nor did it constitute withdrawal or exclusion from society. Afterall, the influence of these scholars derived from their social existence and function.

Already providing leadership and an invaluable service in the religious and social affairs of large sections of the people therefore, the intelligentsia assumed the mantle of leadership of the social and political revolt which was then brewing and whose declared objective was to change the social order and restore God and the individual to their rightful place in it. The Sokoto Jihad of 1804 was the result of this process whose leadership and ideology were

literally engineered in such scholarstic centres as Marnona and Degel and in cities such as Alkalawa.

Of course, the scholarstic centres themselves became affected by the changes set in motion once the Jihad had started. Degel and Marnona, having performed their function, gave place to such places as Sokoto, Gwandu, Sifawa and Wurno as the main centres of literary activity.

The rise to power of the scholars and clan leaders had other important consequences, the most significant of which was the attempt to create a new political and social order based partly on a re-ordering of the role of the cities and major settlements. It does seem that the Jihad leaders sought, after their success in wresting power, to build their own cities, and reshape those that have survived the violence and destruction according to their own image of the world. These new and surviving settlements have an importance that goes beyond just the circumstance of their establishment and the role conceived for them, for after-all, being products of cumulative development in the social, political and economic life of the region, they are important indices of a much more extensive process. For these reasons, these settlements offer themselves as useful objects of study in fields which have so far been ignored or taken for granted but which in fact

hold the key to our understanding of much of the past. They are, in short, living documents of history, and in particular of the nature of pre-colonial urban social organization, the nature and dynamics of the urbanization process and of social and economic change generally. This is not of course to be interpreted as meaning that the city is synonymous with history. Sleepy as it may seem in our consciousness, the rural countryside was in fact the womb that nurtured and produced these settlements. In truth therefore the history of these settlements is in part a history of their rural hinterland and of their wide-ranging contacts with distant lands, peoples and events.

Studies of the Jihad period - many of which are scholarly - often lack social depth or sometimes even any social dimension at all because of their dominant concern with ideas, ideals and forms, as if the scholars who through their participation in society left their imprint on it were living in a vacuum and subsisting on ideas. This present study is about one of these settlements and seeks, on a modest level, to redress this imbalance.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM HAMLET TO CITY: SOKOTO, C.1805-1837

Available evidence suggests that a pre-Jihad settlement of the name 'Sokoto' lay on or near the site where the city of Sokoto developed as a capital and cultural centre of the political system which had been created as a result of the Jihad of Usman Danfodio. In his Infayq al-Maysur, Muhammad Bello, acclaimed as the 'founder' of Sokoto, spoke of camping at this Sokoto several times between 1805 and 1809: in other words, before the date he is said to have 'founded' it. Within this time (1805-8), it seems, Sokoto was used as a staging and command post for military operations aimed against the Gobir dynasty based in Alkalawa. Bello spoke of 'building' Sokoto only in the autumn of 1809, following the capture of Alkalawa, and in a sense which does not say categorically that he founded a settlement on totally uninhabited land. However, it would seem that Bello's Sokoto was sited a little to the east or north-east of the tiny hamlet of Sokoto which he was wont to use as a staging post before the fall of Alkalawa.

Lying on the south side of the Rima-Sokoto confluence not distant from the ruins of the great Kebbi cities of Surame, Gungu and Leka, Bello's

Sokoto had a strategic location in a corridor and junction of routes.[1] Stiff escarpments on the east, the Rima river and its broad floodplains on the north, as well as the Sokoto and the undulating hills on its north bank afforded the site natural defences and a picturesque setting. The spur or ridge on which the settlement stands slopes gently to the river on the north side, with wide erosion gullies cutting deep into the lateritic ironstone surface to produce a rough terrain. On the west and south the ground slopes gently then rises abruptly on reaching the tiny streams (marmaro) on the north-west, south and south-west, with the result that the approaches to the settlement were easier on these sides.

The origin of the earlier settlement at which Bello was camping is shrouded in mystery and rationalised in mystical and speculative tradition. Of the former there is the story that it was one of three houses of jinns - Gomfa and Dundaye being the others - about this place. The story goes further to say that Sokoto was the place where all these

---

1. Last, D.M., The Sokoto Caliphate, Longmans, 1967, p.42. As can be seen from the Infaq al-Maysur, Bello used Sokoto as a camp before 1809 contrary to the assertion by Murray Last that Sokoto was founded as a camp late in 1809. Last, op.cit., p.lix.

jinns gathered for their meals,[2] implying therefore that the settlement - whether or not actually inhabited by jinns! - held an important position in relation to others nearby. Of the speculative stories there is one that says that in pre-Jihad days the settlement of Sokoto was inhabited by Hausawa and Fulani and that it was named after a masaki (a weaver), presumably the Maianguwa (head) of the hamlet.[3] Yet another tradition current in Sokoto has it that the hamlet was founded by a hunter who lived there with his family. Bovill also writes that before 1809 Sokoto was no more than a hunter's camp and that the term Sokoto may have been in use from early times to refer generally to the district in which the settlement grew.[4] According to Hugh Clapperton, in the language of the people of the city of Sokoto (whom he describes as being principally Felatahs: i.e. Fulbe or Fulani) the term 'Sokoto' signifies "a halting place".[5]

---

2. Related by Alhaji Shehu Saraki, interviewed in Galadanci, Sokoto (9/7/75).

3. Dr. Alhaji Junaidu, the Waziri of Sokoto. Date not recorded.

4. Bovill, E.W., The Golden Trade of the Moors, O.U.P., 1970, pp.231-2. Bovill bases his speculation on the strength of a reference to Sokotoma (ruler of Sokoto) in a Bornu Mahram of 1684 in Palmer's Bornu Sahara and Sudan, London, 1936.

5. Hugh Clapperton, in Bovill, E.W., Missions to the Niger, vol.IV, C.U.P., 1966, p.701. Clapperton was in Sokoto in 1824 and then 1826/7 when he died there.

According to Dr. Junaidu, however, the term was a conscious rythmic imitation of the name and sound of Mecca, thus Sakkatun = Makkatun. This symbolic association with Mecca, however, could not have attended the naming of the pre-Jihad settlement and is almost certainly a product of Jihad or even post-Jihad consciousness. Muhammad Bello who is supposed to have "founded" Sokoto does not say anything in his Infayq al-Maysur about the etymology of the term. One gets the impression from that book, however, that he found a settlement of that name already in existence on or near the site, which he used a number of times as a staging camp for campaigns and expeditions into Gobir. This for the moment is the most that can be said concerning the Pre-Jihad origins of Sokoto.

Between 1805 when Muhammad Bello first camped there and the fall of Alkalawa in 1808 Sokoto was then essentially a military camp. This new status no doubt changed the original hamlet considerably since Bello's following was large and the campaigns themselves fanned over a fairly wide area, involving not only war but resettlement of people and the management of their affairs. The conquest of Alkalawa in 1808 and the resettlement of substantial numbers of its people in Sokoto further made

this new role all the more important, and in the autumn of 1809 the town walls were put up to facilitate the security of the settlement in the light of the changing political climate. In the two poems he wrote to commemorate the building of the walls, Bello extolled the security and abundant water which Sokoto offered and clearly envisaged the town to be a marāya (nurturing place) of Islam.[6] The administrative structuring introduced by the Sheikh Uthman in 1812, which placed the eastern portion of the expanding Caliphate directly under Muhammad Bello, further accelerated the development of Sokoto as an important political and cultural centre.

Before we go into a discussion of the formation of the wards in Sokoto, a word must be said concerning the 'chronology' of their establishment. Informants for the most part used such vague terms as "in the time of the Shehu", "in the reign of Bello" and similar phrases to refer to the time of the establishment of most of these quarters. This has made it

---

6. See KADCAP C/AR 2/43, vol.II, National Archives, Kaduna containing a Hausa translation of the Infayq al-Maysur; see also the Cairo edition of the book, edited by Mahmud A. Gumi.

impossible to say with certainty when a particular ward was first settled and therefore to map out clearly the actual rate at which the city itself developed. In determining the rough chronology or sequence of the establishment or founding of these wards, we have given consideration to a number of factors. One of these is whether the ward in question is in Tsohon Birni (lit.'the old city': that part of Sokoto which was already settled and walled by the time the Shehu came to live in Sokoto in 1815) or Sabon Birni (i.e. 'the new city', that part of the city settled as a result of and after the Shehu's movement and itself fortified with a wall which thus enclosed Tsohon Birni). The assumption here is that wards in Tsohon Birni predate those in Sabon Birni. This is not very satisfactory, since all it does is to establish a rough relationship and does not in any way give us any specific date. Besides, there has been considerable relocation of groups or even wards in Sokoto in Bello's reign and this no doubt distorts the sequential relation implied by our assumption. A second assumption is that refugees from Alkalawa must have moved into Sokoto either just before its fall, or immediately after it. Thus it is to be expected that wards settled by such refugees must have been formed in the period

c.1808-1815, i.e. that period during which settlement in Sokoto had already begun and Alkalawa came under continuous harassment leading up to its fall and the abortive attempts to rehabilitate it. Lastly, attempts have been made wherever possible to determine where wards are said to have been founded "in the reign of Bello" or "in the time of the Shehu" (which in essence means before 1817) whether this was before or at the same time as or after the Shehu had moved to Sokoto. As we shall see in the course of this thesis, the movement of the Shehu to Sokoto marked an important watershed in the city's history. While not satisfactory, the generalised chronology of the establishment of the wards thus arrived at does reflect, in our view, the basic outline of the process by which Sokoto evolved. The genealogies of the residents of the wards offer what potentially seems to be the best way of resolving this business of a reliable chronology, but this has not been utilised here for reasons bearing on competence and the difficulty of the genealogical data at our disposal.

The period 1809 to 1815 marks a phase during which the original hamlet or camp of Sokoto grew into a sizeable settlement with no less than twenty wards. At the core of this settlement, scattered around the mosque and the residence of Muhammad

Bello, there developed the wards Gidadawa, Alkanci, Alkammawa, Binanci or Benanci, Galadanci, Zoromawa and Torobbe. A common feature of these wards was that they all developed as a result of the settlement of people in association with and around the residences of leading military and political figures working with Bello at the time. These include his Vizier (Waziri) Gidado b. Laima around whom the ward Gidadawa (the people of Gidado) grew; the Galadima Doshero (hence Galadanci, "the ward where the Galadima resides", or simply "the Galadima's ward"); the Alkali or Judge (hence Alkanci), the Magajin Gari around whom the ward Benanci developed, the Ubandoma Muhammad b. Ali b. Fodiye around whom the ward Torobbe developed; and Alkammawa (the people of Alkammu) which grouped the people of the late Umar Alkammu, said to have been the Shehu's closest friend, under the leadership of his son Usman Modegel. The Zoromawa community which claims a special relationship with the Torobbe had a leader in one Muhammad Shibi[7] under whose son Yero the Zoromawa of Tsohon Birni settled. A faction of the Zoromawa under the leadership of Muhammad Sambo was with the Shehu at Sifawa and later moved with him to Sokoto to found Zoromawan

---

7. For the Zoromawa, see Barth, Travels..., vol. IV, pp.146-7, 175, 190; Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.lxxiii, n.18.

Sabon Birni ward. Except for Zoromawan Tsohon Birni, these quarters were fairly large and heterogeneous in composition since the followerships of the leading figures and lineages included, in addition to blood relations and/or clan members, slaves, barori (clients) and other marginal elements. With the full establishment of the emirate system in fact, these quarters tended to attract considerable immigration (of slaves as well as free individuals) from those areas for which the local leading lineage was intermediary (kofa: see Chapter Five)

Scattered among these aristocratic and title-holding quarters were several wards which developed as a result of the resettlement of refugees from Alkalawa (conquered 1808) and its districts. These included Mazuga, Guragurawa, Fāru, Maginar Danfo or Danfa and Kwandawa. The founders of these wards are all said to have been previously resident in Alkalawa and to have been resettled here by Muhammad Bello. For wards inhabited not only by commoners but refugees or even war-captives at that, their location in close proximity to the seat of power was understandable given their functional relationship. In fact, the settlers of Mazuga were the Caliph's seal-makers and silver-smiths who made musical instruments (e.g. the fare, the kakaki) used for royalty and

also possibly of ornaments for the palace's women-folk. The Kwandawa on their part were royal minstrels and bards and town-criers, while the Guragurawa were a kind of royal bodyguard or servants.

By the time the Shehu Usman moved permanently to Sokoto in 1815, many more wards had been established. Bube (also known as Anguwan Sharifai) was founded by Adarawa migrants from Tawa under the leadership of one Sharif al-Najib. Their occupation was the making of korino (see Chapter Three) and the Jibda (civet) perfume. Takalmawa was founded by Zanfarawa settlers; Masunta by Adarawa who, according to an informant, "came with the Shehu"; Dandi by Adarawa fatake (long-distance traders), Wangarawa by Wangara fatake and tailors who were previously in Gobir; 'Yar Sake by Kanuri and Gobirawa migrants; and Pategi by Nufawa weavers; Hungumawa by the people of one Hungumi, a Kamberin Barebari falke (long-distance trader); and lastly, Kurmin Nufawa, which was probably founded about 1809 by migrants from Nupeland and which was to receive a further influx of more Nufawa in 1815.[8]

8. The information on these wards has been provided by the following informants: Sarkin Mazuga (Mazuga, 17/10/75); Alkawama Haido (Kwandawa and Alkanci, 10/9/75); Yahaya Dangaladima, Shehu and Samari (Faru, 21/2/76); Idrisu Anace (Guragurawa, 22/3/76); Alhaji Iro Fari (Bube, 21/3/76); Muhammadu (Takalmawa, 22/3/76); Alhaji Balarabe

More spectacular advances in the development of Sokoto were made in the period 1815-1837, largely in response to the movement of the Shaikh Uthman from Sifawa to Sokoto and the development of its economy and economic relations. Quite apart from this, however, it would seem that the successful outcome of hostilities against Gobir and Zanfara in the east opened up more lands which the supporters of the Jihad proceeded to occupy. This tended to cause a drift of population eastwards and north-eastwards away from earlier centres such as Gwandu and Sifawa. This made Sifawa, where the Sheikh Uthman and several hundreds of scholars were based, rather exposed and isolated from the active body of his followers fighting in the east under Muhammad Bello and the west under Aliyu Jedo and Abdullah Ibn Fodio. There was thus a need to bring the Sheikh and these scholars to Sokoto where their safety could best be guaranteed. Muhammad Bello in fact claims to have fortified Sokoto for this very purpose, and

---

(Masunta, 23/3/76); Alhaji Muhammadu Dandi et al (Dandi, 24/3/76); Muhammadu Bello and Mallam Na'iya(Wangarawa, 13/3/76); Mallam Alu 'Sake ('Yar Sake, 21/2/76); Mallam Yahaya Hungumawa (Hungumawa, 24/9/75); and Alhaji Almu (17/10/75) and Umaru, Ahmadu and Sahabi (18/10/75) for Hungumawa. The interviews at Hungumawa, Takalmawa and Tulunawa were especially unproductive with respect to the history of those wards.

he prevailed upon the Shehu to move there.[9]

By some accounts the people that accompanied the Sheikh when he moved from Sifawa to Sokoto in 1815 numbered more than three thousand five hundred and they settled immediately outside the then city walls. Whether this claim is accurate is perhaps immaterial; the most important thing is that the number was so large that a whole town, as it were, came into being outside the existing walls of Sokoto. This new lay-out was promptly called Sabon Birni,[10] made up of such quarters as Alkammawan Sabon Birni, Konni, Mainiyo, Kofar Atiku, Rijiyar Zaure, Zoromawan Sabon Birni, Minanata, Anguwan Nufawa and the shiya of Sabon Birni. The latter, occupied by close relations, barori, officials and students of the Sheikh, contained such sub-quarters as Gidan Salanke (settled by the people of Bi-Ali, the Sheikh's judge and cousin), Gidan Bakiri (settled by the

---

9. See the Infayq al-Maysur, Cairo, 1964; Arnett's translation and paraphrase of it as The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani, Kano, 1922, and the translation in KadCap O/AR 2/43, National Archives, Kaduna.

10. While the term is used principally to refer to all of that part of Sokoto lying outside Tsohon Birni, it was also used in a more restricted sense to refer to the collection of small wards around the Shehu's mosque and residence. Whenever the latter is being implied in this thesis, the term ward, shiya or quarter will be added otherwise (i.e. where this is not done) the reference must be assumed to refer to all that part of the city (other than the suburbs), outside Tsohon Birni.

people of Mahmoud Hirzanko'en, a close associate of the Sheikh who had died in Degel), Gidan Liman (settled by the descendants of Ladan Rame, the Sheikh's relation and a judge), Gidan Sarkin Hurumi (settled by Al-Musdafa, the Sheikh's scribe, and his people), Mainiyo (settled by the people of the Imam Zangi and the gaoler Husaini), Gidan Muhammadu Adde (a younger brother of the Sheikh), and Gidan Ubandoma (a disciple of the Sheikh). Apart from these gidaje in Sabon Birni close associates of the Sheikh and/or their followers who had accompanied him from Sifawa also settled elsewhere in Sokoto, forming the quarters of Alkammawan Sabon Birni (settled under Muhammadu Autanjido, a son of one of the Sheikh's leading supporters, the late Umar Alkammu), Zoromawa (settled by the people of Muhammadu Sambo, a close personal assistant of the Sheikh), Konni (settled by Aliyu Jedo, the Sheikh's leading war commander, and his people) and Minanata (settled by the people of Modibbo Sufi, a scholar and close associate of the Shehu).[11]

---

11. Interviews: Maude Jikan Bahago (Alkammawa, 11/9/75); Umaru Marafa (Zoromawa, 23/9/75); Mallam Yahaya (Gidan Bakiri, 21/10/75); Liman Umaru (Gidan Liman, 21/10/75); Group Interview, Gidan Sarkin Hurumi (21/10/75); Alhaji Hamza and Ige Maituwo (Mainiyo, 22/10/75); Maianguwa Shehu and Musa Magaji (Gidan Muhammadu Adde, 25/10/75); Mallam Abdullahi (Gidan Ubandoma, 25/10/75); Group Interview, Konni, 26/10/75; Salanke Sa'adu (Gidan Salanke, 21/12/75); and Ardo Abubakar (Minanata, 22/12/76).

The Sheikh's movement to Sokoto and the large numbers of people that came with him became a powerful impetus for further immigration into Sokoto. As a result many other quarters were started or founded in the years immediately after 1815. These include Burwa, Gidan Kanawa, Rumbukawan Yamma, Dutsen Assada (also called 'Yar Dutse), Zango, and Helele within the walls, and Kalfu, Akalawa, Runjin Sambo, Gidan Fadama and Marinar Tsamiya in the suburbs outside the walls. The settlers of Burwa were migrants from Kafin Yamusa in Kano Emirate, from which emirate the people of Gidan Kanawa also came. The settlers at Zango, Rumbukawan Gabas and Dutsen Assada were all Adarawa immigrants. Kalfu was settled by the people of Agali, a student of the Sheikh and father-in-law to Muhammad Bello, while the hamlets of Runjin Sambo and Gidan Fadama were settled by slaves of Sambo (the Zoromawa leader) and by Kebbawa fishermen, respectively.[12]

---

12. Interviews: Mal. Yahya Assada and Mallam Babi (Dutsen Assada, 13/4/75); Mal. Hassan (Runjin Sambo, 27/10/75); Mal. Isa Fadama (Gidan Fadama, 28/10/75); Mal. Maccido (Burwa, 29/10/75); Magaji Dasuki (Gidan Kanawa, 29/10/75); Group Inteview, Kalfu (7/2/76); Muhammadu Murtala (Rumbukawan Yamma, 24/3/76); Mal.Tijjani (Rumbukawan Gabas, 24/3/76); Mal. Shehu (Zango, 24/3/76); Marinar Tsamiya, various dates and people. The informant at Akalawa, Muhammadu Maidamma (23/12/76) seemed confused or was unwilling to reveal the origin of the quarter. The quarter of Helele was probably also founded just after 1815 as a result of the same movement that produced the quarters of Burwa, Zango, etc. For Rumbukawan Yamma see Chapter Six. Gidan Kanawa has apparently been settled by the people of Abdullah b. Muhammad al-Kanawi, a student of the Sheikh at Sifawa. See Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.58, n.58.

By 1837 when Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello died several other quarters had been settled as a result of further immigration. These include Siriddawa, Tsalibawa, Tozamawa, Jibdawa, Makera (close to Jibdawa), Karaye, Gobirawa, Marinar Gangu, Unguwar Korino, and the hamlets of Gidan Salihu and Danbara. The saddlers of Siriddawa were scholars who, like the people of Burwa and Gidan Kanawa, immigrated from Kano, probably after 1817. The scholars of Tsalibawa came originally from Moriki in Zanfara but the quarter received a further influx of Sharifai[13] sometime in the reign of Bello. The Azbinawa of Tozamawa immigrated into Sokoto from Keta in Adar, and the perfumers of Jibdawa claim, like many of the people who settled in Sokoto around 1808/9, to have come from the captured Gobir capital of Alkalawa. Their neighbours, the smiths of Makera were, however, immigrants from Adar.

On the south side of town, outside the outer walls, migrant tanners and dyers from Karaye in Adar founded a quarter to which they gave the name

13. This is a term used to refer to descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In the early days of the Jihad, upto the end of Bello's reign, numerous North African and Maghribian Arabs claiming such descent came to Sokoto some to settle there but others simply to receive lavish presents and go back home.

of their original home, Karaye. Nearby, at Unguwar Korino, there settled another batch of Adarawa leather tanners and dyers, while at Marinar Gangu there settled a batch of Adarawa marina (dyers of cloths) who owned not only the dye-pits in that quarter but the ones in the suburban hamlet of Guiwa as well. The quarter of Gobirawa on the other hand, was settled as a zango (traders' post) by Gobirawa kolanut merchants and traders operating out of Sokoto. Danbara, located on high ground near the river on the north of town, was in fact a slave camp or settlement where royal slaves attending to Bello's plantation and poultry were settled. Gidan Salihu, in the hurumi[14] north-west of town, was probably settled in the period 1817-37 by one Salihu Maigoro and his people.[15]

Other quarters which probably were established in the period 1817-37 but for which we have not been able to establish even a tentative period of founding

---

14. For the hurumi, vide infra; see also Uthman b. Fudi, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra (trans, ed.: El-Masri).

15. Details on quarters were supplied by the following informants: Alhaji Buhari (Siriddawa, 29/10/75); Mallam Sa'idu (Tsalibawa, 22/3/76); Mallam Sa'idu (Tozamawa, 22/3/76); Mallam Muhammadu Jibdawa (on Jibdawa and Makera: 24/3/76); Mali and Alhaji Abubakar (Karaye, 23/12/76); Group Interview, Unguwar Korino (28/7/75); Mallam Yahaya (Marinar Gangu 17/3/76); Mallam Ladan na Allah (Gobirawa 5/2/76); Mallam Musa Hakimin Danbara (22/3/76); Group Interview, Gidan Salihu (28/10/75).

include parts of Kofar Marke, Anguwan Fatake, Kofar Kware, Yola, Marinar Here Damtse, Dankadu, Abbatawa and the suburban hamlet of Mabera. Kofar Marke, Anguwan Fatake and Kofar Kware were all inhabited by traders of diverse origins, among whom, however, northern elements such as Adarawa, Azbinawa and Touareg predominated. Yola was an off-shoot of the quarter of Gidadawa and was settled by a branch of the Vizier Gidado's family.

The greater proportion of the quarters that formed since 1815 was settled by craftsmen or traders. The impetus for the settlement of artisans and traders was provided by the development of Sokoto's linkages with the world around it, especially since the Sheikh's settlement in it had confirmed the city as the political and cultural centre of the emerging Caliphate. As the focus of a vast system of political, economic and cultural relationships, the city had great pull and attraction. It was this that enabled it to draw immigrants from far and near, the bulk of them coming from areas with which economic and cultural-political ties were strongest. Thus, for instance, the land of Adar became the source of many of the artisans and traders who settled in Sokoto and played such an important role in its economy. There were in all no less than seventeen quarters/wards which were said to have been settled by Adarawa, the bulk of

whom were either traders, dillalai (i.e. brokers and commission agents), smiths or leatherworkers. The quarters in question are Dandi, Bube, Masunta, Adarawa, Zango, Illela, Gidan Bulya, Tozamawa, Makerar Jibdawa, Rumbukawan Gabas, Dutsen Assada, Kalfu, Karaye, Gidan Igwai, Marinar Gangu, Unguwar Korino and the quarters of Anguwan Fatake, Kofar Marke, Kofar Kware and Helele where they were present in substantial numbers and where the bulk of the most prosperous merchants and dillalai were Adarawa. It was no accident that the larger proportion of these Adarawa were in fact traders or in some way associated with commerce, and no accident either that Tawa, Bagai, Kalfu, Keta and Illela, the major Adarawa markets for the salt and livestock traded south to Sokoto and the kolanuts, textiles and leathergoods exported north by Sokoto[16] featured prominently as the sources from where many of them came. The movement of these Adarawa south to settle in Sokoto was part of the general southward shift of population from Adar into the middle Rima valley already discussed in Chapter One but in the case of Sokoto this immigration had been encouraged

16. See Hamani Djibo, L'Adar Precolonial. Thesè de Doctorat de 3e cycle, Aix-en-Provence, 1975 (unpublished) pp.328-332 for details on some of these markets.

and guaranteed by the close association which had developed early in the Jihad between the leaders of the Jihad and a faction of the Adar ruling house and the economic interdependence which underlay and sustained Sokoto-Adar relations.[17]

The significance of cultural relationships in the growth of Sokoto as a city can be seen in the immigration and settlement of scholars in it, resulting in the rising of its population. The movement of the Sheikh Uthman to Sokoto, and with him the leading surviving scholars of the Jihad movement (except those around Abdullah Ibn Fodio in Gwandu), established the city as the dominant scholastic centre in the Caliphate. From Sifawa itself the Sheikh was accompanied by his scholars and disciples who formed a large and important proportion of the population of the new layout of Sabon Birni. But as we can see in the formation of such quarters as Burwa, Gidan Kanawa and Gidan Salanke this link based on scholarship was responsible for the immigration and settlement of

---

17. Ibid., pp.237-243; also see Murray Last, op.cit., pp.27, 30-31; Djibo Hamani, "Adar, the Touareg and Sokoto: Relations of Sokoto with the Hausawa and Touareg during the 19th Century" in Y.B. Usman (ed.) Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, New York, 1979, pp. 392-408; and P.G. Harris, Gazetteer of Sokoto Province (unpublished), pp.136,144-5 for the southward migration of the Adarawa.

people from places outside the Rima basin as well (Kano, the far west in Timbuctoo and Masina, etc.). Because of the large resident population of scholars that thus developed, Sokoto had literally hundreds of Makarantinne (Schools) of various levels ranging from the elementary ones where children were taught the rudiments of the Arabic alphabet and the Koran to the advanced circles of scholars and Dalibai where Koranic exegesis, fiqh, history, poetry and other advanced Islamic disciplines were taught and discussed. Of course, not all that followed the Shehu or settled in Sokoto because of him were scholars, but certainly his reputation and standing was for many of the immigrants (even those who were not scholars) a strong and irresistible attraction. There were naturally many who came to settle in Sokoto because of their shared experiences in the Jihad or because they drifted with the current of history rather than because of any professional or ideological inclination and many of these joined the barori (clientele) of leading figures in the city.

The growth of Sokoto was, for these reasons, very fast. Between 1805/6 when Bello first camped there and 1837 when he died Sokoto had grown from a tiny hamlet of hunters or peasants to a sprawling and populous city of scholars, artisans,

peasants, traders and hundreds of slaves both male and female. In 1824 and 1826, about half-way through this period, Sokoto was already being described by Clapperton - who had been to both Kukawa and Kano - as the largest and most populous city he had seen in the interior.[18] This rapid transition was a reflection of the important political, social and economic transformation through which society generally was going in this period, and the specific combination of factors and relationships which ensured the immigration of people into Sokoto and its development of urban-type economic, social and political institutions. Compared to the degree of growth which occurred thereafter, it can in fact be said that Sokoto has not grown much in the years since 1837. The city had in fact more or less developed its basic characteristics by the end of Bello's reign. Thus only a few quarters have been established since 1837 and in the second half of the century Sokoto even lost some of its functions due to changing conditions of its existence.[19]

---

18. Hugh Clapperton, in Bovill, (ed.) Missions..., Vol.IV, p.701 and in his Journal of a Second Expedition, London, John Murray, 1829, p.207.

19. For urban development in Sokoto after 1837, see Chapter Six of this work, pp204-214.

Nineteenth-Century Sokoto: A Description.

By the end of Bello's reign in 1837, the city of Sokoto (lat. 13° 4'52"N and long. 5° 15'E) was a bustling settlement surrounded by a wall outside of which there were several suburbs to the south, west and north-west. The wall surrounding the city averaged four metres in height and was breached by eight gates:[20] Kofar Marke, Kofar Rimi, Kofar Taramniya, Kofar Atiku, Kofar Aliyu Jedo, Kofar Kade, Kofar Dundaye and Kofar Kware clockwise from the

---

20. Clapperton, writing in 1824 and 1826/7, says variously that there were eleven and then twelve gates on the Sokoto walls. He is followed in this by his servant Richard Lander. Barth, who came after them, reported only eight gates. No one we met in Sokoto seems to recall the city ever having more than eight gates. Besides, Clapperton and Lander are themselves inconsistent and contradictory in their calculation of the number of gates. At the time Clapperton and Lander were claiming that the gates were eleven or twelve in number, they had with them a map drawn at Bello's bidding which quite clearly showed the eight gates (see p.iv of Clapperton's Journal ...). We suspect this occurred because they counted the drainage outlets on the northern stretch of the wall as ordinary gates, which they were not, even though they were guarded for security purposes. At the points where the outer wall crossed the deep and often wide erosion gullies that ran off the northern slope into the Gulbin Sokoto, it was impossible to maintain a wall in the wet season. The breaks in the wall which occurred at these points, each known as sagi, are the Sagin Janzame, Sagin Lemu, and Sagin Kwana Goma.

north-eastern edge of the city. Kofar Marke, Kofar Rimi, Kofar Taramniya, and Kofar Kade were each named after a tree[21] which stood near the place where each gate was built, while Kofar Dundaye and Kofar Kware were named after the settlements to which they led directly, and Kofar Atiku and Kofar Aliyu Jedo were named after Abubakar Atiq b. Uthman and Aliyu Jedo respectively. A deep ditch, called baici, surrounded the walls. Between 1808/9 and 1814 the settlement was much smaller but even then had a wall. This first, inner wall is said by informants to have had four gates, the names of which were adopted for the new wall: Kofar Rimi, Kofar Taramniya, Kofar Kade, and Kofar Marke. Some informants claim, however, that there had been eight gates even on this first wall, but this seems very unlikely given the small size of the settlement then. Besides, we know almost for sure that Kofar Atiku and Kofar Aliyu Jedo did not predate the settlement of these leaders

---

21. R.C. Abraham, Dictionary of the Hausa Language, 2nd ed., London, 1962, identifies these trees as follows: Marke - chew-stick tree (Anogneissus leiocarpus); Taramniya or Tarauniya - the gum tree (Combretum verticillatum); Rimi - kapok or white silk cotton tree (Eriodendron Orientale); Kade - shea tree.

in Sokoto, and they came in only with the Shehu in 1815. Kofar Kware is also likely to have been created more or less contemporaneously with Kofar Atiku and Kofar Aliyu Jedo since Kware is said to have been founded by Abd al-Salaam,[22] of Gimbana fame, perhaps at about the same time as the Shehu's movement to Sokoto. Besides, the etymology of the gates (that is, Kofar Rimi, Taramniya, Kade and Marke) as well as their alignment to access roads in Tsohon Birni will seem to suggest that they were the first (and only?) gates on the inner wall.

Surface remains of this inner wall and the exposed surviving stumps of the outer wall show that stone was used fairly extensively in their construction though this does not seem to have made much difference to their longevity. Compared to the massive walls of cities such as Kano, Katsina and Zaria, the Sokoto walls were surprisingly modest in scale for a settlement of its importance. This no doubt reflected differing traditions of wall construction, the types of materials used and the differing peculiarities of the historical conditions under which the walls were built. According to tradition, the walls of Sokoto were built through communal and slave labour, with specific groups of Sakkwatawa

22. See Muhammad Bello's Sard al-kalam,

alotted specific sections to build, the people building each section being assisted by residents of all nearby villages and hamlets facing to that section.

Beyond the city wall, on the east, west, north and south was a stretch of land within which cultivation was prohibited. Known as the hurumi (reserve or city common), this land was reserved exclusively for the grazing of livestock held in the city. Though it stretched away in all directions the hurumi was particularly extensive on the south, west and north. Farmland belonging to the people of Sokoto in turn stretched away from the edge of the hurumi. The limits of the hurumi were formed by the valley edge on the north and east and by little streams on the west and south-east.

Inside the walls the city had a dispersed honey-comb pattern, with houses clustering in wards or quarters which were often separated by intervening spaces some of which were farmed. Remarking upon this latter feature, Clapperton wrote of Sokoto in 1826 that "a great part of the town within the walls might be taken for a number of ill-enclosed gardens".[23]

23. Clapperton, H., Journal of a Second Expedition, p.208. Also see H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries, Vol.III, London 1966, p.556.

An extension of the city outside the walls had resulted in the development of the suburbs of Karaye, Unguwar Korino, Akalawa, Unguwar Rogo and the suburban hamlets of Mabera, Runjin Sambo, Guiwa, Gidan Salihu, Gidan Fadama, Norawa, Gidan Igwai and Minanata.

In the older cities of Hausaland such as Kano, Katsina and Zaria the extensive walls enclosed considerable farmland, with the residential areas nucleated near or in the middle of the area enclosed by the walls.[24] This is thought to have been necessitated by the need to provide a margin of safety which would enable urban dwellers to cultivate crops even in case of siege. In Sokoto and other settlements of the Jihad period, however, this pattern is not copied and instead the houses come up close to the walls. This difference may reflect the changed nature of the times, and of defence strategy and perhaps a more fundamental difference in urban planning. There are no surviving sketches of pre-Jihad Rima basin cities such as Birnin Alkalawa and Birnin Zanfara that can show whether they had a system like that of Kano, Zaria and Katsina, but it seems probable

---

24. For instance, see the sketches of the Kano walls and plans of the city in Bovil, op.cit., p.655; Barth, Travels..., Vol.II; and in H.L.B. Moody's "The Walls and Gates of Kano City", Kano Studies, I, 3. 1967, pp.12-27.

that they did not and that Sokoto was therefore following in the footsteps of an existing tradition of urban planning peculiar to its environment.

Upto 1837 Sokoto had only one palace. When Bello died in that year and was succeeded by Abubakar Atiq, the latter did not use the existing palace but ruled from his own house near the house of the Sheikh in Sabon Birni. Thereafter, it became the practice that all those who became Caliph from the Atiq line used this residence as the palace, while those in the Bello branch of the dynasty used the palace built by Bello in Tsohon Birni.

Similarly, there was only one jāmi (communal or Friday) mosque in Sokoto until 1815. This mosque was located just in front of the palace. When the Sheikh moved into Sokoto in 1815, however, the mosque that was built in front of his house also became a jāmi mosque. Though the distance separating these two mosques was not great, the second jami mosque became necessary in view of the phenomenal increase in the mosque-going population that had occurred as a result of the settlement of immigrants in Sabon Birni. Apart from these two jāmi mosques, there were smaller mosques in every ward of the city, where members of the wards performed congregational prayers other than the Friday

afternoon prayers (which were only performed in the jāmi mosques). The fakon Idi, a communal prayer ground where the congregational prayers on the Id al-Fitr and Id al-Kabir festival days were said (with the whole town in attendance) was located in the hurumi east of Kofar Rimi. There was no public cemetery and people buried their dead in their own homes.

However, the house or residence of the Sheikh Uthman became, after his death in 1817, a royal cemetery where Sokoto rulers and other members of the Sheikh's family were buried at their death. This place came to be known as the hubbare (a Fulfulde word which literally means the 'blessed spot' or 'tomb'), and became an object of veneration and pilgrimage to which people from all over the Sokoto Caliphate and even beyond, came. In Wurno, another royal cemetery grew around the tomb of Muhammad Bello (d.1837) and it too became an object of pilgrimage. These two cemeteries served a useful purpose in strengthening the myth and the authority of the dynasty, and in attracting pilgrims to both Sokoto and Wurno and thereby strengthening these places' economic and social ties to the rest of the Caliphate.

The physical style and often the size of residences in the city reflected class differences.

Thus the two palaces were large sprawling establishments, almost towns unto themselves, containing harems, royal quarters, stables, audience and rest chambers as well as slaves' quarters. Bello's palace in Tsohon Birni was larger and had a much grander appearance, and even contained a garden and its own marina (a dyeing place). The palaces were surrounded by high walls and were the most impressive structures in town. The dwellings of other important members of the ruling class, consisting of rectangular buildings (shigiffu) and huts surrounded by walls, were less grandiose than the palaces. Next to these upper class residences in impressiveness were the residences of prosperous members of the urban society, which also had shigiffu and walls. In contrast, the residences of the ordinary people and the slaves consisted of circular mud-huts with thatched conical roofs enclosed by fences of matting or cornstalks (darni).[25]

The main market was located in the north-eastern section of the city, and consisted of

---

25. For descriptions of Bello's palace in 1824, see Clapperton in Bovill, Missions..., Vol. IV, p.693; for reflections of class differences in urban architecture see Clapperton's Journal..., pp.208-10.

open ground on which were erected sheds for the display of merchandise.[26] Each commodity had alotted to it a specific location in the market place. Prior to the building of the outer city walls this market was located outside the walls, and was only enclosed as a result of the building of a new circle of walls. Adjoining the market on the west was a forbidding piece of ground called (the) Dajin Malleri (that is, Malleri's Wilderness): this was the execution ground . where convicted spies and other condemned criminals were put to death.

There is an important sociological dimension to the utilisation of, but especially the relationship between, spaces and physical features to which attention must be drawn here. The palaces and their surroundings occupied a central place in urban physiognomy and social life. In Tsohon Birni for instance the palace and the residences of leading title holders around it (Waziri, Galadima, Magajin Gari, Alkali, Ubandoma) was the locus of power and the reflection of the political status of the city as a whole. This area would seem also to have been physically central in Tsohon Birni. The palace of the Atiq branch of the dynasty

---

26. See Barth, Travels..., Vol.III for a description of the Sokoto market in 1853.

in Sabon Birni and the residences of the Sheikh and other leading lineages around it occupied a similar position. However, the symbolism of the palace-mosque area was more than just political. In both Tsohon Birni and Sabon Birni, the palace and the jämi were juxtaposed. The jami mosque, mosque/it must be remembered, was the focus of the cultural and spiritual harmony of the urban (or in fact the political) community. The juxtapositioning of palace and mosque therefore symbolised the convergence of the temporal and the spiritual elements in urban social life. The palace area was also a centre of communication and intercourse in the city. Festivals, installations of rulers and officials and other major social occasions were invariably always celebrated here. Furthermore, it seemed to have been the place from which the city reached out to the outside world, and from which different sections of the city took their bearing. Thus these areas, but especially the palace area in Tsohon Birni, seemed to have been the source of the broad streets that led out of town and from which in turn, a complex network of secondary paths led off into the wards, both uniting them and marking them off from one another. The centrality of the palace area is expressed in fact in the term by which it is referred to in the local language: kanwuri, which means 'the head of

the place (city)'. Together with the market, the palace areas constituted the most important central places in Sokoto. Below them there were of course secondary (and tertiary) central places which were more numerous in number and which together constituted the props around which social and economic life in the city revolved. Of the secondary ones there were the neighbourhood markets near the Kofar Rimi, Kofar Atiqu, Kofar Aliyu Jedo, Kofar Dundaye, Kofar Taramniya as well as the neighbourhood mosques that were to be found in virtually all the wards of the city (except those very near one of the two jämi mosques). Occupational sites, such as tanneries, dye-pits, were also secondary central places since in many cases they typified the economy of the quarter where they occurred and often had a little market at their periphery. The Marinar Tsamiya is said to have had such a market, for instance.

Migration and Urban Accretion

Migration can be seen from the discussion so far to have been the most important factor in the growth of Sokoto in the first three or so decades of the nineteenth century. Looking at the histories of the groups who had settled in Sokoto in the period c.1808 to c.1837, one can say that there were

basically two sets of factors operative in this process. The first was the violence and conflict which caused and accompanied the Jihad in the Rima basin and forced many of its people to leave their homes in search of an ideal whose precise definition differed from group to group or in fact person to person. Whatever they were in search of, a secure living was for these an urgent necessity, and the settlement of the uprooted supporters of the Jihad became a basic preoccupation. That the stabilisation of the population took the form of the establishment of new settlements was also a deliberate ideological choice, for the leaders of the Jihad believed that occupying the towns of their enemies would lead them into error and denigrate their noble objectives. Abdullah Ibn Fodio stated this position clearly when he stressed the obligation to destroy enemy towns.[27]

Sokoto therefore grew out of this necessity for a new home and for security for supporters of the Jihad who had joined the Sheikh Uthman in his enforced migration. Thus the earlier settlers consisted principally of elements who had migrated or had been displaced from different parts of Gobir,

---

27. See his Diya al-Hukkam, written some time between 1805 and 1808.

Zanfara and Kebbi and were to be found in such quarters as Gidadawa, Benanci, Galadanci, Alkanci, Zoromawan Tsohon Birni, Zoromawan Sabon Birni, Alkammawan Tsohon Birni, Alkammawan Sabon Birni, Mainiyo, Sabon Birni, Konni and so on. War captives and refugees who had been resettled in Sokoto in consequence of the violence and disruption caused by the Jihad can be regarded as belonging to this category of early settlers except that they were not accorded recognition as Muhajirina (that is, those who had emigrated with the Sheikh Uthman).

The second set of factors concern changes taking place within the local economy, which made it attractive to artisans, traders, scholars and other specialists. The responses to these changes were largely responsible for the immigration of the people who founded many of the quarters specialising in trade or the crafts: such as Helele, Karaye, Unguwar Korino, Anguwan Fatake, Hungumawa, etc ; it was especially important in the immigration of various groups of traders and artisans such as the Adarawa, Agalawa and Touareg, as well as Gobirawa.

A factor of special significance in the development of Sokoto has been the immigration of people consequent upon the operation of slavery and in

particular the practice of gaisuwa[28] and tribute-payment in the political system of the Sokoto Caliphate. The regularisation of gaisuwa and the payment of tribute which followed the establishment of the emirates ensured a regular flow of war booty - slaves and goods, horses, etc. - into Sokoto and Gwandu from all parts of the Caliphate. And since the magnitude of the human component of this traffic depended on the scale and success of war, it varied from time to time; however it would seem to have been high at the most active and most successful phase of the Jihad wars, say from the second to the fifth decades of the nineteenth century. Though no definite study of this traffic has been done, sources such as the records of European visitors to Sokoto in the nineteenth century, some of the contemporary Arabic diplomatic and administrative correspondence[29] and early colonial records do give a partial indication of the regularity and magnitude of this phenomenon.

---

28. For gaisuwa, see Chapter Six.

29. See, for instance, A.F. Backwell's translation of some of this correspondence in his The Occupation of Hausaland, Lagos, 1927.

A significant proportion of the slaves received in Sokoto in this process was probably sold out of the city, for some of the Zoromawa merchants for one are known to have made a living out of selling slaves thus acquired. Substantial numbers of these slaves (male and female) were also settled in the estates of members of the ruling class as farm labour. The creation of such slave settlements around Sokoto has been reported about by Clapperton as early as the mid-twenties and seems to have increased in the succeeding decades. However, it seems clear also that large numbers of slaves were settled in Sokoto itself. This settlement took two forms, the slaves being settled either in quarters of their own away from their masters or in the same quarter around or close to their masters. With regards to the former, only in the case of Runjin Sambo and Danbara have informants at the quarter acknowledged that their forefathers were slaves of others. Some informants allege that the settlers of Anguwan Nufawa, Kurmin Nufawa, Tako, Dibo and Pategi were slaves - and this claim may seem to be vaguely supported by the accounts of Clapperton -- but descendants of these settlers deny these allegations. The second form of settlement is the more obvious and was to be encountered in the quarters which had

grown around aristocratic and title-holding families such as Gidadawa, the royal palaces, Torobbe, Konni, Zoromawan Sabon Birni, Benanci, Alkanci and several others. These slaves were settled as domestic hands, political aides and concubines. There seems to be information also to suggest that some were also settled individually as skilled labour engaged in urban craft production for the benefit of their masters.

The immigration and settlement of these slaves made a substantial difference to the size, heterogeneity and rate of growth of the Sokoto population. Their presence in large numbers partly contributed to the populous nature of the city which made such an impression on Clapperton. Perhaps more significantly, the practice of concubinage, a popular indulgence of the Sokoto ruling and propertied class, raised the rate of increase or growth in upper class, slave-owning families and therefore may have raised the rate of expansion of the urban population generally. The forced immigration of slaves at any rate has been largely responsible for the large size of the aristocratic quarters in general and (through concubinage) of aristocratic families in particular.

Having regard to the relatively short time within which Sokoto grew from a tiny hamlet to a

bustling city, it seems safe to argue that in the first three decades of its development migration had played a dominant role in its expansion. Thereafter natural increase of the population, through reproduction seems to have been chiefly responsible for the growth and in-filling of the quarters.

Even in these early years of its development, however, there was some emigration out of Sokoto. Perhaps the most obvious aspect of this movement was the emigration of slaves from the city into rural districts as agricultural labour. One other aspect concerned the establishment of new administrative and strategic centres such as Magariya and Wurno and the movement of slaves as well as freeborn citizens out of Sokoto to settle in them. These outlets constituted a significant factor in regulating or arresting the expansion of the city especially since the third or fourth decade of the century when Sokoto very often was not the de facto caliphal seat.[30]

---

30. See Chapter Six for a further discussion of this subject.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOKOTO URBAN ECONOMY: CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES[1]

The Organisation of Craft Production

Specialisation in the crafts and the entire organisation of production in nineteenth century Sokoto was based essentially on the households (*gidaje*), and industrial establishments were therefore essentially of the nature of family or household businesses. The basis of this system was the nature of the household as the basic sociological and labour unit, affording a means for the mobilisation of the labour of its members. These means include, among others, kinship and its authority patterns as well as inheritance laws and practices. Inheritance laws and practices perpetuate the system or dominant form of property ownership in which the accumulation and distribution of wealth and the means of livelihood occurred in the context of, and subject to, the communal-kinship collectivity that is the household. These laws and practices

1. As used in this thesis, the term craft refers to any occupation which results in the production of goods or their modification through the medium of manual skills; depending on the context, the term may also refer to such skills. Industry on the other hand has been employed here to refer to an area of production or organized activity in a particular craft or set of related crafts.

prescribe a system for the control and the distribution, within the household or family, of the income and surplus generated or acquired by that household or family. Thus the organization of production was (determined by, and) related to, the dominant form of property ownership.

Furthermore there was a strong tendency for most members of households to be found specialising in a particular craft. This follows from the fact that, as the basic unit of production, the household was also the basic unit or framework of instruction and training in the acquisition of skills of a technical and specialist nature. Thus it is common and widespread for a particular craft or trade to be "handed down" from one generation to another in the same household. The term "gado" (inheritance, or something handed down from father to son) is commonly used to describe skills thus acquired.

Haye, in contrast, is used to describe skills (or a status) which one does not 'inherit' from one's parents. The first generation of entrants into haye in a craft are regarded by professionals in the field as inferior (no matter how excellent they are) though their sons who follow them have

the pride associated with gado.[2] This, however, must be understood for what it is. Very often, gado as used in this sense is confused with "gado" used in the legal sense to describe the inheritance of property, with the result that the impression is created that knowledge, skill or expertise is "inherited" in the same way as goats are. This confusion derives from a literal and symplistic understanding of the sociological meaning of the concept of gado. The inheritance of property based on kinship is one thing, but the acquisition of skills in a system of training and apprenticeship based on the household is quite another thing altogether.

Thirdly, it is important to consider briefly the nature of the labour used by households. Apart from the labour of "legitimate" members of households, slave labour was used extensively in production in nineteenth century Sokoto. An important quality of the labour (whether free or slave) used in production is the fact that it was for the

2. Such attitudes served to encourage youngsters to follow in the footsteps of their fathers and may have had that as one of their objectives. We are grateful to Professor Mahdi Adamu for the information on haye.

most part not paid for (except in the case of slaves who were bought and where therefore an initial payment was involved). But while the bulk of labour was of this nature, there was nevertheless a system of paid labour in Sokoto which centred on the principle of jinga. Briefly and simply defined, jinga is a contractual payment (in cash or kind) made in return for a specified service; however, the agreement resulting in such payment is also referred to as jinga. Informants speak of jinga as an important way in which many people enlarged and supplemented their income or simply got things done. It is said to have been particularly important in commerce and the crafts, and would seem to have increased in importance as the economy expanded. The la'ada or commission given in appreciation of a service was also another form of payment and often the term is used interchangeably with jinga. Joseph Thompson who visited both Sokoto and Gwandu in 1886 says that working for others as labourers was an important mode of living in the central Sudan.[3] And in his report on the dyeing industry in Sokoto, the Resident Sokoto Province reported in 1905 that

---

3. F.O. 403/64 - F.O. 403/75 (Microfilms). Kashim Ibrahim Library, A.B.U., Zaria.

a wealthy dyer had in his employ people to whom he paid a daily wage of 200 to 300 cowries each.[4] This was just two years after the British had taken Sokoto, and the practice is therefore not likely to have been a product of colonialism. It can be said, therefore, that by the late nineteenth century an important change had taken place in the urban economy, involving the increasing resort to paid labour (as against other forms of labour) in production.

The institution and practice of gayya,[5] so important in agricultural production (especially in the countryside), did not have an equally significant role in urban craft production. In the urban context, however, craftsmen often of diverse origins did evince a tendency to settle and congregate in clusters or groups bound by (among other things)

---

4. Sokprof 2/2, 260/1905. Report for Sokoto Province, for March-April 1905, National Archives, Kaduna.

5. Gayya has been a practice, which is institutionalised, whereby individuals or households enlist the labour of other members of the community in manual jobs, especially relating to farming. It is a sociological response to labour shortages in households and enabled more work to be done, faster and cheaper than would otherwise have been possible. The obligation to attend was strong, as otherwise would lead to antagonism and even to ostracism. The only obligation of the convener was to provide food and merriment during the gayya.

their common occupation. Some form of cooperation did take place among individuals and/or households even in this competitive context but not in any specifically institutionalised form (see end of Chapter).

Manufacturing in Sokoto: The Historical Background

The development of craft industries in Sokoto occurred in relation to, and reflected the pattern of, the development of its economic and demographic characteristics. In the period 1809 to 1815, covering the early phase of the city's development, the proportion of its inhabitants engaged in production other than agriculture was small if increasing. The main areas where these were employed were in smithing, tanning, wood-carving, pottery, weaving and cloth-making. Of the seventeen or so quarters which had developed between 1809 and 1815 only in a few were the crafts important or dominant occupations: smithing in Mazuga, Galadanci and Zoromawa (in Tsohon Birni), weaving in Kurmin Nufawa, tanning at Bube, pottery at Maginar Danfo and cloth-making principally at Kwandawa and Hausawa (sections in Alkanci quarter). Dyeing was done both in the palace and in the marina (dyeing-place) outside the Kofar Marke, while wood-carving was the exclusive speciality of the people of 'Yar Sake quarter.

The bulk of the people who initially followed Bello to settle in Sokoto did not apparently include many craftsmen. After the capture of Alkalawa in 1808, however, a fair number of craftsmen became added to its population as a result of the settlement of fugitives from Alkalawa. It was this process of resettlement that resulted in the creation of the quarters of Mazuga, Faru, Maginar Danfo and the Kwandawa and Hausawa sub-quarters or sections of Alkanci. In this early period whatever connections Sokoto had with its immediate and wider social and especially economic environment were somewhat severely curtailed by hostilities. While for instance its connection with the south-west through Sifawa and Gwandu were safely guaranteed even by 1808, that to the north and east were yet to be. A major reason was the unsettled nature of the political-military situation in Gobir and Zanfara in the early years of the Jihad. Clapperton's catalogue of the frequency of attacks on caravans by the Gobirawa and Touareg[6] as late as 1824 shows that for a considerable time those who traded to Sokoto in this direction did so at grave risk and cost to themselves. Nonetheless there had been some expansion of existing and the development of new industrial

---

6. See Clapperton's entries in E.W. Bovill, (ed.) Missions to the Niger, IV, C.U.P., 1966, passim.

or craft establishments in the period from about 1815 to the end of Muhammad Bello's reign in 1837, due to a number of factors. The first of these was the increased rate of immigration into Sokoto after the Sheikh settled there. The Sheikh is said to have been accompanied by hundreds of people who, in contrast to the Sarakuna and title-holders around Bello, were mostly talakawa, scholars and craftsmen.[7] This boosted the crafts in Sokoto by increasing the numbers and varieties of specialists in the crafts and enlarging the market. Thus in this period smithies were set up in at least six of the newly established quarters (in Helele, Jibdawa, Zoromawan Sabon Birni, Dutsen Assada, Anguwan Nufawa and Tako). The Marinayye (dyeing places; sing: Marina) of Tsamiya, Gangu, Kofar Aliyu Jedo, Here Damtse and Guiwa similarly came into being. Tanneries were established at Rumbukawa, at the Majemar Bello in Sabon Birni, at Binawa, Karaye, and Anguwan Korino. Leather working, which hitherto was a minor and subsidiary industry associated with smithing in Galadanci now became a major occupation in the newly established quarters of Zango, Takalmawa, Tozamawa, Siriddawa and

---

7. Interview: Alhaji Sidi Mode Hubbare, Sabon Birni, Sokoto (15/9/75).

Rumbukawan Yamma in Sabon Birni. A lot less specialised than the others, cloth-making also expanded, becoming a popular occupation in the newly established quarters of Burwa, Gidan Bakiri, Gidan Kanawa, Wangarawa, Anguwan Nufawa, Tako, Tsalibawa, and Marinar Here Damtse. Pottery too expanded with the settlement of the potters of Tulunawa.[8]

Quite apart from its effects on the city's demography therefore, immigration had other significant consequences for the development of the city's economy in that it enabled Sokoto to draw upon the benefits of regional specialisation, aided by the wider and stronger links which it was evolving with its immediate hinterland as well as distant areas. The establishment of the Caliphate with its strong political links and Sokoto's position in these links became the basis of widening economic and cultural contacts between the city and the world without. Thus the strengthening of political and economic links with Adar became a major factor in the immigration of Adarawa craftsmen into Sokoto. The significance of this factor in the Sokoto economy shows clearly in the level of Adarawa

---

8. This information is derived from the same interviews with informants as those mentioned in respect of these quarters in Chapter Two.

participation in commerce as well as the crafts. Thus two of the six or so smithies, four of the five Marinayye (dyeing places), three of the five Majemu (tanneries) and two of the five quarters where leatherworking was a dominant occupation in Sokoto at this time were founded by migrants from Adar; or, as in the case of the smiths of Dutsen Assada and the leatherworkers of Tozamawa, from neighbouring Ahir and Azbin, respectively.[9] And from its immediate hinterland in Gobir and Zanfara Sokoto attracted some of its other dyers, tanners, leatherworkers, clothmakers and potters.[10]

It can be seen therefore that the development of manufacturing in Sokoto was intimately related to the character and history of the links which it was evolving with other areas. Apart from being the source for the labour and skills which sustained its industry, these areas, as we shall see in the next Chapter, also provided an outlet for the products of the city and therefore also a stimulus for the growth of its industries, the more important of which are discussed below.

9. Interviews: Mallam Yahaya Assada, Dutsen Assada Sokoto (13/4/75), Mallam Saidu Tozamawa, Tozamawa (Sokoto, 22/3/76).

10. Apart from a few fisherfolk we have not come across evidence indicating the settlement in Sokoto of craftsmen from Kebbi in any appreciable numbers.

Smithing (Kira)

Of the major industries metalworking was without doubt the most strategic because of its basic significance and near-monopoly in the provision of indispensable and durable tools, implements and weapons for use in agriculture, in the crafts and in warfare. Because of the wide variety of tastes and purposes which it catered for, there was considerable specialisation in smithing: there was kiran baki (blacksmithing), kiran fari (silver smithing) and kiran kawan dawaki (smithing for horses).

(i) Black-smithing (Kiran baki)[11]

If metalworking as a whole was the most strategic industry, then blacksmithing was in turn the backbone and the most important aspect of that industry. It involved a series of related activities, namely the mining and smelting of iron ore, and the working of iron. Iron ore was mined and smelted at several places around Sokoto some of which, like the mines at Kabanga and Yabo, were not

11. Unless otherwise specified, the details on kiran baki are from interviews with the following informants: Mallam Balarabe Assada (13/4/75); Mallam Yahaya Assada (13/5/75); Maidamma Maizari (14/7/75), Alhaji Shehu Saraki (17th and 19th July, 1975); Dr. Alhaji Waziri Junaidu (13/3/75) and Mallam Babi Assada (13/4/75).

very far from the city. In these, and in the dazuzzuka (lit: wilds, or bushes) around Mafara, Tureta, Bakura, Dokau, Tsafe, Kwatarkwashi, Zurmi, Isa and those of Zuru and Bukkuyum there was abundant high grade ore. There were, in particular, important mines at Kwartoto and Kabanga, Yabo, Dogon Daji, at Barga, Gelenge and Bargodi in Gummi district, and at Gajara and Dabagin Lafiya in Shuni and Dange districts.

Smelting of the ore mined in these areas was done on the spot and it was such a slow and laborious business that the smiths had to remain in the bush for the better part of the dry season if they wanted to smelt sufficient ores. Smelting was generally done in gayya form, with a number of smiths getting together to pool their labour to mine the ores, build the furnace, prepare the fuel by burning the wood of the kiriya (Prosopis oblonga), smelt the ore and beat the wrought iron into more manageable shapes for transportation back home. Where individuals from different households were involved in the same gayya gang, the resulting product was shared out on a mutually agreed basis. Gayya was necessitated by the enormous labour input required by the job, which an individual or small household could not meet unless they used numerous slaves.

There were in general two categories of smelters: those who smelted primarily for their own use and those who smelted primarily to sell. The former were just ordinary makera (smiths) while the latter generally went under the name 'yan tama, a class of merchants and traders in iron. The 'yan tama tended to be more prosperous, and often owned slaves and engaged the labour of others in the production of iron. While smiths were largely rural-based, the 'yan tama were urban or semi-urban in location and often did not even engage in smithing, specialising instead in the marketing of iron produced by, and bought off, smelters.

Sokoto was an important centre of trade in iron. In 1853 for instance, Barth saw a great quantity of iron exposed for sale and he reports that the iron of Sokoto was of excellent quality and much sought for.[12] Barth's observation implies that large quantities of iron were produced in the Sokoto hinterland primarily for the market; other sources also suggest that the bulk of the iron smelted was marketed since smiths generally bought their require-

---

12. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries...Vol.III p.182.

ments of iron.[13] However, transportation costs would have made the trade in wrought iron a localised affair, and probably this was partly why iron did not feature much in the fatauci trade over long distances.

In Sokoto, kiran baki was the predominant occupation in Helele, Tako and Anguwan Nufawa quarters, but the city collected and distributed iron products manufactured by makeran baki in the countryside (in which the industry was largely based, given its preoccupation with agriculture and hunting). Of the tools manufactured in the city's smithies there were a variety of hoes such as the galma, kwasa or kwashe, (used in fadama and tough soils), kalmi or kalme (used principally for sowing, harvesting and in light soils generally) and the hauya (the ordinary hoe). Each of these was equipped with a handle and a blade appropriate for its specific purpose and particular soil conditions. Other major items manufactured include arrow-heads (plain and barbed), axes (the ordinary axe, gatari, and a war axe, citaka), chains and shackles, sickles,

13. Balarabe Assada, interviewed in Sokoto (13/4/75); see also the translation and edition of Imam Umaru b. Abubakar's manuscript on the economy and society of the Hausa by D.E. Ferguson as "Nineteenth Century Hausaland", Ph.D., University of California, 1973, p.327.

spears (masu) and a host of other iron goods for agricultural, industrial and domestic use.

Due largely to its basic significance in the productive process, kiran baki was much more widespread than the other types of kira. Kiran fari and kiran kawan dawaki were much more urban in their location, and catered for a market and tastes that were principally urban or elitist in orientation. Furthermore, these two employed substantially fewer specialists than kiran baki.

(ii) Silversmithing (Kiran Fari)

All smithing in metals other than iron is called kiran farin karfe. Farin karfe is actually not exclusively synonymous with 'silver', since it is a compound name for such metals as lead, zinc, tin, silver and even brass.[14] Furthermore, the term kiran fari also describes smithing in such metals as copper (which in Hausa is variously called jan karfe, gaci or tagulla).

Unlike iron which was produced locally in the Sokoto area, farin karfe and jan karfe were acquired through trade with Gonja (the Gold Coast hinterland),

---

14. See Abraham, R.C., Dictionary of the Hausa Language, University of London, 1962, p.255.

Nupeland, the tin-producing areas north of the Niger-Benue confluence and with North Africa. The archaeological record suggests that the importation of copper from North Africa or the Saharan region into several parts of Nigeria, even as far south as Igbo-Ukwu, has a long history.[15] Arab writers certainly attest to the southward trade in copper from North Africa in the tenth century A.D., while a similar trade in copper and brass is attested to for the seventeenth century.[16] It seems most probable therefore that the Rima basin area has had an early exposure to this source of copper especially as from the sixteenth century when the trans-Saharan commercial links between the two areas entered a period of sustained growth. As for the Gonja source, brass basins (called bagwanja in Hausa) have been an important item of export to Hausaland through the caravan trade. Nupe seems to have acquired its copper and tin through trade along the river and to have exported some of its supplies northwards to many parts of Hausaland. It certainly had an old and famous industry specialising in farin karfe and jan karfe. An

---

15. Shaw, T., 'Prehistory', in Obaro Ikime (ed.) Groundwork of Nigerian History, Ibadan, 1980, pp. 42, 45-47.

16. John Lavers, 'Kanem and Borno to c.1808' in Obaro Ikime, op.cit., pp.204-5

important source of tin/lead (dalma) for both Nupeland and the Sokoto region was the tin-producing area of the Bauchi and Jos highlands, from which the metals were traded to other parts.[17] From here, tin/lead ultimately reached Sokoto through Kano and through the Nupe markets. Oral testimonies gathered in Sokoto affirm that the kiran fari industry was an important one in Pre-Jihad Gobir, and the evidence seems to suggest strong connections between this and the later flourishing of the industry in Sokoto.

The kiran fari industry in Sokoto was largely based in the Mazuga, Galadanci, Zoromawan Tsohon Birni and Zoromawan Sabon Birni quarters. The Makeran fari (silver-smiths) of Galadanci were in fact of Gobir extraction, being refugees who fled Alkalawa just before its capture to settle in Sokoto. Those of Mazuga also claim an Alkalawa origin, having been resettled in Sokoto by Amir al-Muminin Muhammad Bello on the capture of the Gobir capital. The luxury-loving ways of the Gobir aristocracy and town dwellers is said to have been an important

---

17. See the account of Imam Umaru translated and edited by D.E. Ferguson as 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland", Ph.D., University of California, 1973, p.376. Unless where otherwise specified the information on kiran fari is derived from interviews with the following informants: Yahaya Assada (13/4/75); Akawama Haido (10/9/75); Umaru Marafa (23/9/75) and Alhaji Shehu Saraki, (17/10/75).

stimulant to the prosperity of the industry in Alkalawa.[18] The Zoromawa makeran fari, though not Gobirawa as such, were also said to have been important in the kiran fari business in pre-Jihad Alkalawa, later settling in Sokoto and other settlements of the Jihadists (e.g. Gwandu, Wurno) in the years after 1804.

The basic technology of kiran fari consisted of two main processes: casting (zubi) and the actual manufacture or shaping of articles. In casting, the desired metal was put in a small earthenware casting pot which was heated on coals until the metal had melted. The melted metal was then poured into a long clay mould (known as the jirgin zubi - 'casting boat') which has a depression in the middle. This was then allowed to cool and the resulting product used in manufacturing different items (such as earrings, rings, etc). In the making of mundaye (torque bangles and anklets made of brass and/or copper) however, the molten metal was poured directly into special moulds having the shape of the finished product, being given a finishing touch after cooling.[19]

---

18. Mallam Yahaya Assada, 13/4/75. Some kiran fari articles of (pre-Jihad) Gobir manufacture are on display in the Sokoto museum.

19. Based on the account of Imam Umaru in Ferguson, D.E. (ed., trans.) 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland, Ph.D., University of California, 1973, pp.333-4.

The leading family among the makeran fari of Mazuga, holding the sarauta (headship) of kira (smithing) was also the seal-maker to the Sarkin Musulmi. Apart from the usual run of articles manufactured by the makeran fari, those of Mazuga also made such musical instruments as the fare and kakaki which were played for royalty. Royalty had much to do with the settlement in Sokoto of the Mazuga smiths in a location very close to the palace in Tsohon Birni: in fact they were some of the very few craftsmen who were allowed to maintain such a close location to the palace. Royal patronage had also boosted their prosperity and status, and Mazuga, the sarauta of all smiths in Sokoto was held by a family in the quarter (the family of one Muhammadu) from the reign of Ali b. Bello onwards.

(iii) Kiran Dawaki (Smithing for Horses)

A specialised type of kiran fari concerned itself exclusively with the manufacture of metal adornments used on horses and a few arms used in cavalry warfare. This type of smithing is known as kiran kawan dawaki (lit: the smithing of ornaments for horses). Articles manufactured included stirrups (likafu), swords, kalfazurai and linzamai (bits).

The earliest development of kiran dawaki in Sokoto dates back to about 1808/9 when several Gobirawa practioners of the craft settled in the

Galadanci quarter where there was a large population of horses under the Galadima. As the Jihad progressed and Sokoto developed as the centre of a political system in which the ownership and care of horses were cultivated as a strategic necessity as well as a way of life of the ruling elite, more specialists immigrated into the city. Thus Adarawa (people of Adar) craftsmen immigrated to settle at the Makerar Jibdawa in Sabon Birni while Azbinawa (people of Azbin) makeran dawaki settled at Dutsen Assada, also in Sabon Birni. Both of these groups probably moved into Sokoto between 1815 and 1837. Outside Sokoto, but in the surrounding districts, settlements such as Kauran Namoda, Bodinga, Dunka and Gada also developed as important centres of kiran dawaki[20] in the nineteenth century.

The Textile Industry in Nineteenth Century Sokoto

In the districts near Sokoto, not much cotton was grown, but Zanfara produced large amounts of cotton which was traded throughout the Rima basin. European visitors who travelled through Zanfara in

---

20. The information on kiran dawaki is from the following interviews: with Dr. Junaidu, 13/3/75; with Mallam Yahaya Assada, 13/5/75; and with a group in Dr. Junaidu's residence, 21/3/75.

the nineteenth century, especially Barth, have left accounts which attest to the importance of cotton production in Zanfara and the regional trade in cotton and cotton products. According to the Imam Umaru, Zanfara was the largest producer of cotton in Hausaland, followed by Zazzau.[21] While near Sokoto soil conditions were the principal factor responsible for the non-production of cotton, in the Sahelian and Saharan regions to its north and northwest climatic conditions make it impossible for cotton to be cultivated at all. This ecological condition is crucial to an understanding of the underlying and strategic significance of the textile industry of the Rima basin in interregional commerce, and of the reasons for its expansion. Briefly stated, the towns and trade centres of the Rima basin were the main suppliers of cotton and textile products to the regions lying immediately to the north and northwest as far as Timbuctoo. The latter consisted mostly of dyed cloths (blue and black), a proportion of which, (as for example turkudi) was itself imported into the Rima basin from producing centres in Kano and Zaria.

---

21. Imam Umaru in Ferguson, D.E., "Nineteenth Century Hausaland", p.80.

The textile industry consisted of three main areas or stages of production viz: spinning (kadi), weaving (sāka), tailoring and dyeing (rini).[22]

(i) Spinning (Kadi):

This was a female preserve and according to Imam Umaru in Sokoto and Zanfara women had no other occupation.[23] Two types of cotton thread were produced, the one coarse (i.e. thick) and weak (called abawa), the other thin and used for fine weaving (arafiya). While the making of cotton thread was a women's monopoly, tsamiya,[24] the silk-thread, was made by both sexes. Spinning was a household industry, especially in the countryside and it afforded the ordinary woman a source of small income with which to satisfy some of her small wants and even supplement the livelihood and expenses of the family. Since most weavers did not command the labour necessary to provide all their requirement of thread, and given the large export of textile products to places such

---

22. Dyeing can of course be considered as an industry in itself, involving a common technology and not only cloths but articles such as leather as well.

23. Imam Umaru in Ferguson, op.cit., pp.303-4.

24. So-called because the worm that secretes the silk usually inhabits the tsamiya, or tamarind tree.

as Ahir, Adar and the Niger bend, there was a large-scale trade in thread between Sokoto and the countryside.[25] The bulk of this trade was in the hands of women who, because of their participation and crucial role in household trade, were able to collect the produce of households either through direct purchase or as commission agents (dillalai). Some, perhaps most, of the thread produced was used directly in weaving but some was dyed (mostly black and blue) before being used. The former was used chiefly in making cloths of a uniform colour, all-white which was then dyed to a desired colour (black or blue), while the latter was particularly suited for making the multicoloured and patterned cloths which were so popular in the Sokoto area.

(ii) Weaving (Sāka)

Like spinning, weaving was also a predominantly rural industry in the Sokoto area. However, the bulk of the cloths woven in the countryside were the coarse cloths known as fari or farfarun sawaye. These were woven in long strips and measured by the arm's length (roughly 45cm, known as kamu). The sawaye constituted one of the principal items traded into the city by rural folk, being the main article of clothing for the bulk of the population, rural as

---

25. Group Interview with weavers, Kurmin Nufawa ward, Sokoto (18/10/75).

well as urban-dwelling. The sawaye were also a major item in the export trade, mostly dyed blue or black. There was thus a large market for sawaye providing the textile industry with a secure base. The greatest restraint on the weaving industry was its technology which necessitated great inputs of labour. The inevitable shortfall in supply resulting from this bottleneck and the large demand enabled cloth merchants to accumulate considerable wealth, for at least in the export sector the textile trade would appear to have been the most lucrative and extensive. Besides their value as items of clothing, the sawaye were also used as a substitute or ancillary currency, especially in rural trade. Lastly, the production of sawaye provided the raison d'etre of the dyeing industry which thrived in dyeing white thread and sawaye to other colours. The importance or extent of sawaye production can in fact be gleaned from the size of the cloth dyeing industry.

Important as it was, the weaving of sawaye was not the only type of weaving carried out in the Sokoto area. In the city itself, and in scattered centres outside it, a specialised type of weaving was carried on which for the most part produced luxury cloths. In Sokoto, the bulk of these cloths were produced in Kurmin Nufawa, Pategi, Dibau, Tako and Anguwan Nufawa quarters. Incidentally,

these quarters were all settled by immigrants from Nupeland. Clapperton was obviously referring to these when he wrote that the Nufawa weavers of Sokoto were slaves.[26] In the course of fieldwork, a number of informants also assert that the settlers of these quarters were slaves. Descendants of the settlers of course deny these claims, stating only that slaves were used by weavers in their quarters. Those who say that the settlers of these quarters are slaves do not say whose slaves they were. However, the occurrence of colonies of specialist Nufawa weavers in an urban context has been a fairly common phenomenon in Hausaland. Kano and Katsina certainly had such colonies of Nufawa settlers living in distinct quarters by themselves and bound by occupational kinship and historical ties.[27]

The luxury cloths woven in these Nufawa wards included saki (woven with blue and black cotton thread and produced in large quantities in Anguwan Nufawa, Pategi, Kurmin Nufawa and Tako), barage (woven with white cotton thread and red silk thread

26. Clapperton in Bovill, E.W. (ed.), Missions to the Niger, Vol.IV, p.702. In his Journal of a Second Expedition (John Murray, London 1829), Clapperton says only that they were "natives of Nupe".

27. See Norma Perchonock 'Occupation and Residence in Kano City', Paper presented at the Seminar on the Economic History of the Central Savanna of West Africa, Kano, Jan.1976, p.5; see also Yusuf Usman's description of the Katsina society in his 'The Transformation of Katsina", Ph.D., (A.B.U), 1973.

called alharin), tsamiya (woven with white cotton and silk thread), gwanda or banjaki (woven with blue and white thread and given a white edge), jimada (a striped cotton cloth made from black and white or red thread), Idan Zawara (lit: 'the eyes of the husbandless, i.e. divorced or widowed, woman': woven with black and blue thread and often also called katanga or dan katanga), Shata zube (cloth woven in an open work style), and bakin biri (lit: 'the monkey's mouth': a woman's cloth woven from black and blue thread; also called bunu).[28] Most of these cloths could only be afforded by masu sarauta, attajirai (rich men) or their slaves and barori. For one thing, they fetched high-prices, being made of finely-spinned thread, often with a proportion of silk, and requiring more input of labour to produce than the ordinary sawaye. Secondly, some of them, as for example barage and tsamiya, were status symbols quite out of tune with a commoner's tastes or in fact dangerous to his peace and quiet. That even slaves and barori of masu sarauta used them was due chiefly to the fact that they aped the life-styles of their masters and at any rate acquired these through hand-outs from the latter.

28. The information on weaving is from interviews with the following: Dr. Junaidu (21/3/75), and Group Interview with weavers at Kurmin Nufawa 18/10/75), and Anguwan Nufawa (19/2/76).

Other centres where these and other luxury cloths were woven included Wurno, Gummi, Bakura, and Sabon Birnin Gobir in particular. Cinrani, the dry season labour migration is said to have been important in the weaving industry. Thus weavers of luxury cloths are said to move at such times to those places which offerred the largest market. This usually happened to be wherever the Sarkin Musulmi was residing at the time since most of the Caliphate's political elite would repair there at least on obligatory visits. Such occupational nomadism also led to the dry-season immigration of weavers into such busy route centres and market towns as Jega, where the cloths were bought by caravans on transit to the export markets of the middle Niger and Volta basins.[29]

(iii) Dunki (Tailoring or Clothemaking)

Prior to the establishment of the Sabon Birni part of Sokoto c.1815, tailoring was the basis of the economy of only two quarters: Faru and Kwandawa, both founded by Gobirawa immigrants from Alkalawa.

---

29. Such occupational nomadism was made easier by the very simple technology of weaving which made it possible for the essential parts of the loom to be carried about wrapped in a sack or piece of cloth.

With further immigration and the growth of the city since 1815, tailoring became a major occupation in the economy of eleven more quarters in the Sabon Birni section of the city. Tailoring became a popular pursuit among middle class intelligentsia who found in it a source of income involving little capital investment or movement. Madunka (tailors) varied in their specialisation: some made garments to sell, others only on request; some specialised in making zanna (wrappers) for women, or riguna (gowns) and/or wanduna (trousers) for men, or even caps (huluna), loincloths (bantuna) and a variety of saddle cloths and blankets (kāfu). Gidan Bakiri specialised in the making of such women's wear as Dankatanga, Sawayen Gamballi and Waguru (a wrapper made by sewing together strips of cloth of two or more colours side by side). The Gidan Bakiri tailors used sawaye produced in and around Sokoto as well as turkudi ('a cloth consisting of 12 or 16 kamu of fari-cloth sewn together, dyed with indigo, beaten glossy and wrapped in paper').[30] Faru also specialised in the making of women's wear (zannuwan mata) such as zanin saki, gambara

30. Abraham, R.C., Dictionary of the Hausa Language, p.905. One Kamu (i.e. arm's-length) is roughly 45cm. Turkudi was mostly imported from Kano (where quality turkudi was produced in large quantities, especially in Kura) and Zazzau emirates.

(Abraham:'type of cloth having alternate stripes of red and white or black and white'), birgimar tela, albasa, jimada, gwanda, etc. Similar cloths were made in Rijiyar Zaure ward. Of the other quarters, Anguwan Nufawa, Tako, Pategi, Kurmin Nufawa and Dibau specialised in making luxury garments of saki, gulla and barage; Burwa and Gidan Kanawa both specialised in the making of gowns and zanna (pl. of zani, wrapper) of farfarun sawaye; Kwandawa specialised in the making of wandunan (trousers of) saki and sawaye, while such men's gowns as Tunkiya and Aska Biyu, Aska Takwas and Ausagi were made in the Marinar Tsamiya, Yola and Tudu wards. Outside Sokoto, settlements such as Bungudu, Girgiri and Mafara were also noted for the production of rigunan sawaye of varying types while Sabon Birnin Gobir was noted for its production of barage trousers. Various designs, patterns and decorations were made on these cloths and these served to differentiate them on the basis of the price and the class of people or tastes for which they have been made. Those made for the elite tended of course to be finer and to have more elaborate designs, decorations and embroidery while those meant for commoners were

generally simple even if decorated.[31]

(iv) Rini (Dyeing)

If the number of locations where it was carried on in the city is anything to go by, dyeing was undoubtedly one of Sokoto's most important industries in the nineteenth century. There were no less than seven different locations, each containing a substantial number of pits, where it was carried on in the course of the nineteenth century. These were Marinar Tsamiya, Marinar Kofar Atiku, Marinar Gangu, Marinar Maibidingu, Marinar Guiwa, Marinar Geben Dankadu and the Marinar Kofan Aliyu Jedo.[32] There may in fact have been more than this number. Informants mention the Marinar Kofar Marke (which Barth also referred to, though not by name, in 1853) and another inside Bello's palace. If the former was not the same as the Marinar Maibindigu as is implied by descriptions of the location of that marina, then there were no less than nine,

31. The details on dunki are from interviews with the following: Dr. Junaidu (21/3/75); Akawama Haido (10/9/75); M. Yahaya Gidan Bakiri (21/10/75); Mallam Maccido Burwa (29/10/75); Magaji Dasuki (Gidan Kanawa, 29/10/75); Group Interview Anguwan Nufawa (19/2/76); Group Interview, Faru (21/2/76); Halidu Tsalibawa (22/3/76); Tudu Alu (Marinar Here Damtse, 24/3/76).

32. Group Interviews, Dr. Alhaji Junaidu's residence, 21/3/75; and at Kwanni ward 26/10/75. The last marina was just a small single-family venture which didn't last long, but others (e.g. the Marinar Tsamiya) were thriving heterogenous business establishments.

and probably as many as ten marinayye (plural of marina) in Sokoto. However, an informant claims that the Marinar Kofar Marke, the Marinar Tsamiya and the one inside the palace were allegedly the only ones in operation by 1837, the others not coming into operation until later in the century.[33] This seems highly unlikely, given the growth pattern of Sokoto in the course of the nineteenth century (see Chapter Two). Besides, the information supplied by others on the origins of these marinayye and the time of settlement of their founders in Sokoto does not lend support to this claim.

The importance of dyeing in the Sokoto economy can be seen from the local people's preference for dyed cloths and the large-scale export of dyed cloths. In fact, dyed cloths formed the principal export of Sokoto to the markets of Adar, Ahir, Zaberma, the Niger bend and Gonja, as well as an important export (though in smaller quantities) to Adamawa, Muri and Bauchi emirates. Sokoto and such dyeing centres as Jega were fortunate enough to be situated nearer Adar, Zaberma, Dendi and Gonja - some of the principal markets for cloths produced in Hausaland - than say, Kano. Besides this proxmity to important

---

33. Mallam Ibrahim Ladan, Kofan Marke, 22/3/76.

markets, the dyed sawaye of Sokoto were much cheaper than the turkuda (sing: turkudi) which formed the premier export cloth of Kano and Zazzau.

Several dyes were made and used by masu rini (dyers) but the most popular and the largest produced was the indigo dye (bābā), the preparation of which was an important industry in the Sokoto area. Midiri, Giyawa, Kanbama, Raba, Tsamiya, Dunguji, Aliero, Kurfa and Achida were considered the areas that produced the best dye in the Sokoto area. Shūni - an indigo preparation used in restoring the strength and efficacy of the dye and as a hair-dressant, contraceptive, aborticacient and a medicine for humans and animals - was the specialty of Sala, Koko, Kuchi and notably Jega.[34] All dyeing in colours other than indigo is called turi (or tiri), the most popular colours being red, yellow and green. The red dye was made from pounded karan dafi (the red leaf-sheaths of the guinea corn) mixed with natron in water and was used not only by marina but also by tanners and mat and hat-makers. The yellow dye (rawaya) was made in one of three ways: from a mixture of turi (also called dan Canba) and lime juice, or

34. Interviews with Mallam Ahmadu Audi, Marinar Tsamiya (13/3/75; 16/3/75) and Mallam Yahaya, Marinar Gangu(17/3/76). Mallam Yahaya says that the dyes of Sokoto, except for kore (Abraham: 'type of glossy, very dark indigo-dyed gown') and ja (red), were much superior to those of Kano. For a conflicting view see

from a mixture of gangamo (turmeric), lime juice and water, or from the root of the rawaya shrub (Cochlospermum tinctorium). The green dye was produced by adding natron to a mixture of turi and lime juice.[35] Unlike the indigo dyeing, however, dyeing in these other colours was not done in pits but in earthenware basins (kasāke; sing: kaskō).

The most prosperous of the marinayye of Sokoto is reputed to have been the Marinar Tsamiya. This marina owed its popularity and success to the good quality of its work. Its dyers had an elaborate system of agents who went round the city collecting cloths and thread for dyeing and delivering finished work to customers. This perhaps was a measure of the kind and level of competition going on among its heterogeneous dyers among whom were people of diverse origins: Gobirawa, Adarawa, Zanfarawa, Kanawa, Barebari (i.e. Kanuri), Katsinawa and Wangarawa. A substantial part of the business dealings of many of the dyers here involved dyeing large quantities of sawaye and/or thread for cloth-merchants preparing

---

Sokprof 2/1, 129/1903, National Archives Kaduna. Clapperton in his Journal of a Second Expedition, p.220, gives a description of how indigo was cultivated and prepared in the Sokoto area in the 1820s and an indication of its prices.

35. Details on the mode of preparation of these dyes are from Imam Umaru's account in Ferguson, D.E. (ed., trans.) "Nineteenth Century Hausaland", pp. 308-309. His account of the method of making red and yellow dyes agrees with that given by Clapperton early in the nineteenth century: see the latter's Journal..., p.221.

to provision the caravans going on longdistance trade. All this was made possible by the efficient organization, trust and good business name which dyers at the marina established. It is therefore no wonder that it was able to survive well into this century when changing economic and social conditions had already forced other marinayye out of existence.[36] To cope with the volume of work, many of the dyers are said to have used slaves or employed others in return for payment rather than rely simply on the immediate family.

However, while oral tradition and the records of European travellers paint a picture of a thriving dyeing industry in nineteenth century Sokoto, records of the early colonial period seem to suggest something not quite as thriving and prosperous. A report of March 1903[37] contains an Appendix purporting to show the numbers of people engaged in various trades in Sokoto at the time, and in which the total number of people classified as dyers is given as 26. This figure is unusually low given the size and importance of this industry in Sokoto, but then that is not all.

---

36. In the course of fieldwork, as late as 1976. the Marinar Tsamiya still had more than thirty-five pits, owned by several households, in operation and seemed quite busy.

37. Sokprof 2/1 7/1903. Report no.I of 31st March 1903, Appendix C, National Archives, Kaduna.

The figure is also highly questionable in view of the fact that it appears on an odd sheet which bears no obvious relationship with the remainder of the report, is undated and most probably refers to a much later period in the twentieth century. And even if the figures in the Appendix represent the result of a census taken at this time (the very month the British took Sokoto) they still cannot be relied upon. First, hundreds of people (farmers, craftsmen, aristocrats, even slaves) fled Sokoto in that month and a census at the time cannot possibly present a true reflection of reality. Secondly, even those who remained would have been suspicious of a census of craftsmen and artisans for the very simple and obvious reason that it could not have been intended for anything but for taxation. It is perhaps for these reasons that for a city with no less than twelve tanneries and with scores of dillalai, a city which was a major regional market for textile goods and one in which thread-making was a universal household industry, the Appendix records only six tanners, one money-lender, four cloth-sellers and one thread-maker! Besides, the colonial records seem to contradict, or at least to cast doubts on one another in this respect. While the Appendix shows that Sokoto had

26 dyers, a report two years later[38] (and which in itself is of questionable accuracy) said that fully 200 of the 285 dye-pits in Sokoto were owned by one man alone, the other 25 men presumably owning 85 pits between them.

Leather-working (Aikin Fata)

Leatherworking appears to have been the most important industry in nineteenth century Sokoto. Clapperton, who resided in the city in 1824 and then 1826/7, wrote that the dyeing of tanned goatskins red and yellow was the principal manufacture of the city. Barth, writing some twenty seven years later also described the making of leather articles as 'the most celebrated branch of manufacture in Sokoto'. According to Imam Umaru a lot of tanning was done in Sokoto which had the largest number of dukawa (leatherworkers) in Hausaland. And upto the end of the century Sokoto still retained its pre-eminence as the centre of the leather and tanning industry in the region.[39] The number of tanneries and the importance of leather production and leather articles in the Sokoto economy lends tangible support to these

38. Sokprof 260/1905, Report for March & April 1905, National Archives, Kaduna.

39. Clapperton, Journal...; pp.221-2; Barth, Travels ..., Vol.III, p.182; Sokprof 2/2, 101/1904 and SNP7, 81/1905, National Archives, Kaduna; Imam Umaru, in Ferguson, op.cit., p.316.

observations. There were tanneries (majemai; sing: majema) in no less than twelve quarters of the city, turning out products used in local manufacture and for export through the fatauci trade to other places. The main tanneries were Majemar Karaye, Majemar Akalawa, Majemar Binawa (Unguwar Rogo), Majemar Malikawa, Majemar Dankaila, Majemar Rumbukawan Gabas, Majemar Takalmawa, Majemar Kofar Kware, Majemar Marinar Tsamiya and the Majemar Korino. In Sokoto, the oldest majema is said to have been the Majemar Bello, established outside the southern wall of the old section of the city (Tsohon Birni) sometimes between 1809 and 1815 by a migrant from Borno. The founders of the Majemar Karaye were Adarawa migrants from Karaye (in Adar) who came some time between 1809 or 1815 and 1837, settling first near the Majemar Bello but later moving out to found the quarter of Karaye in the suburbs. The Majemar Rumbukawa was also established by Adarawa migrants probably in the 1890s. The Majemar Binawa is said to have been established by Gobirawa migrants who probably settled in Sokoto about 1815-17. Some people allege, however, that the tanners of Binawa were slaves of people in Benanci (the quarter around the Magajin Gari's house in Tsohon Birni). While acknowledging close kinship ties with elements in Benanci, the people of Binawa

deny this allegation.[40] It is difficult to establish with any precision when the other tanneries came into operation, but this probably occurred by the mid-century.

The organisation of these tanneries exhibited slight but perhaps significant differences in pattern. Thus while in Binawa and Karaye a common and fairly extensive operational site was used by all the tanners, in places such as Rumbukawa, Malikawa and Unguwar Korino the pattern was dispersed, with each producer-household having its own location removed from the others but of course still within the ward premises. The establishments at Binawa and Karaye therefore appeared to be the largest, while the others were small. The concentration of tanners at the former might have had a sociological basis, but it was also aided by the availability of a common source of water (a tiny rivulet in the case of Karaye, wells in the case of Binawa).

The three major production areas in the leather-working industry were tanning, the dyeing of leather,

---

40. Except where otherwise stated, details on tanneries are from the following interviews: Group Interview, Dr. Junaidu's residence (2/3/75); Alu Mai Anguwa (Jariri ward, 22/12/76); Alhaji Ila Binawa (22/12/76); Alhaji Abubakar and Mali Karaye (Karaye, 23/12/76).

and dukanci (or aikin fata: leatherworking). The first two, called jima, were handled by tanners (majema) while the last, dukanci, was the province of the dukawa (leatherworkers).

(i) Jima (Tanning)

To tan hides, they were soaked raw and allowed to rot in a solution of the pounded pods and seeds of the gabaruwa (Acacia arabica or Egyptian mimosa - also called bagaruwa) in water. They were then taken out and the hair scraped off them. The dyeing of leather is done with some of the same dyes used in dyeing cloths. To dye skins red, they were stretched and rubbed on the meaty side with a mixture of pounded karan dafi, natron and water; to dye them yellow, they were similarly rubbed with the yellow dye made from gangamo (turmeric), lime juice and water: skins dyed thus are called yarana, while those dyed with the root of the rawaya shrub (Cochlospermum tinctorium) are called rawaya after the shrub. Skins were also dyed black by dipping them in a black dye made from pounded kudiji (striga senegalensis; also called wuta-wuta and other names in Hausa) mixed with water. Another black dye, kwaloko, is made by leatherworkers from a mixture of iron ore nodules, gabaruwa, the juice of the dinya (the tree Vitex Cienkowskii) and wrought iron. In Sokoto, a special kind of leather dye was used which is called korino (hence Majemar Korino, Unguwar Korino). Korino

(translated by Abraham as 'Cambridge blue dye') was a blueish green dye made from sour milk, iron filings (dusan karfe), brass, lead or tin (farin karfe), copper (jan karfe, also called gaci), ground salt, solder (sinādarī).[41]

However, korino makers are very secretive about the exact formula of the dye and while Imam Umaru's details fit in with some gathered in the course of fieldwork this may not be all there is to it. In fact, the story of korino making in Sokoto is surrounded by considerable confusion and myth. There is confusion as to the origins of the makers of korino themselves, with some people claiming that all of them were of Agadasawa origin (i.e., people of Agades). Most descendants of korino makers in Sokoto in fact claim an Agades origin but the Agadasawa did not monopolise the craft for korino was also made in Sokoto then by some Zanfarawa, Adarawa (e.g. those in Bube ward) and Gobirawa households.[42] There is also controversy as to the origins of the craft itself;

---

41. The details on the method of making these dyes are from Imam Umaru's description, in Ferguson, D.E. 'Nineteenth Century Housaland', pp.314-6; the botanical and English equivalents of the components are chiefly from Abraham's Dictionary of the Hausa Language. On the making of yellow and red leather, Imam Umaru's account is identical in some details with the description given by Clapperton almost a century earlier: see his Journal..., p.221. Clapperton and Barth do not speak of korino in their accounts of Sokoto.

42. Interviews: Alhaji Dr. Junaidu (13/3/75); Alhaji Muh. Nata'ala and Alhaji Sani Maikorino (Unguwar Korino, 28/7/75).

while some say the skill was imported from Agades, others say it was invented in Sokoto itself. The latter seem very unlikely, since korino is said to have been made in both Agades and pre-Jihad Alkalawa. In all accounts of the origin of korino making in Sokoto, the Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello is given a prominent role since the first korino-maker in Sokoto, a ba-Adare (man from Adar) called Ibrahim, is said to have been taught the skill by Muhammad Bello who himself had the formula and ingredients for the dye brought from Agades.[43] Of the myths surrounding korino-making, the most spectacular is the one that says that even with the correct formula korino could just not be made anywhere outside Sokoto (and never by one who has not 'inherited' the craft) and that such attempts could at best only produce dawul, an inferior korino-like dye. To further protect their monopoly of its secrets, korino-makers mostly worked in the privacy of their homes, exposing the skins to the public eye only after the dye had been applied; they also avoided the use of slaves in the business.

43. Ibid. In Sokoto, Bello is credited with the introduction of several other techniques, ranging from bone setting and the manufacture of white sugar to that of medicines. On the latter, Bello has in fact written a number of monographs. Furthermore, he definitely pursued a policy of encouraging and in fact moving specialists in the crafts, in learning, religion and in government to settle in the cities and towns of the Sokoto area in particular. Nowhere did he pursue this policy with vigour as in Sokoto and later, Wurno.

These measures, and of course the myths, were clearly designed to discourage encroachment into the craft by others. Korino was such an essential part of ornamental leatherwork and an important item in fatauci trade out of Sokoto that its manufacture was a highly profitable undertaking. And Imam Umaru remarks that while not all tanners made korino, a lot of it was prepared in Sokoto.[44] Thus a small minority cornered this lucrative market and protected their position in it by a web of secrecy and myth which discouraged any effective competition.

(i) Dukanci and Aikin Fata (Leatherworking)

The importance of dukanci in Sokoto has already been referred to. The quarters which specialised in dukanci in the city were Guragurawa (settled by Gobirawa who fled Alkalawa when its fall to the Jihad forces became imminent), Assarakawa, Gobirawa, Zango (settled by Adarawa sometime between 1815 or 1817 and 1837), Takalmawa (settled by Zanfarawa), Tozamawa (settled by Azbinawa who migrated from Keta in Azbin), Rumbukawan Yamma (whose people were Kanawa). Guragurawa and Assarakawa specialised in the making

---

44. Imam Umaru in Ferguson, op.cit., pp.315, 316.

of tandaye and battoci (sing: tandu; batta). Tandaye were hide vessels of different sizes and uses: tandun kwalli (for storing antimony) tandun alaye (for keeping snack, fries, honey, sweet cakes, etc), and tandun mai (for keeping butter, oil). Battoci were receptacles made either from hide, wood or metal and used for storing snuff and tobacco (battan taba; the taking of tobacco in the mouth was a very widespread habit in Sokoto) or ointment, perfume (battan kodago, battan mai, battan turare) etc. These hide vessels and receptacles were made by stretching cured but untanned hide (from which the hair has been removed) over a clay model of the desired product which was then sun-dried and then the clay broken and poured out.[45] The people of Guragurawa also made tsinka, colourful wooden ornaments worn in the hair by women. In Zango, Takalmawa, Tozamawa and Rumbukawan Yamma, however, the making of footwear was the dominant occupation. The leatherworkers of Takalmawa specialised exclusively in the making of fade or takalmin kirgi, shoes made from untanned oxhide and very popular

45. Ibid., p.321. Other details about dukanci in the quarters mentioned are from the following interviews: Alhaji Dr. Junaidu (13/3/75); Mallam Ladan na-Allah (5/2/76); Saidu Tozamawa (22/3/76); Muhammadu Takalmawa (22/3/76); Idris Anace (22/3/76); Shehu Zango (24/3/76); and Muhammadu Murtala (24/3/76).

with common folk. Those of Zango, Tozamawa and Rumbukawan Yamma on the other hand made salubba or sambatsai (also called tajawankal), beautiful ornamented sandals with cross-bands of red leather. A lot of these were made in Sokoto, as well as in the surrounding countryside from where large numbers of them were traded to Sokoto.

The leatherworkers of Gobirawa specialised in the making of Wagaye (sing: wāga), large skin bags used especially by the trading caravans in the bulk transportation of kolanuts. Several types of leatherbags were made by these leatherworkers, such as the taiki (large bags used in bulk sales of cereals), sulkumi (small bag made from goatskin and used for storing cowries, beans, dates, salt, etc.), zabira (the barber's wallet), gafaka (used by scholars in carrying their books slung over the shoulder or hanging them on pegs in the wall or roof where termites would not get at them easily), etc. Leatherworkers in Sokoto made sheaths for swords, knives, razors and scissors; a lot of leatherwork was actually done by artisans whose primary occupation was not dukanci but for whom skill in some leatherwork was nonetheless an occupational necessity. This was especially the case with makeran dawaki who not only made swords but sheaths for them as well, and saddlemakers who curved the saddles in wood but finished

them in padded cloth and leather. The principal saddlemakers in Sokoto were the people of Siridawa quarter. They made excellent and beautiful saddles and were Kanawa in origin, probably from Dunbulum which was noted for its excellent saddles. Of course leatherworkers per se also made colourful articles for horses, such as ornamental fringes, kinami (leather cords attached to stirrups), saddle hats, blinders (furtali), etc.; they also made colourful frills on hats and mats which were produced in good quality and large numbers in Galadanci quarter (mats only) and the villages of Dingyadi (hats) and Bankanu (mats). Leatherbags, cushions, bridles and other articles of fine workmanship and beautiful colour were produced by the city's leatherworkers in large quantities.[46] The popularity and therefore market-appeal of much of Sokoto leatherwork lay, as Barth rightly pointed out, in its soft and beautiful quality. That was not all, however, There was also the price factor. While for instance sambatsai were made in both Kano and Sokoto, the ones made in Sokoto were cheaper even though they were well made. The

---

46. See Clapperton, Journal..., p.222 and Barth, Travels..., Vol.III, p.182.

explanation may lie in the volume of leather available to leatherworkers in each place and here it must be remembered that a lot of leather (red, yellow, and korino) was exported to both Kano and Katsina from Sokoto. There was also a further dimension to the quality of Sokoto leatherwork apart from beauty: its durability. Thus while expensive and highly decorated sword sheaths were made in Kano, Sokoto's own version was cheaper (not as decorated) but lasted longer and to the ordinary user of a sword that mattered most. Furthermore, in the production of a certain kind of leather - korino - Sokoto held a virtual monopoly in the whole of the Caliphate. For these reasons, Sokoto leather and leather articles were in high demand in local and fatauci trade, serving to provide a solid foundation for the city's leather industry.

Pottery and Woodcarving

Pottery and woodcarving were very important to the domestic economy and social life of every Sokoto household, since many utensils and containers for domestic as well as industrial use were made of clay or wood.

The earliest potters in Sokoto are said to have been the founders of the quarter Maginar Danfo. These are said to have come as refugees from Alkalawa,

immigrating probably between 1808 and 1815. Other potters migrated into the city in the years after 1815, founding the quarters of Rumbukawan Yamma (established or settled between 1815 and 1837), Rumbukawan Gabas (settled in the 1890s), Tulunawa (?) and Akalawa (1815-18?). At Rumbukawan Gabas the potters were female while at Maginar Danfo pottery was the work of the menfolk. The goods made by the city's potters included tūluna (pitchers, ewers: hence tulunawa, the makers of pitchers), tukwane (pots), kasāke (earthenware bowls or basins), shantulla (earthenware gourds) mazurari, (roof-drain used on flat-topped buildings), asūsū (earthenware money-box), etc.[47]

Unlike pottery, woodcarving was by necessity largely rural-based and Sokoto's requirements in wooden objects were satisfied by importation of the surplus produced by rural craftsmen. However, even within the city the quarter of 'Yar Sake (settled by Kanuri and Gobirawa migrants in the reign of Bello) had woodcarving as its dominant

---

47. Interviews: Maidamma Zagi (24/3/76); Mallam Muhammadu Rumbukawa (24/3/76); Group Interview with Muhammadu and Muhammadu at Maginar Danfo, (date not recorded).

occupation. The quarter derived its name from the fact of its being the abode of woodcarvers and its being the abode of sake, the leader of all practitioners of the trade in and around Sokoto. Tabare (pestles), turame (mortars), kuyahi (wooden spoons; also called luddai), kotuna (hoe- and knife-handles), kujeri (seats and chairs), were produced in quantity. Touareg women coming to Sokoto in the dry season used to buy substantial quantities of many of these products to take back home, since wood for making them was unavailable in their sahelian and Saharan ecology.[48]

In conclusion, one must restate the role which migration has played in the development of the crafts and of craft-based production in Sokoto. In the initial years of the settlement's development, especially before 1815, the range and diversity of the crafts was limited, resettled refugees from Alkalawa or other parts of Gobir forming a sizeable proportion of its artisan population. After 1815, greater impetus was given to immigration by the settlement of the Shehu in Sokoto and by the success of Sokoto in establishing for

48. Interview: Mallama (Mrs.) Halima Ahmadu, Dr. Junaidu's residence (19/3/75).

itself a fairly secure political base, thus enabling it to attract migrants of diverse cultural and technical backgrounds from a wide area. A factor of great significance in the development of Sokoto's industries lay in its ability to exploit the advantages which the existing system of economic relations in the surrounding region offerred. Of particular importance was the development and expansion of trade in textile, leather and leather products, and in such commodities as salt, kolanuts and livestock - a trade made possible by the exigencies of regional specialisation and resource-endowment. That this factor was crucial can be seen in the fact that the city's most important industries were those connected with this trade: leatherworking and textiles. By contrast the metal-working, wood-carving and the ceramic industries relied more on the local demand. The greater prosperity of the former can be seen in their role in the creation of the prosperity of the trading class which dealt in their products. This of course does not imply that in all respects the export or long-distance trade was more lucrative, or that the textile and leather industries produced only or even chiefly for the export market. The textile industry in particular had a wide and secure local market, and hardly was there a household which did not require

leather articles for the use of its members (shoes, cushions, scabbards for swords and sheaths for knives, leather bags, etc.).

The diversification and expansion of industrial production which thus occurred helped in sharpening the urban characteristics of the settlement: a diverse and substantial level of craft production, a sizeable trading class dealing in luxuries and manufactures, and serving a rural hinterland as well as distant regional markets, all based on the presence and activity of large numbers of craftsmen most of whom lived in clusters forming occupationally homogeneous quarters or wards.

The term 'guild' has often been used by scholars in describing such craftsmen or the clusters they formed in the cities of the Savana. Simply defined, the guild is a formal association of people practising the same craft or occupation. In medieval (European) contexts the guild was a specifically urban phenomenon, tended to be localised in specific quarters or along certain streets and recruited members chiefly through kinship. Functionally the guild maintained a monopoly in its specific area of activity, regulated the output and quality of the products of its members, offerred them training in the craft, arbitrated disputes among them and

their clients and represented their interests vis-a-vis other organised groups or authority.[49]

The problem with the use of this term arises from the fact that certain types of economic organization may and do exhibit certain features of guilds and that in its application scholars often retain the medieval connotations of the term and yet apply it loosely to describe phenomena which are structurally and functionally dissimilar to the guild. A few examples from Nigeria will illustrate this point. In his study of Zanfara, Garba Nadama uses the term but without any clear definition or indication of the specific structure of the so-called artisan guilds of Zanfara.[50] Jaggar, while avoiding the liberal use of the term - using instead such terms as 'clusters', 'occupational group' and 'organization of craftsmen' to refer to the Kano blacksmiths he has studied - nonetheless says that these clusters or occupational groups formerly resembled the craft guilds of medieval Europe, each being

---

49. See Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City, Free Press, New York, 1960, pp.187-194; Lewis Mumford, The City in History, Penguin, 1961, pp.311-314 and Fritz Rorig The Medieval Town, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, pp.19-20.

50. Garba Nadama 'The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Political History of Zanfara', Ph.D., (A.B.U.), 1977, p.318.

essentially closed, hereditary and having a hierarchy of official ranks and grades. Jaggar is careful to note - and this is important to the discussion - that these (occupational groups) had no specific social or political priveleges, no widespread cooperative craft production and were independent of one another.[51] In his own study of Kano, Paden writes that

> "A guild (jam'iyya), or union was equivalent to a combination of welfare society, labour union and family council. These guilds regulated recruitment of membership and managed the affairs of the occupational groups. Many of the occupations were ethnically based and many of the guilds were based in particular clans...it was possible to determine the ethnic identification of an occupational category by the location of its guild in the city."[52]

Writing on Bornu, Cohen has this to say:

> "a correlation between settlement growth, and political leadership on the one hand, with patrilocality and localized occupational homogeneity on the other has tended toward the formation of craft guilds, for the wards tend to become in fact political, social and economic units."[53]

---

51. Jaggar, P.J., "The Kano Blacksmiths - A Study in Social Change".

52. Paden, John N., Religion and Political Culture in Kano, University of California Press, London, 1973, p.23.

53. Ronald Cohen in A. Tuden and L. Plotnicov (eds.) Social Stratification in Africa, New York, 1970, p.233.

The existence of guilds, then, is assumed and even asserted. But what and where is the evidence for these guilds? What is their structure and organization? How do they function and what relationship, if any, do they have with the medieval guilds of Europe which have given rise to the term? The answers to these pertinent questions are not provided by the authors in question because even though they have conjured up the apparition of guilds they could not give it any substance: and for a simple reason - there are no guilds to speak of.

All this talk about guilds is based on questionable circumstantial evidence and mistaken identities, as we shall proceed to illustrate. First, the so-called hereditary and exclusive (or closed) nature of crafts is often cited or presumed as evidence of the existence of guilds since (hence the fallacy) guilds are hereditary and closed. But as we have seen in this Chapter, this 'heredity' and closeness is neither the result nor the evidence of the existence of guilds. It is, rather, the product of a system in which the household - whose membership is obviously restricted - largely provides for its members' education and vocational training. While the correlation Cohen speaks of does exist, the occupational homogeneity

thus produced cannot and does not, given its nature, constitute or form guilds even if guilds also show such heredity and homogeneity. Besides, Cohen's implied identification of occupational group as synonymous with the ward is false, since invariably the ward is a much wider community incorporating individuals many or some of whom (e.g. women, minors, adults engaged in other occupations) may not share in the dominant craft with which the ward is associated. In other words, the ward is made up not only of its craftsmen (homogenous or not) but of all its residents. Paden even has a name, jam'iyya (i.e. political party, club, or society), by which, he implies, a guild is "traditionally" called in Kano. Since the Hausa, in Kano or anywhere else, did not "traditionally" have such occupational institutions and therefore could not have had this name for them, we must assume that Paden is just letting his imagination go. On the so-called closed nature of occupations we have already commented (see beginning of Chapter). Nonetheless the point must be made again that inspite of "gado" (heredity) in the crafts, entrance into them still occurred as a result either of slavery, barantaka (clientship) or apprenticeship (which incidentally was very much facilitated by kinship and coresidence). Even though haye was resented

or belittled by craftsmen already in the field, the descendants of new entrants into a craft lose the stigma attached to haye and become "legitimised".

Secondly,— and though proponents of guilds do not say it in so many words —the clustering which produces occupationally homogeneous quarters is regarded as sufficient evidence of the presence or activity of guilds. These clusters are then held to be associations. The specific structure of the association or cluster, especially as it relates to that of a guild, are not considered important by those who insist in recognising them as guilds. In particular, the corporate nature of the guild is assumed to be the same as the common identity created by coresidence and a common occupation. Yet in the latter, the cluster had no corporate existence and households retained their position as the basic and autonomous units of production, training and recruitment even though two or more households cooperated occasionally in a communal or professional sense. As Jaggar rightly points out, there was no constant cooperative craft production. In fact there was not even a framework for it. In Sokoto for instance occupational homogeneity occurred as a result of immigration, co-residence and the expansion of producer households and not the

formation or existence of guilds. Besides, in certain crafts (see the discussions on smithing, leatherworking, dyeing, etc. above), there were several, not just one cluster and there was no formal association between their members other than a feeling of oneness and occasional intermarriage. If the guild-theory were strictly to be applied, one would have to speak of several guilds of dyers, of smiths, and of leatherworkers in the same city or town! As for the much-talked-about ethnic division of labour, one has only to see the ethnic and cultural diversity in such occupationally homogenous quarters as Marinar Tsamiya, Binawa, Anguwan Fatake and the ethnic composition of the korino makers, makeran fari, majema and marina of Sokoto. The trouble with the ethnicity theory is that it totally misrepresents the role of training, regional resource endowment and kinship in the whole business of specialisation, reducing everything to ethnicity as if whole ethnic groups did nothing else but specialise in one craft only.

On yet another plane, the existence of headships (sarautu; sing, sarauta) of craftsmen has been held up as further evidence of the guild-nature of craft organization. This again results from a false identity. Though craftsmen did often

play a role in selecting their leader, more often than not such leaders(unlike the masters in a guild) did not and really could not regulate the production of all those within the particular craft or, even, represent their interests vis-a-vis the ruler as guild leaders did. Craftsmen in the precolonial cities of the Nigerian Savana had such leaders appointed by rulers - e.g. the Mazuga (head of the smiths), Sake (head of the woodcarvers) lumo'o (head of the market), etc. in Sokoto - but their basic function was to facilitate the milking of the surplus produced by these craftsmen for the benefit of the ruler and/or the community. They were the channels for collecting gaisuwa (see Chapter Five), for mobilising the craftsmen for communal projects or for stating their loyalty and submission to the ruler. As Jaggar notes, such leadership conferred upon its holders considerable political and material advantage. On the craftmen that were thus led, it conferred no such thing and represented instead the long and predatory arm of the law.

Structurally then, the clusters of craftsmen in the Savana cities and towns were not guilds. But since those who decided that they are guilds impute to them the function of guilds, we should

take a brief look at their functions to see if in fact this is so. Who controlled production among these craftsmen? Quality in Sokoto for instance was maintained by the professional ethic and supervision of elders in the producing households, occasionally by the Muhtasib, who was a sort of quality controller (see Chapter Five) and by the laws of the market since ultimately low quality products would not sell at all or would fetch low prices and take long to be disposed of. Output in turn was determined by the needs of the household (not the guild), the labour and other resources at its disposal and the judgement of its elder or elders. In the occupationally homogeneous wards - and often even in wards made up of households having strong kinship bonds - there existed no mechanism outside the household for the taking of decisions with regards to these things. So clustering and occupational homogeneity notwithstanding, the households retained their autonomy in matters of production (unless they be entirely servile, in which case their owners largely determined the issue). Cooperation among craftsmen was of course practised and in fact was an inevitable consequence of labour shortages in a coresidential context. Inspite of their being competitors one with another, people in such occupationally homoge-

nous and coresidential units were also invariably relatives, or friends or at least shared a feeling of communion arising from coresidence if not from occupationalism. This communality has been a hallmark of residential units in the precolonial context, serving to suppress the particularities and antagonisms which bred conflict. Thus dyers often helped one another to dig or prepare pits, cloth beaters to fell and transport logs[54] and smelters to mine ore, build furnaces and produce iron. However, such cooperation was occasional and informal and certainly does not suggest the existence of guilds or support any theory recognising such an existence.

Studies done elsewhere in the Nigerian area[55] support the conclusion that as currently used in reference to the nature of economic organization in the precolonial context, the term guild is analytically inappropriate and betrays a mental

---

54. See the account of Imam Umaru in Ferguson, D.E., Nineteenth Century Hausaland, p.310, and Clapperton in Bovill, E.W.(ed), Missions ..., Vol.IV, p.659.

55. See Eva Krapf-Askari, Yoruba Towns and Cities Oxford, 1969, pp.85-98. Horace Miner's Primitive City of Timbuctoo is too vague on his "sort of guild system of hereditary crafts" to allow one make a critical assessment. However, his approach is basically similar to Paden's, and his guilds are asserted more than they are analysed and shown. Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuctoo, Princeton, University Press, 1953, pp.53-61.

reluctance to venture beyond appending names to social phenomena and analyse their basic structure and function. In short, specialisation by compound, the existence of compounds of crafsmen, of casual cooperation among craftsmen, of headships of crafts and even of common rituals among members of certain crafts cannot be denied, but guilds certainly did not exist.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMMERCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOKOTO

The Historical Background

Due chiefly to an unsettled hinterland and an undeveloped industrial base the commercial institutions and commercial relations of Sokoto were not well developed by the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century. Though close economic ties were being established with Adar and areas south-west of Sokoto, the latter nonetheless had by this time not yet fully taken advantage of the disruption of commercial networks which the Jihad had brought about in and around the region.

From the end of the second decade, however, this situation had/began to change substantially as a result of certain developments. The first of these was the very rapid increase in the town's population and the diversity of functions and occupations represented in its demography. Of the numerous individuals and groups of specialists who had moved into Sokoto by this time there were several who were either professional traders or in one way or another made their living substantially through commerce. Thus, of the more than fifty wards that came into existence since 1815, no less than sixteen were peopled by traders and men of commerce.

The main wards thus settled by traders are Helele, Adarawa, Zango, Wangarawa, Anguwan Fatake, Zoromawan Sabon Birni, Kalfu, Gobirawa, Alkammawa, Tsalibawa, Marannawa, Kofar Marke, Kofar Dundaye, Kofar Kware and Sagin Janzame. In addition traders and dillalai were to be found in smaller numbers in such wards as Karaye, Illela, Unguwar Makafi, etc.

The settlement and distribution of traders and merchants in the city had a strong relationship with not only the location of the market but the orientation of the city's commercial links. In the first place, most of these people moved into Sokoto from areas with which the town had developed or was developing important commercial links (as, for example, Adar). Secondly, within the city itself these people settled in groups or concentrations generally not far from the market or around one of the gates through which passed major commercial highways leading into and out of the city. Thus apart from the concentration of traders in quarters near the market, there also were substantial numbers of them around the Kofar Kware and Kofar Marke' gates through which passed the city's trade with the north, north-east and east (Adar, Agades, Katsina, Kano and Zanfara areas principally). Such fatake quarters as

Anguwan Fatake, Tsalibawa, Sagin Janzame, Kofar Marke, Kofar Kware and Marannawa were located in this area. Similarly, such predominantly fatake quarters as Wangarawa, Kofar Dundaye, Adarawa, Kalfu, Zango, Zoromawan Sabon Birni and Gobirawa were located near the Kofar Atiku, Kofar Aliyu Jedo and Kofar Dundaye gates through which passed trade with the south (Bida, Ilorin and Lagos), south-west (principally the kola-producing region of Gonja) and west (Timbuctoo, the Volta and middle Niger region, including Zaberma and Dendi). The area around the Kofar Taramniya also contained such commercially important quarters as Hungumawa and Karaye, while a few other quarters such as Illela, Unguwar Makafi and Unguwar Mafara were located elsewhere in the city.

The development of this population of traders helped greatly in the expansion of the commercial as well as the industrial economy of the city. For one thing, it facilitated and expressed the development of the city as a major regional market with a specialised class and institutions supportive of regional and interregional commerce. Furthermore, the activities of this class of people, partly involving as it did the selling out of the products of the city's industries and supplying the city with

raw materials, assisted in the development of the crafts and the artisan class generally.

However, the development of Sokoto's commerce and commercial relations in the first half of the century was not simply the result of economic factors. Afterall, the very viability of Sokoto itself depended on the extent to which the political order with whose emergence it was associated was able to survive and cohere in the face of formidable teething problems. Thus the ability of the Caliphate under Bello to surmount these problems (such as the unfinished war against its adversaries, the death of the Shehu and the centrifugal forces which this unleashed) was an important factor in the development of commerce in the region generally. For one thing, this meant that, inspite of the existence of a certain degree of danger to the freedom of movement on which this commerce thrived, there was now a power able to impose order and a pax out of the confusion created by the Jihad. Secondly, Bello's policy of establishing ribats had as its main aim the promotion of security, the crafts, trade, etc.; whether established by Bello or not, however, the settlements which developed in this region constituted a strong political force in the stabilisation of political and economic conditions in the region. These settlements are

significant for commerce because they not only were the links (stops, zango, route junctions) in the system of regional commerce but were in themselves important markets in the collection and distribution of trade with their rural hinterlands. Last, but not least, the diplomatic action taken by the rulers of Sokoto in aid of trade did a lot to help strengthen commerce and commercial relations with Agades and Adar to the north and Timbuctoo to the west. In one of his diplomatic correspondence with Muhammad al-Mukhtar, the Kunta Sheikh of Timbuctoo, Muhammad Bello wrote:

> "The fifth /of our intentions in writing this letter/ is that we want to open routes (trade) between us and you to ease communications between us. Then help us in that with the right decision in respect of your area and your neighbours the Touareg. Then if Allah helps us with that and security prevails in those near and far areas, it would be possible for us to establish relations, exchange visits and whoever wants to reach you from our side can do so, and vice versa, also traders and travellers from your area to ours will find it easy to do so. And those who want to go from our area can travel to Timbuktu and its surroundings..."[1]

---

1. Muhammad Bello, Risala ila Muhammad al-Mukhtar, MS P.65/14, NHRS, A.B.U., Zaria. The translation was made by Ahmed Kani, Senior Research Fellow at the NHRS. See also A.M. Kani and C.C. Steward, "Sokoto-Masina Diplomatic Correspondence", Research Bulletin, Vol.XI, Nos. 1&2; Centre for Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan, Dec.1975/76.

According to Ahmed Kani and C.C. Stewart, this letter was written sometime between 1826 and 1836. After Muhammad Bello, rulers such as Abubakar b. Atiq b. Uthman (1837-42) and his son Ahmad nicknamed Zarruku (1859-66) also took such diplomatic and political action in aid of the development of Sokoto's trade. An untitled and anonymous letter detailing the agreements between the Touareg leaders and those of Sokoto and probably written by, or at the instance of, Abubakar Atiq emphasized the need to fulfill these covenants, one of which concerned trade. As for Ahmad Zarruku, he was noted for his repair of markets and his making and policing of the roads through the provision of escorts, all of which gave greater security to caravans.

Travellers' records show in fact that the city of Sokoto became an important market and a vital link in interregional commerce fairly early in its development. Writing of the years 1818-20 Lyon described Sokoto as a "walled town of much consideration" and featuredit as having already become an important point on the routes

linking Katsina, Nupe and Kebbi.[2] And while noting the disruptive impact of insecurity on the flow of trade to Sokoto Clapperton nonetheless showed how wide the scope of the city's commercial relations were in the early twenties. His journal shows that Sokoto traded not only with the Touregs but also with Asante, Tripoli and Ghadames in such items as textiles, kolanuts, slaves, metal objects, salt, civet perfume, etc. Clapperton also noted the existence of a prosperous and busy local trade especially in necessary items, mostly agricultural products. He also showed the city to be doing brisk business with Kano, Katsina, Bilma, Agades and Timbuctoo.[3] Certainly by the end of Bello's reign in 1837 Sokoto's position in local and interregional trade had been strongly and firmly established. The maturing of the city's commercial relations probably reached a peak in the reign of Amir al-Muminin Ahmad Zarruku (1859-66)

---

2. Lyon, G.F., A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years 1818, 1819 and 1820, London, John Murray, 1821. Lyon, however, did not reach Sokoto town in his travels, and got his information from traders in the Fezzan. Nonetheless, this does show how early Sokoto had become important.

3. In Bovill, E.W., (ed), Missions to the Niger, IV: The Bornu Mission, C.U.P., 1966, p.702 and Clapperton, H., Journal of a Second Expedition. London, John Murray, 1829, p.222.

- when the markets were said to be well maintained and the caravan routes safe[4] - and seem to have extended well into the reign of Ahmad Ibn al-Shaikh Uthman (1867-73).

Commercial Organisation

The entire commercial system in Sokoto revolved around the activity of households specialising in commerce and related occupations on a full-time as well as part-time basis. These together constituted a class of professionals who made their living principally, though not always exclusively, by engaging in trading, brokerage (dillanci) or hosting traders.

As in the crafts, households specialising in commerce tended to cluster together and form quarters in different parts of the city, with the result that quarters wholly or predominantly inhabited by fatake dotted the city landscape. Such clustering among fatake seems to have been further strengthened by the exigencies and the logistics of long-distance

---

4. See Harris, P.G., Gazetteer of Sokoto Province p.102; Alhaji Junaidu, Tarihin Fulani, Zaria, NORLA, 1957, p.55; Arnett, E.J., "Gazetteer of Sokoto" in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Vol.I, London, Frank Cass; and H.A.S. Johnston, The Fulani Empire, London, O.U.P., 1967, p.153.

caravan trade, which required elaborate preparation and the cooperation of several people. Within the clusters themselves, it would seem that the close proximity of households and people engaged in commerce facilitated a freer flow of goods and credit among traders. In fact, since the formal market place lacked stores where goods could be permanently and safely stored, the bulk of goods (in-coming as well as outgoing) was stocked by traders in their homes and a significant if not substantial proportion of bulk purchases and credit sales actually took place before the goods actually reached the formal market place. This was especially true of some of the major items imported through or by the caravan trade, such as salt and kolanuts, since returning caravans first off-loaded at the homes of the merchants from where the formal market-place was then supplied as the demand dictated. By one account, the salts imported were sold initially almost exclusively in this way.[5]

In discussing the commerce of nineteenth century Sokoto an examination of the nature and role of dillanci (brokerage), the hosting of incoming and transit traders, the nature of the currency and

4. Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi, Helele (16/9/75).

the market for goods and services as well as the city's commercial relations with other areas is necessary since these are the key elements in that system and together provide the conditions in which the city's commerce developed.

(i) Dillanci

Dillanci arises in the relationship between the buyer of goods and their seller, and between the buyer and the goods he desires. Simply defined, dillanci is the mechanism or means by which buyer and seller effect exchange through the agency or intervention of a third party, the dillali (broker; plu: dillalai). In the past, dillanci was especially important in certain items or areas of trade as for example, slaves, horses, salt, kolanuts, livestock and grains; the interpositioning of the dillali may occur in the presence of both buyer and seller as well as when they were separated. Dillanci is as old as Hausa commerce and may have had its origins within a system of barter exchange where an impartial arbiter was required to regulate the exchange of different commodities. Whatever its origins, it became so pervasive that almost each important commodity of trade had its own special

dillalai,[6] a body of professionals in the art of bargaining who dealt more or less exclusively in that commodity. In order to make a living successfully the dillali had to not only understand the market and master it, but also to understand the mentality and psychology of buyer and seller alike. In a system where prices were arrived at and exchange effected only after considerable haggling and battling of wits, the dillali had to be able to spot the weaknesses and strengths of his clients and their sensitivities in order to strike a satisfactory bargain. Sharpness, astuteness and a sound knowledge of the market were thus essential to successful dillanci. Since it was part of their job to know the market[7] and to be able to dispose of, or secure, goods for seller and buyer, the dillalai were resorted to massively by these categories of people. Besides, the nature of social attitudes and values in Sokoto were such that certain buyers and sellers (as for example

6. The dillalai were not "public officials", as Lucie Colvin alleges, but independent professionals who made a living by rendering their services to buyers and sellers. They were the creation of a particular type of commercial system rather than a government or administration, though of course they depended on the latter's recognition to function at all. See Lucie Colvin, The Commerce of Hausaland, 1780-1833, p.107.

7. Sjoberg argues in his The Pre-Industrial City that the merchant has only the vaguest notion of the supply of and demand for certain goods and lacked a knowledge of the market. This is

Women in purdah, members of the political and educational elite) would not go to the market or out in the public to buy or sell and perforce had to do so through the dillali. At any rate, the unwritten laws of the market which entrenched the dillanci system made it virtually impossible in some cases to bypass the dillalai.

For the services they rendered the dillalai were paid a fixed commission (called la'ada) for the specific quantity and type of goods they helped to sell. This la'ada was paid either by the buyer (when it is called la'ada waje, meaning that it was not part of the agreed price and was to be added on to that by the buyer) or seller (when it is called la'ada ciki, i.e. included in the agreed price and to be deducted from the latter by the seller) as the case may be.

Many of the dillalai in such areas as the salt and kolanut trades were able through dillanci to amass considerable wealth and eventually become prosperous merchants themselves. Their role and connections as dillalai enabled them to acquire

false, at least in the case of Sokoto (which may be classified as 'Pre-Industrial') for it is precisely on such knowledge that the livelihood of the merchant depended. The dillali only had a better grasp of things and the right contact. At any rate dillali and merchant often combined in the same person.

trade goods without any capital outlay and without incurring all the risks normally associated with itinerant trading. They thus had considerable advantage over most fatake who engaged in the caravan trade and for whom the risks were higher. It is no wonder therefore that many of the wealthy merchants of nineteenth century Sokoto were at the same time, or started out as, dillalai. The dillali, as an informant put it, gained on three sides: as a trader, he bought cheap, sold at a profit and as a dillali collected on the la'ada. If he was fraudulent - and such fraudulence was allegedly perpetrated by the dillalai[8] - his gains were even higher.

(ii) The Hosting of Traders

One very important aspect of the commerce of Sokoto was that a considerable proportion of those who engaged in it were not resident Sakkwata-wa (i.e. people of Sokoto) or traders from the countryside but merchants on transit to and from the Gonja, middle Niger, Nupe-Ilorin markets and those merchants from Adar and Ahir for whom the city was the southernmost port of call. Some of the merchants

---

8. See, for instance, Imam Umaru's account in Ferguson, 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland', pp. 373-4.

thus operating into Sokoto disposed of some of the goods they bought but most or all invariably bought local products such as leather articles, textiles, mats, hats and fans, onions and onion leaves to take back or further along their trading journeys. As a major starting point for caravans carrying the fatake of Adar and the Rima basin to the western markets, Sokoto also attracted considerable transit trade and caravans from Kano and Katsina.

Whatever their operations, these transit and migrant traders had to be accommodated and assisted by resident traders to conduct their business with the minimum delay and inconvenience. As a result, there emerged among the city's trading community a number of households which, as part of their commercial operations, provided boarding, lodging and the services (brokerage, money- or capital-lending) required by the transit/migrant traders who immigrated into the city in sizeable numbers in the fatauci season. In return for their generousity in providing accommodation and even feeding, the hosts received from their guests (usually at the latter's arrival or departure) presents in appreciation of their efforts. Where the hosts were dillalai, the goods brought in by their guests yielded income in the form of la'ada.

In cases of salt and kolanuts, such income was often considerable. As Imam Umaru tells us, these guest merchants and traders only disposed of their goods - and purchased local goods - through their hosts. Even where the host was not a dillali, however, hosting such traders gave access to supplies of goods at their primary points of off-loading and at competitive prices.

As a rule, guest traders sought a familiar or congenial setting in which to put up while in the city. While considerations such as kinship and common territorial derivation were important in this, purely professional considerations were no less important. Thus for instance most Adarawa guest merchants coming into Sokoto stayed with relatives (where they had some) or simply with resident Adarawa households with whom they shared a common derivation (territorially) back home in Adar. Parochial as this may seem, it was nonetheless dictated by the cool professional consideration that these resident Adarawa households were the principal dillalai for the trade goods brought in by these incoming fatake and were, for them, the most convenient links to the urban market. The influence of territoriality and professionalism also led the Bugaje and Touareg groups to put up with and seek the services of the resident Adarawa/Bugaje merchants of Sokoto. That

professional considerations were important is exemplified in the fact that whereas ties of kinship, communal and territorial origins were weaker and at the same time more diverse among the goro merchants, incoming and transit fataken goro, irrespective of their identities, put up nowhere else but with other fataken goro especially in the Hungumawa, Gobirawa and Anguwan Fatake wards. As people who had a common destination and professional interest and who very often travelled to and from the kola-producing region in the same caravan, most of these fataken goro built up over time a close comradeship and sense of belonging which cut across, and to a great extent subsumed, their ethnic and territorial identities.

(iii) The Market.

Sokoto had a central place of exchange, the market-place (kassuwa)[9], where the bulk of activities relating to trading took place. Before 1815, the market was outside the walls, on the northern side of town. As a result of the expansion of the city since 1815, however, the market, while remaining

---

9. The term is also used to refer not to the market-place as such but to buying and selling or the state of the market generally. See Abraham, Dictionary of the Hausa Language, p.501.

where it was, came to be enclosed within the town walls. This market was described by Clapperton at the time of his visit in 1824 as being spacious, holding "daily from sunrise to sunset" and extremely well supplied. Barth, visiting Sokoto in 1853, described it as being able "to supply the wants of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns and villages at large".[10] Judging from these comments, and from the extent of Sokoto's trading relations as will be shown presently, it seems clear that by as early as 1824 the Sokoto market had become a principal trading centre for a considerable region and had developed the characteristics associated with a city market. However, this market-place was not the only place of exchange in the city. There were several neighbourhood markets scattered here and there in the city, especially near the gates. These include the markets at/near Kofar Dundaye, Kofar Kade, Kafar Rimi, and Kofar Kware; there were also similar markets at the Marinar Tsamiya, 'Yar Sake, Alkanci, and near the Dutsen Assada wards.

---

10. Clapperton in Bovill (ed.), Missions to the Niger, IV, pp.701, 702; Barth, Travels ..., vol.III, p.119. Imam Umaru (Ferguson, op.cit., p.369) says, however, that the Sokoto market held daily except on Fridays; but at the time of Barth's visit - and to this day - Friday was the big market day. Unless there is a flaw in Ferguson's translation - and there are indeed many such flaws - the Imam is probably wrong.

These neighbourhood markets were for the most part distant from the main city market and were obviously necessitated by the desire to provide neighbourhoods with a place of exchange where minor but basic items could be bought and sold. The range of goods sold in these markets was restricted, for their business consisted for the most part of small trade in meat, salt, kolanuts, cooked foods and snacks (called saina), tobacco and other household and consumer goods. Sales by the stack (kashi) were very prevalent if not dominant, for most items sold in these markets were retailed in small quantities. Like the main city market, these markets held daily and a significant if not the greater proportion of those who sold goods in them (except for butchers, menders of calabashes, sellers of grass etc.) were women and children. These markets, then, constituted a secondary system or tier as far as the market in the urban context was concerned. On a more restricted scale, the lodging places (masaukai) of traders and the houses of bulking agents were also specialised markets which can be considered as forming a tertiary system or tier. This was because in the case of such goods as salt, dates and kolanuts imported into the city through the caravan trade, these lodging places and houses of bulking agents were the primary points for wholesale trade in those goods.

It must be stated, nonetheless, that inspite of the existence of this system of markets in the city not all trade actually passed through these markets. Considerable trade took place directly between households in neighbourhoods without going through even the neighbourhood market. This "trade" was mostly conducted by women, was concerned (for the most part) with food items and beautificants and was done primarily though not exclusively in barter. Furthermore, as we already showed in the discussion on dillanci, members of the political and educational elite hardly attended the market to buy or sell and largely bought and sold from the privacy of their mansions and homes.

(iv) The Currency

There was not a single currency in operation throughout the Sokoto urban economy. Cowries, strips of sawaye cloth, slaves, Maria Theresa dollars, gold and even kolanuts were offerred and accepted in payment of goods and services. Cowries and strips of cloth were, however, the most widespread of the various currencies used. The attractions of the

cowry[11] lay in the fact that it was equally useful in small transactions involving just a few shells (one or more) and large transactions involving thousands or millions of shells. The cowries were reckoned in units of ten: laaso (twenty shells), zangu (100 shells), zanbar (1,000 shells) and so on. Informants claim that most of the cowries used in Sokoto in the nineteenth century were brought up north from the Nupe markets on the Niger which in turn acquired them through the land but especially the river-borne trade with European merchants on the coast. The use of the cowry was, however, more prevalent in urban based trade; in the countryside, the sawaye predominated as a medium of exchange. This reflects both the relatively recent history of the cowry in the commerce of Hausaland compared to the cloth currency and the fact that the use of the cowry was closely associated with the fatauci or caravan trade. This notwithstanding, the cloth currency was reckoned in cowry equivalents, one kamu or arm's length being

---

11. For the cowry currency, see Marion Johnson, "The Cowry Currencies of West Africa", JAH, XI, 1, 1970 (pp.17-46) and JAH, XI, 3, 1970; and Hiskett, M. "Materials Relating to the Cowry Currency of the Western Sudan", BSOAS, XXIX, 1966, pp.343-366. Barth said in 1853 sawaye were the main currency in the rural districts of Sokoto.

the equivalent of ten shells.[12] Over the long term, the cloth currency showed considerable stability and this was not unconnected with the large demand for sawaye in the home and export markets. And as Craig has pointed out in his comments on a similar currency among the Tiv,[13] the combination of a large export demand, technological constraints which limited the supply of strips of cloth and the existence of ancillary currencies tended to stabilise the overall value of the cloth currency.

In exchanges involving large sums, such as payment for horses or bulk consignments of other high-price goods, slaves and or Maria Theresa dollars were often used. Such exchanges were mostly limited to dealings among wealthy merchants and between them and members of the ruling class, especially in export or luxury items.

The Commercial Relations of Sokoto

Disparities in regional specialisation and/or resource endowment constituted the basis on which

12. Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi (26/8/75).

13. Craig, D.E. "Precolonial Tiv Trade and Cloth Currency", paper presented at the Kano Seminar of the Departments of History, ABU/ABC, January 1976.

rested the necessity for commercial relations of a regional nature. In the nineteenth century the Rima basin specialised as a producer and net exporter of cotton, leather, some cotton products, and a net importer of salt, kolanuts, horses and several other goods. The location of the region astride access routes linking ecological and economic regions or sub-regions enhanced its ability to participate and develop commercial relations with these and other regions on the basis of / its resources and needs.

The city of Sokoto developed in an area which essentially was an ecological watershed between the desert and the Savanna proper, and which historically has been a corridor of contact between the desert-side and Savanna economies. In consequence partly of this and partly of the political changes that accompanied its emergence, Sokoto was able to develop as a major meeting point of trade and communication routes spanning a vast area stretching from central Hausaland in the east and Adar-Azbin in the north to the middle Niger and Volta basins and the Gold Coast hinterland in the west and that part of Nigeria lying on either side of the Niger river above its confluence with the Benue in the south. Because of this, its economy was able to build a prosperity based not only on local resources and enterprise

but also on access to the benefits of regional economic specialisation. Hence the city's involvement in interregional trade in salt, livestock, kolanut and textiles.

(i) Sokoto's Trade with the North (Adar, Azbin)

Of all these regions, the north has perhaps been the single most important factor in the Sokoto economy judging not only from its contribution to Sokoto's commerce but also to its industries and in fact demography throughout the nineteenth century. One has only to look at the level of Adarawa presence in Sokoto and their role in its economy (both manufacturing and commercial) to appreciate the significance of this factor.[14] Thus a somewhat disproportionately large number of the traders, attajirai, financiers and dillalai of Sokoto in this period were Adarawa or other people claiming a northern origin, such as the Azbinawa (people of Azben). Their role did not just stop in trade with the north, for they had a strong position and major investments

---

14. See Djibo Hamani's and my paper in Y.B. Usman (ed.) Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, New York, 1979; Djibo Hamani's L'Adar Precolonial, pp.237-243 et passim; and my "Immigration in Nineteenth Century Sokoto: An Historical Perspective", Paper presented at the Kano Seminar on the Economic History of the West African Savanna, Kano, Jan. 1976.

in Sokoto's trade with the south and south-west particularly in kolanuts and livestock.

The bulk of the salt brought to Sokoto from the north was produced in such northern salt-producing regions as the Atishina and Shamai lakes as well as the Tegiddam Tesu and the Bilma-Fashi area[15] where the principal salt-makers were the Ingalawa Touareg . The principal salt merchants were the Kel Geres, but other Touareg groups such as the Kel Owi and Kel Dinnik were almost equally important. Of these, the Kel Geres and the Kel Dinnik traded directly with Sokoto and through it with Mafara, transporting their merchandise on camel back.[16] Inspite of this, Adarawa involvement in the salt trade as middlemen was considerable. Adarawa merchants ventured occasionally into the salt-producing areas to purchase salt, but the bulk of . . . . . .

15. Interview: Mrs. Halima Ahmadu (19/3/75), but also see Djibo Hamani, L'Adar Precolonial, pp.335f. For the different varieties of salts and their uses and derivation, see P. Lovejoy, "The Salt Industry of the Central Sudan - A Preliminary Survey", paper presented at the Kano Seminar of Departments of History, ABU/ABC, January 1976. See also Imam Umaru's account in Ferguson, "Nineteenth Century Hausaland".

16. Hamani, L'Adar ..., pp.337-9; Clapperton, Journal ..., pp.137, 321, 370. In the late eighteenth century, Lucas reports, the merchants of Agades were the sole carriers of the salt trade with southern lands: see the Proceedings of the African Association, vol.I, London, 1967, pp.169-70. By the middle of the nineteenth century links between Sokoto and Agades had grown strong: See Barth, op.cit., pp.129-51, 321-70.

these Asina actually bought their supplies in Adar itself off Touareg bringing salt from Tegidda or Bilma. The Adarawa then resold this salt on the spot or took it south.[17] The operations of the Adarawa merchants in Sokoto show that it was in the handling of wholesale and retail distribution of salt at the southern end that their most crucial role was performed in this system, since Touareg still brought the bulk of the northern salt that was imported into Sokoto. In fact, all Sokoto traders of northern origin were in one way or the other involved in the wholesale/retail distribution of imported northern salt: either as traders of the commodity, its dillalai, or as bankers and hosts to incoming salt merchants. This was why the frontages of the houses of the bigger Adarawa salt merchants and dillalai in Sokoto acted, in competition with the market, as primary distribution points for this commodity. A substantial proportion of sales among the merchants and dillalai in such places were credit sales, the time for payment being fixed at anything between a week and one month.[18]

---

17. Hamani, L'Adar..., pp.337-8, 340, 344.

18. Interviews: Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi (14/7/75, 26/8/75, 16/9/75).

Next to salt, livestock constituted the second most important northern import into Sokoto. In this case, however, northern traders did not fully dominate the field as they did in the case of salt, since other traders went up north to buy and bring back livestock. Still, the Adarawa, Buzaye and Zabermawa handled a large, if not the major, part of the trade. The stock imported included cattle, rams, sheep, goats and horses. The main source of cattle and the smaller stock was Adar,[19] while horses were brought principally from Ahir. The main Adar markets for livestock were Gidan Bado and Tawa, but Tamaske, Bagai, Kalfu Rafi and Illela were also very important.[20] Much of the livestock changed hands at such intermediary markets as Gada, Wauru, Kiri, Goronyo in the borderland between Adar and Sokoto territory, and in the Gobir markets of Shinkafi and Isa and the Zanfara markets of Bakura, Kauran Namoda and Moriki. Along the difficult routes between Sokoto and Bagarawa and Dogon Dutse there were also several minor markets where fataken shanu from Sokoto bought stock which was then driven south by the 'Yan kore

---

19. Cattle were, however, also imported from Gao in fairly large numbers at least at the end of the century: see SNP7, 148/04, Report for May 1904, National Archives Kaduna.

20. Hamani, L'Adar..., pp.329-332.

(cattle drovers: also known as 'Yan Hawan Kaho). Sheep and especially goats were also imported in large numbers by the Bugaje.

Sokoto's participation in the livestock trade with the north, however, was in order to acquire stock for exportation to the south and south-west. This latter, as we shall see, was the principal operation of the fataken shanu of such quarters as Kalfu, Wangarawa, Zango, Adarawa, Karaye and Dandi. Not suprisingly, some of these fataken shanu (long-distance cattle traders) also exported skins and leather goods to the south and south-west, as well as north to Adar. The operations of Karaye's and Zango's fatake in this regard ran even deeper since they were also noted for tanning and leatherworking.

Naturally, not all of the livestock imported from the north was actually sent south. There was considerable trade in livestock to Zanfara in return for textiles, while goats in particular were mostly retained for stock-breeding and for use in the tanning and leathergoods industry. (goatskins being preferred to others, on account of their being tougher and at the same time more susceptible and beautiful for leatherwork).

In return for its salt, livestock and grains, the north got from Sokoto and its districts textile

goods, leather and leathergoods, kolanuts, grains, and slaves, the textile goods being the most important item both by volume and value. All of these goods had a wide market in the north, stretching from Agades in the north-east to Adar in the north and Dori and Gao in the north-west.

(ii) Sokoto's Trade with the South and South-West

Of the city's trade with the south and especially the south-west, that in kolanuts seems to have occupied a central place. Practically every trader that ventured forth to Gonja came back with kolanuts, from the wealthy fatake to the poorer 'yan gurunfa.[21] Undoubtedly, the kolanut was the most profitable single item in the city's trade with areas to the south-west, commanding not only high prices for a considerable part of the year but a very extensive and dependable market. Prices of kolanuts, according to some informants, could rise by as much as 400% at short notice. Djibo Hamani even writes that in Adar kolanuts were so expensive that they sold dearer than rams![22] Such a price

21. These were intinerant traders who formed part of the trading caravans and carried their goods on their heads; they had very little if any capital and often acquired trade goods only by trading their labour.

22. Hamani, L'Adar..., p.333. The high demand for kolanuts also had a direct relationship with the way and extent to which the kolanut was institutionalised in ritual and ceremony (eg marriages, naming ceremonies, installation ceremonies and gifts, etc.).

situation, however, was only partially the product of the state of demand, for the high transport costs and other incidental expenses on the supply side of the trade also led to considerable inflation of the prices of kolanuts.

As can be seen from the description of the commercial dealings of some of the quarters, no one group of traders actually dominated the fataucin goro in Sokoto. However, the fataken goro of Gobirawa, Anguwan Fatake, Kalfu, Zango and Hungumawa stood out prominently. The Agalawa, Tokarawa and Kamberin Barebari (or Kambarawa) whom Paul Lovejoy associates with domination of this trade[23] were only a fraction of the fatake who specialised in the kolanut trade in Sokoto. Of the wards associated with the kola trade in the city, Hungumawa was the only one identified as being settled by the Kamberi, while Anguwan Fatake is said to have contained a number of Agalawa and Tokarawa households. Though not emerging as the dominant power in its kola trade, the Kamberi of the Hungumawa

---

23. Lovejoy, P.E. The Hausa Kola Trade, 1700-1900 Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973. Lovejoy's work has since been published by the Oxford and A.B.U. Presses (1978); and particularly Lovejoy's "The Kambarin Beriberi: /a Formation of/Specialised Group of Hausa Kola Traders in the Nineteenth Century", JAH, XIV, 4, 1973.

ward were, in all probability, the earliest fataken goro to operate out of the city.

Unlike other fatake whose dealings in kola did not go beyond retailing the commodity in the city and its surroundings, the fatake of Hungumawa, Gobirawa and Anguwan Fatake between them more or less dominated the organization of the caravans to Gonja, providing most of the Madugai (caravan leaders); among their other specialities was the dillanci of goro and hosting of the traders associated with it. This latter was particularly important in view of Sokoto's position as an important distribution centre for the more northerly kola-consuming areas such as Ahir and Adar. The northward kola trade with Adar was mostly in the hands of the merchants of Gobirawa and Anguwan Fatake; by contrast, the operations of the Hungumawa merchants extended eastwards to Katsina and Kano in association with not only kolanuts but natron as well.[24]

Fataken goro trading to Gonja and the Kurmi markets (markets in the forest region, notably Ilorin, Oyo or Katunga and Lagos) took, on their

24. Interview: Mallam Yahaya Hungumawa, 24/9/75.

outward journeys, such goods as smoked fish (bought in the Kebbi markets, but principally at Jega), dyed cotton cloths and garments, hides, skins, leather and leathergoods, natron, onions, gābu (dried onion leaves), medicinal herbs and others. On the Kurmi route, horses featured prominently in Sokoto's trade with the emirates of Ilorin, Bida, Agaie, Lapai and Kontagora.[25] From Bida, Ilorin and Lagos in turn Sokoto merchants brought back European imports (textiles, salt, pewter dishes, etc.), luxury Nupe cloths and metal manufactures, etc. Slaves were traded in both directions, but by the second half of the nineteenth century most of this trade in slaves was northward oriented.

(iii) Trade with the Remainder of the Caliphate

Though the records of European travellers may contain comparatively more reference to so-called foreign trade with the people of the north or with the Gold Coast hinterland, Sokoto's trade with the rest of the Caliphate may in fact have been more important, since in many respects it made possible the foreign trade. From as early as 1824,

25. See Clapperton's Journal... and Laird, M. and R.A.K. Oldfield, Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa, Vol.II, pp.88-90, 315.

Clapperton observed, leather and leathergoods, civet perfume (turaren jibda) and textile products were being exported from Sokoto eastwards to Kano and Katsina.[26] Probably the most important item in Sokoto's trade with the rest of the Caliphate from this early period was the salt produced in the Dallol Fogha, which for most of the nineteenth century was under the control of the Sarakunan Musulmi at Sokoto.[27] Barth had noted in passing that Fogha salt made up the bulk of the merchandise of merchants returning from Sokoto to other parts of Hausaland. Imam Umaru, referring most probably to the situation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, claimed that Fogha salt was the most important salt traded in Hausaland, with at least 20,000 donkeys engaged in transporting it each year. This picture of a thriving salt industry and important trade in Fogha salt is again borne out by early colonial records which speak of a large trade in salt with the Fogha region through Sokoto and Jega in return for cloths and food supplies.[28]

---

26. Clapperton, in Bovill, E.W. (ed.) Missions..., Vol.IV, and Journal..., pp.221-2.

27. See M.B. Alkali, "A Hausa Community in Crisis", M.A. Thesis, A.B.U., 1969.

28. Barth, Travels..., Vol.III, p.99; Ferguson, 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland', pp.387-8; Sokprof 2/1, 129/1903, SNP7, 180/1904 and SNP7, 217/1904, National Archives, Kaduna.

. There was also substantial two-way trade in textiles with Kano and through it with such areas as Adamawa, Muri and Bauchi emirates. Mats and fine quality hats and fans from Sokoto also featured in this trade with the rest of the Caliphate as well as with areas connected to them commercially. Kano was in fact the main collection and distribution centre for all trade going west to and coming east from the Sokoto area. The trade from Adamawa (slaves and textiles), Bauchi (slaves, textiles, tin, ponies) and from Borno (natron, horses) and all the eastern emirates to Sokoto was channelled largely through Kano, whose merchants owned much if not most of the capital and organised the caravans involved in the fatauci with those areas. Similarly, many caravans going out west from Kano en route the Gonja, Gurma or Timbuctoo markets, called at Sokoto to buy local manufactures to take further west and to sell some of their loads (which consisted not only of the products of Kano but trade goods imported from Adamawa, Borno, Bauchi, etc.). As the financial and trading centre of the Central Sudan, Kano was not only an important starting point for trading caravans engaged in a vast network of regional and interregional commerce, but because of this also provided credit and capital facilities to merchants and rulers based

outside the city. In Sokoto, goods often changed hands on deferred payment which was later collected on Kano.[29]

When talking about Sokoto's foreign trade or its fatauci with other areas, however, one must not lose sight of the dependence not only of the city's commerce but also of its industries and in fact of its very survival on the strategic relations binding it to its hinterland. Commerce played a very dynamic role in these relations. Understandably, the bulk of rural trade into Sokoto consisted of agricultural products (grains, cotton, livestock, etc), wooden manufactures and implements, metal (iron) goods and a few industrial raw materials such as Indigo. The neighbouring parts of Zanfara provided grains, indigo and cotton, the area bordering Adar provided millet and livestock, while smoked fish came from the lower Rima valley. Rice was produced extensively in the river valleys and marshland near Sokoto[30] and on the lower Rima.

---

29. See "Journal of Richard Lander," in Clapperton H., Journal of a Second Expedition, pp.279, 285-6; and Monteil, P.L., De St. Louis a Tripoli par le lac Tchad, Paris, 1894, pp. 251-53.

30. For some of these things, see Barth, Travels..., Vol.III, pp.95, 100, 122, 125-6, 132 and passim.

Mention has already been made of the trade in sawaye, the coarse white cloths, between the rural districts and Sokoto. Not only textiles but also leathergoods and other manufactures as well, were traded into Sokoto from the countryside. These included men's and women's footwear (especially from the Kwakwazo and Danchadi districts) hats and mats (from Dingyadi and Bankanu), briddles (from Gada), wooden shoes - Dangarfai -, saddle cloth and other manufactures (from Kauran Namoda, Bodinga and Dunka), mundaye for the wrists and ankles (from Gada and Illela), ad infinitum.[31] In this way, Sokoto assembled rural products and manufactures, and thereby built up the prosperity of its merchant class. In return for these goods the city supplied the countryside with some of its own products and those derived elsewhere through fatauci. Because it dealt substantially with necessities rather than with luxuries, rural trade into the city had a significance which was at once economic and political and the countryside consequently occupied a vital position in the life of the city: functioning, as it were, as the womb that nurtures.

---

31. Group Interview, Waziri Junaidu's residence, Sokoto (21/3/75).

The Trading Communities of Sokoto

Monteil had described Sokoto in the early eighties as a political rather than a commercial town. In terms of volume and diversity of trade, level of prosperity and scope of commercial connections, Sokoto no doubt trailed behind Kano. But for a settlement which had risen to prominence only at the beginning of the century, Sokoto had made significant advances as a centre of trade even if it was inferior to Kano in this regard. European visitors who had preceded Monteil to Sokoto had found sufficient evidence of this advance to warrant a more generous assessment than that of Monteil.

Sokoto's modest achievement in the sphere of commerce must be seen against the background of its development of manufacturing industries, its favourable location, the expansion of regional commercial networks and relations as well as its emergence as a political and cultural centre whose influence extended over a vast region. As we have seen already, there were two main agents in the city's trade. First, there were those traders who traded into the city from other towns and lands, bringing with them produce and/or manufactures and taking back local products and manufactures. However, within the city itself there

developed communities, formed largely through immigration, of people specialising in various aspects of commerce. Thus there were at least thirteen wards in which trading or some aspect of commercial specialisation was the dominant means of livelihood. These wards developed at first either as homogeneous entities incorporating a single zuriya or extended family, or as heteregeneous communities with little or no ties of kinship but often with some form of internal cohesion based on territoriality or common specialisation. However, heterogeneity was the norm among the traders' wards, and only Kalfu was homogeneous among the thirteen wards in question:

(i) Anguwan Fatake

The trading community of this ward was made up mostly of fataken goro (kola merchants) who traded chiefly or exclusively with the Gonja region. Many of them have featured as leaders (Madugai) and organisers of Sokoto's caravan trade. The fatake-hosting business was also an important aspect of the ward's specialisation. The ward, which was associated with the wholesale trade in kolanuts in the city, had a trading community that was heteregeneous in its mix. Consequently, professional ties were the strongest bonds, strengthened no doubt

by inter-marriages within the ward.[32]

(ii) Helele

The scanty information on this ward suggests that it was settled by Gobirawa, Adarawa, Hausawa and Buzaye or Bugaje (Touareg) trading households. These traded to such places as Adamawa, Gonja and Nupeland (principally Bida to which they were said to export horses and even slaves) and some of them also hosted fatake. The ward produced such big names in nineteenth century Sokoto commerce as Salon Buzu and Shehu Hammadi,[33] wealthy attajirai who made their wealth through trading, dillanci and hosting fatake.

(iii) Kofan Marke

This ward was for all practical purposes an integral part of the main Sokoto market and can be regarded as a residential district of many of the fatake and dillalai operating therein. The proximity of the market, the spaciousness of the quarter and its being the terminus, as it were, of the northern trade coming into the city had made it

32. Interviews: Mallam Yahaya Hungumawa (24/9/75); M. Ibrahim, Anguwan Fatake (22/3/76); Mallam Ibrahim, Kofar Marke (22/3/76).

33. Interviews: Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi (14/7/75); Maidamma Maizari (7/8/75); Balarabe and Maidamma Helele (23/9/75).

very attractive to many of the traders. As a consequence, several big names in the trading and hosting business were resident here: the trading households of Mallam Sufi, Babuga, Gagadu, Dule, Tanimu, Mahe, Jela and Bulya, to mention the more successful ones. The prosperity of many of these households can be seen, for instance, in the operations of the Gidan Bulya trading household which, besides hosting traders bringing such diverse Adar merchandise as salt, grains and palm-leaves (kaba) also functioned as dillalai, commercial agents and even bankers for their guests.[34]

(iv) & (v) Kofar Kware and Kofar Dundaye

The operations of the traders of Kofar Kware and Kofar Dundaye were probably much less than those of Kofar Marke or Helele, but these too were nonetheless important. Some of the trading households here, as for instance Gidan Turawa (Kofar Dundaye) and Gidan Liyu (Kofar Kware) were counted among the major merchantile and wealthy fatake of Sokoto.

---

34. Interviews: Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi (14/7/75); M. Ibrahim Ladan, (22/3/76).

(vi) & (vii) The Zoromawa Wards

The two Zoromawa wards were inhabited by a people who not only claimed a common descent and identity but shared the same professional preoccupation with the trade in slaves and horses in Sokoto. Zoromawa participation in such trading may have started early in the history of the Jihad or even before. Whatever the case, the Zoromawa are acknowledged to have more or less exercised almost a monopoly in the city's slaves and horse trade. And though there is no evidence to prove that this monopoly had been secured through administrative fiat, royal patronage is nonetheless said to have boosted and assisted it tremendously. Members of the ruling class provided most of the slaves and bought most of the horses dealt in by the Zoromawa who, incidentally, claim special relationship with the Toronkawa ruling class.[35] Since they did not have to travel to acquire or sell their merchandise - the horses being brought in by Azbinawa, Adarawa and to a lesser extent Sullubawa traders or breeders,

---

35. As an informant, Maude Jikan Bahago, puts it, the slave- and horse-trades were "fatauci ne na yan Sarki" (lit: "commerce or business for princes"). As the journals of Laird, Oldfield and Lander show, however, the exportation of horses south to Nupe was done principally by "Arabs" (which may mean simply Touaregs).

and the slaves mostly as tribute to the urban elite - the Zoromawa were for the most part settled merchants and dillalai rather than fatake. However, Zoromawa fatake did exist and these traded to such areas as Gonja and Hombori to which they took tanned leathergoods, dyed cloths and ornamental beads (probably imported from Bida and North Africa).

The Zoromawa wards produced quite a number of the prosperous merchants of Sokoto, such as Dan Jari, Umaru Mai Amalin Jaki, Sahabi Cikakke and others.[36] Important as the commercial role of the Zoromawa was, however, Barth was exaggerating when he described them not only as "the small tradesmen and brokers of the town" but also as "the chief traders of the country".[37] Barth's observation of the details was cursory and highly coloured by his circle of acquiantances among whom Zoromawa may have been prominent.

(viii) Hungumawa

Like other professionals in the kolanut caravan trade with Gonja, the operations of the Hungumawa

---

36. The story of the Zoromawa is pieced together from interviews with: Akawama Haido, (10/9/75); Maude Jikan Bahago, (11/9/75); Umaru Marafa (23/9/75). Those listed probably operated in the second half of the nineteenth century.

37. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., Vol. III, pp.129, 140.

fatake were fairly extensive, involving trade with Kano (leathergoods and natron especially) as well as Gonja. Hungumawa fatake were, like their counterparts in Anguwan Fatake, intimately involved with the logistics of the caravan trade, including the business of maduganci and the hosting of transit traders on the departure and return of the caravans to and from the western markets.[38]

(ix) Gobirawa

Said to have been the "home of the kolanut" in Sokoto, the Gobirawa ward started out as a zango or traders' halting place and point of embarkation of caravans for the city's caravan trade. The ward's trading community for the most part engaged in fatauci and dillanci of the kolanut. Maduganci and hosting of other traders were also important aspects of the commercial dealings of the fatake of the quarter.[39]

(x) Kalfu

Settled by Adarawa immigrants, Kalfu is said

---

38. Interviews on Hungumawa: Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi (14/7/75); Mallam Yahaya Hungumawa (24/9/75). For a discussion of caravan organization see Imam Umaru's account in Ferguson's "Nineteenth Century Hausaland", as well as Jack Goody and T.M. Mustafa's "The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga", JHSN, 3, 4, June 1967.

39. Interview: Mallam Ladan Na Allah (5/2/76).

to have been the second oldest settlement to have been established outside the city wall. Though it is also said to have began life as a zango, fatauci did not become important until after the mid-century. Livestock was the dominant form of wealth in the ward and it was in the livestock trade that its traders mostly specialised. Their operations involved importing cattle from Adar and exporting them to markets in the south (Lagos, Ilorin, etc.) and the west (on the Gonja route).[40] In return, they brought back kolanuts and other goods. Kalfu, like many of the small quarters of the city, was inhabited by people who for the most part were members of the same zuriya (extended family or lineage).

(xi) Zango

Though also Adarawa, Zango was more diverse in its composition than Kalfu. And while some of

40. Professor Mahdi Adamu thinks the livestock trade with the south may not be much older than the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Lander and Clapperton report seeing large numbers of bullocks as pack animals in caravans going to Gonja and markets on the Niger in the late twenties. Though informants are not specific about the beginning of the cattle trade with the south, they imply that it was much older than the late nineteenth century. Of course there is sufficient evidence in early colonial records to show that by that date the trade was flourishing. That perhaps goes to show that its origins lie in an earlier period, say from about the mid-century by which time Ilorin and Nupeland were fully incorporated into the Sokoto Caliphate.

its traders were settled city traders who dealt in such Adarawa and Buzaye imports as balma (a type of salt), kanwa (natron), gallo (sodium chloride), and medicinal herbs and roots, others were dillalai and hosts for Adarawa merchants trading to the city while yet others traded leathergoods and Adarawa small stock (especially rams) to the kurmi (the forested region south of the Niger).[41]

(xii) Adarawa

Founded by Adarawa fatake from Tawa, the quarter of Adarawa also featured prominently in Sokoto's trade in livestock. The traders of the quarter maintained strong commercial (and other) links with their original home but also extended their operations as far south as Ilorin, to which they traded cattle, rams and leather articles.[42] The cattle and rams were themselves imported by them from Tawa in return for turkudda (cloths dyed black and produced largely in Kano) and other goods.

(xiii) Wangarawa

Like many of the quarters just examined, the Wangarawa merchants also traded with Ikko (Lagos)

41. Interview: Mallam Shehu Zango, (24/3/76).

42. Interview: Alhaji Wali Bako (18/3/76).

and Ilorin, taking cattle, sheep and leathergoods and returning with kolanuts and other goods. Many attajirai (rich men) are said to have emerged in this ward in the course of the nineteenth century.[43]

In conclusion, one has to draw attention to the speed with which Sokoto had grown into an important regional market and centre for the financing and organization of caravan trade. A strategic location, a favourable political climate and the increasing integration of regional economies were crucial factors in this development, the latter encouraging not only trade but what was also basic to it, increased production and immigration.

Still, Monteil's point about Sokoto being more of a political than a commercial centre must not be lost sight of, for certainly sarauta (power, authority) and ilmi (learning, knowledge, scholarship) and addini (religion) loomed larger in the city's identity and reputation than did commerce. This reflected not only the dominant influences and forces in the city's evolution from its pre-Jihad roots, but also the fact that its dominant classes

---

43. Interview: Mallam Muhammadu Bello and Na' Iya (17/3/76).

(rulers, scholars) ascended to power and made their livelihood not through commerce but through scholarship and sarauta. In short therefore, important though commerce was in the city's life, as an occupation it ranked third to sarauta and scholarship, though higher than the artisan trades.

CHAPTER FIVE

URBAN ADMINISTRATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SOKOTO

The Philosophy and Social Basis of Urban Administration in Sokoto

No discussion of the basis and goals of urban administration in Sokoto can be meaningful if it ignores the writings of the Jihad leaders (especially the Sheikh Usman, Abdullah Ibn Fodio and Muhammad Bello) on the subject of administration generally.[1] These writings formed the theoretical basis on which the administration in the Sokoto Caliphate relied for guidance and direction. However, while they are important for what they prescribed and also for what they say or imply about the purpose and responsibility of government, we must clearly distinguish theory from practice and form from content in order to understand each, and we must endeavour to see administration as the product and expression of a specific set of social relations.

---

1. As will be clear from the footnotes, we have not undertaken a comprehensive study and analysis of the originals of these writings, which are numerous. Those which we have consulted - in translation only - are listed in footnotes 2-6 below.

As theorists and architects of administration in the Sokoto Caliphate, Muhammad Bello, Abdullah Ibn Fodio and the Sheikh Uthman did not differ much in their conception of the purpose of government. In the Kitāb al-Farq and in his Bayān Wujub al-Hijrah the Sheikh defines the purpose of government in general terms as removing evil from the religious and temporal affairs of men through Jihad, building of ribāts, fighting oppression and the cause of corruption, forbidding what is disapproved, encouraging learning and piety, setting things right and reforming the markets.[2] Though his basic appreciation of the religious and temporal purpose of government remains more or less the same as that of the Sheikh's, Abdullah goes further than the former in emphasising such responsibilities as the setting up of an administration to collect taxes and revenues, and other temporal issues.[3] However, it is to Muhammad Bello, the first ruler of Sokoto, that we should turn in our search for the philosophical basis of urban administration in Sokoto. In the Usul al-

---

2. Uthman Ibn Fodio, "Kitab al-Farq", trans. ed. M. Hiskett, BSOAS, 23, London, 1960, p.570; "Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah", trans., ed., F.H. El-Masri, Ph.D., Ibadan, 1968; also see D.M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Longmans, London, 1967, p.56.

3. Abdullah Ibn Fodio, "Diyā al-Hukkām", translated by Haliru Binji as Liya'ul Hukkami, Gaskiya Corporation, n.d. pp.14-18.

Siyāsat Bello outlines the purpose or duty of government - which he personifies as the ruler - in the following terms:

> "...he is the one who fosters the artisans (al-sunnā) and is concerned that people have a trade, which is indispensable to the population, such as cultivators and smiths, dyers and physicians, grocers and butchers and carpenters and all the trades /which contribute/ to the harmony of this world. He must allocate them to every village and every /town/ and quarter,...likewise foodstuffs and supplies... He must see to the construction of walled towns and bridges and the maintenance of markets and roads and the realization of the general public welfare..."

Government must also build mosques, establish judges and teachers, preachers, Muhtasibs, tax collectors and inspectors for the oppressed and guard the rights of the Muslims.[4] Bello's resettlement of artisans and traders in Sokoto, his patronage and protection of trade and trade routes, and his encouragement of the sedentarisation of nomads were all a practical translation of the philosophy expressed in the 'Usul

---

4. Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyāsat, translated by B.G. Martin as "A Muslim Political Tract from Northern Nigeria: Muhammad Bello's Usul al-Siyasa" in D.F. McCall and N.R. Bennett (eds.) Aspects of West African Islam, Boston University, 1971. The Muhtasib could best be defined as a kind of social welfare officer and roving magistrate. For his duties, see below.

into social action. In the policy of building ribāts and using them not only to consolidate power but to attempt to effect desired changes in society as a whole, urban administration became an instrument for the realisation of the purpose of government. This followed from the fact that the leaders of the Jihad deliberately set out to build new towns which would be completely loyal to and would reflect the new order, and from which the transformation of society would proceed. Abdullah Ibn Fodio put this principle more forcefully when he spoke of the obligation of building loyal towns and destroying enemy towns.[5]

In order to understand the evolution and character of urban administration in Sokoto, however, we must not only look at the nature and source of the philosophy and outlook that guided that administration but also analyse the specific social conditions in which that philosophy was given expression. In particular we must highlight the three factors which have greatly influenced the history and character of urban administration in Sokoto: the structure of the jama'a movement (which functioned as the core of the Jihad), the emergence of a dynasty and aristocracy in the city and the rapid

---

5. Abdullah Ibn Fodio, Diya al-Hukkam, pp.15, 16.

and massive immigration of traders and artisans, etc. which resulted in the evolution of an urban society requiring a relatively complex administrative structure.

The jama'a had consisted of groups whose internal unities were largely based on ties of kinship, marriage, barantaka or even occupational specialisation. These groups ranged from the circles of scholars-students to the large semi-nomadic communities of the Konni, Kebbi and Sullubawa Fulbe[6] (i.e. Fulani). These groups were held together by historical, barantaka, kinship, but above all political-ideological ties which provided a common platform of identity and action, with a number of scholars and clan heads providing leadership. As these groups or sections of them settled and formed wards in Sokoto they more or less maintained their unity and patterns of authority: in other words, their mechanisms of social control. This, more than the effectiveness of any administrative supervision was what made social conformity fairly strong in the wards, obviating the need for a formal administrative structure to enforce conformity. Secondly the leadership which had

---

6. See the Introduction to Murray Last's The Sokoto Caliphate.

emerged early in the Jihad developed even closer ties as time went on and developed into a cohesive ruling class. The core of the leadership of the Jihad was made up of scholars and powerful communal leaders the cooperation of whose followers had made possible the success of the Jihad: the former providing ideological leadership and direction, the latter broadening the base of popular support and participation in the institution of the new order. In the specific case of Sokoto, as informants show, a number of attajirai (wealthy persons) had also developed close relations with the masu gari or masu sarauta so much so that they were seen to belong together as a class,[7] even though the attajirai did not possess the same degree of control over political power.

One of the important factors in the development of the character of urban administration in Sokoto city was of course the emergence of the dynasty of Sheikh Uthman. Between 1804 (when the Sheikh was declared Amir al-Muminin) and 1812 (when the Caliphate was formaly divided into two, with a part under the

---

7. Interviews: Group Interview, Wangarawa, (17/3/76.);Maidamma Maizari, (17/8/75);Alhaji Yahaya Shehun Hammadi, (16/9/75.).

supervision of Abdullah and the other under Bello) the process of singling out the Sheikhs' family unfolded slowly but surely. At the Sheikh's death in 1817, those charged with chosing his successor as Amir al-Muminin sought to guarantee the continued cohesion of the Caliphate and the security of the interests they represented by excluding all but direct descendants of the Sheikh from the succession. Because the Sheikh died in Sokoto (which had been developed and was being ruled by Bello and to which the Sheikh had been brought by him), because of the great respect and influence of Bello's mother, Hawwa (from whose children the electors allegedly vowed to choose the Sarkin Musulmi always), because the electors themselves were Bello's own lieutenants and in-laws, because of their fear and mistrust of Abdullahi's orthodoxy and restless independent spirit, and because of Bello's qualities as a leader able to carry the people (especially the Sokoto scholars and communal leaders and their followings) with him, the electors named Bello Amir al-Muminin in succession to his father. This predictably annoyed some sections of the jama'a and quite a number of scholars who had hoped that they would be elected or that at least every eligible candidate would have a fair chance.

In the event, such dissatisfaction resulted in Abd al-Salam's revolt and the withdrawal of some scholars from active public service in Sokoto as well as estrangement between Abdullah and the electors of Sokoto for their handling of the succession. The pattern of succession in Sokoto since the appointment of Bello confirmed and completed the emergence of the dynasty of Sheikh Uthman. This process was taken further in the reign of Bello when he placed his sons or brothers as rulers in all of the ribāts which he established: his sons Fodio at Lajinge, Ali at Shinaka, Ibrahim at Gandi, and Mudi at Silame; and his brothers Atiq at Bakura, Isa at Kware, and Ahmed Rufa'i later in Silame. The same policy was persued by later Caliphs, particularly Ahmed Zarruku (1859-66) and Abd al-Rahman (1891-1902) when several new ribāts and settlements were built and walled. Given the strategic command of these ribāts over the metropolitan districts and their role in the economic and political system as a whole, this development virtually established the supremacy of the new dynasty.[8] Though many scholars were posted to these

---

8. For the succession, see Alhaji Sa'id, Tarikh Sokoto (see footnote 10 below for full bibliographical details) and Murray Last, op.cit., pp.64-5, 97-9; for ribāts, see Last, pp.75-79, 116-8, 129, and P.G. Harris, op.cit., pp.113-86. The interesting question has often been raised as to whether in selecting rulers in this manner the Jihad leaders had not done exactly the ... (cont'd)

ribāts they mostly acted in secondary roles as Imams, judges, teachers and Muhtasibs and had no executive power, and a number of them are said to have eventually left their posts in frustration.

Simultaneous with the emergence of a ruling dynasty with exclusive rights to executive authority there emerged also subordinate and supportive dynasties of office- and title-holding lineages who held power and privilege as exclusive rights. The most important of these were the Sarakunan

---

same thing for which the Sheikh Uthmān had blamed the sarakuna of Hausaland in his Kitāb al-Farq. The Sheikh's position in the Kitāb may in fact have been misunderstood, since what he actually complained about was the use of the hereditary principle to the exclusion of criteria such as the learning, piety, compassion and good works of the aspirants to the throne, and the violent competition which succession generated. It is true, however, that the use (and abuse) of the hereditary principle was too deeply rooted in the political culture of the people - including the nomads among whom Last (op.cit., p.lxxx) says there is no authority - to be stopped by the preaching of the Shehu. This explains the curious spectacle of the Sheikh's descendants being appointed rulers when others equally - and in some cases more - qualified, were available. In the light of Abd al-Salaam's revolt, this was a question of pure self-interest and preservation.

Karagga (lit: Lords of the throne, i.e. Kingmakers) such as the Waziri, Galadima, the Magajin Gari, Sarkin Yakin Binji, Sarkin Kabin Yabo, the Ardon Sullubawa, and Magajin Rafi.[9] Though some of the titles and offices were not hereditary their holders throughout the nineteenth century were from one or two scholarly families or lineages only: as for example the office of Imams of the two mosques and that of Alkali. But these, like the other appointments made by Bello and the Caliphs after him, were from the same circle of friends, relations and companions. All of these offices, and many others - royal and non-royal alike - carried with them territorial responsibility for the administrative supervision of certain districts or settlements, besides other priveleges. Thus an aristocracy evolved, bound by kinship, marriage and strong political ties and responsible for the administration not only of Sokoto city but in many respects also of the Caliphate of which it was the capital. The administration of the city of Sokoto based as it was essentially on this aristocracy and the ties spoken of, tended to acquire a strong rigidity since any meaningful reform would be seen to tamper with established interests and upset the delicate balance on which

9. vide Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp. 97-99.

the cohesion of the ruling class depended. Much of the friction between Amir al-Muminin Ali and Abd al-Rahman and their councillors for instance stemmed from their attempt to tamper with the system of territorial administration. Abd al-Rahman's unpopularity with some of the aristocracy in fact stemmed partly from this and partly from his alleged oppression of the talakawa[10] (commoners). The personalization and rigidity of the administrative system had a great effect on the success and determination with which the Sokoto rulers implemented the basic principles and philosophy of government and administration as laid down. It explains, for instance, the 'lapse' into some practices (as for example the use of some titles, the giving of gaisuwa etc.) which the Sheikh Uthman in his Kitab al-Farq and other works castigated as the way of government of the unbelievers. It also explains why many of the titles carried no specific function at all or became dysfunctional, their main purpose being only a claim or licence to privelege based on birth and connections.

---

10. Group Interview, Konni, 26/10/75; but also see Alhaj Said, Tarikh Sokoto, trans. C.E.J. Whitting as History of Sokoto, Ife-Olu Printing Works, Kano, 1949, pp.23-4 and Last, op.cit., pp.84, 158. Marriage and kinship ties, and the distribution of territorial responsibility were the most important determinants of the politics within the aristocracy: see Last, pp. 83, 167-8, 222-3 and Alhaj Sa'id, op.cit., pp.207-8, for instance.

Lastly, it explains why administrative elaboration mostly concerned itself with creating new titles to accord with the expansion of the dynasty and aristocracy rather than with any meaningful reform in substance.[11]

The Administrative System

Among the offices, titles and functions that made up the administrative system in Sokoto there were some that were essentially political, some that were essentially judicial and others that can be said to be economic in function. The essentially political offices and titles predominated, and it was among them that the greatest proportion of titles carrying no specific function, as well as increase in the number and variety of titles and offices, occurred. In the judicial sphere, where learning and mastery of the legal code (shari'a) was an essential qualification, functions were more clearly spelt out and the degree of politicisation less pervasive (though not entirely absent). Thus the Sarkin Zamfara - a royal, princely title -

11. When the Caliph Ali b. Bello attempted to streamline the administration he met with stiff opposition from vested interests. At the other extreme, Abd al-Rahman proliferated titles simply to give to his sons. See Alhaj Sa'id Tarikh Sokoto and Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Chapter Six.

had less specific functions(and required no qualification other than descent from the Sheikh) than the office of Alkali (judge), which required knowledge of the Sharia. The titles in the sphere of economic adminstration were varied. Some, as for example the title of Lumo'o (the market supervisor, from the Fulfulde word for market - lumo) were political appointments which did not entail any special qualification other than acceptance by the ruler; by contrast, the Alkalin Kassuwa (a judge who adjudged disputes in market transactions) was only given to people with a knowledge of the provisions of the Sharia in matters pertainning to commercial transactions.

The mode of communication between holders of offices and titles and the Sarkin Musulmi was generally direct. As the source of all power and authority, the court-of-last-resort and the ultimate focus of all allegiances in the system, the Sarkin Musulmi was responsible for the administration of the city of Sokoto. For most of the nineteenth century, however, the rulers of Sokoto did not at all times reside within the city but partly in one or the other of the ribāts of Magariya, Wurno, Chimola and Shinaka. Thus the physical presence and direct involvement of the Sarkin Musulmi in city administration was not always practicable.

Partly for this reason, and partly to find for Atiqu an important role, the office of Sarkin Zamfara was created by Bello with responsibility for the city of Sokoto. Since then it was always held by someone in the Atiqu line of the dynasty.[12]

The precise function and powers of the Sarkin Zanfara were not altogether clearly defined. Some informants say he ruled Sokoto, some that he did so only in the absence of the Sarkin Musulmi and yet others that in fact he had responsibility for the Sabon Birni section of the city only.[13] It seems from the scanty evidence available, however, that the powers of the Sarkin Zamfara in Sokoto were city-wide at least when the Sarkin Musulmi was not in residence. The title had not been in existence before 1815 at which time the Galadima is said to have held responsibility for Sokoto. Inspite of the existence of a Sarkin Zanfara, the Vizier (Waziri) and Galadima seem to have had more prominent roles in the administration of the city,

---

12. See Last, p.101; interviews: Shehu Saraki (14/7/75); Baba Hakimin Alkammawa, (11/9/75).

13. Shehu Saraki and Baba, loc.cit.; Last, p.65 note 13 would seem to support the latter contention.

as the journals of Clapperton, Barth, Monteil, etc. show. Sarkin Zanfara, we suspect, may not have been more than just a title. At any rate, essential day-to-day administration was performed by a variety of offices the most important of which were those of the Waziri, Galadima, Magajin Gari, Magajin Rafi, Sarkin Yakin Binji, Ubandoma, Sarkin Adar and other senior offices. Though there was no formal division of Sokoto city into administrative units under the authority of the holders of these titles the latter nonetheless exercised effective authority not only in the wards where they were resident but also in the collection of wards around them since these generally would be inhabited by their followers. They provided leadership and even adjudicated in disputes of a non-legal nature which required only sulhu (arbitration). This was the dominant character of authority and the basis of administration in such quarters as Gidadawa, shiyan Ubandoma, Galadanci, Alkammawan Tsohon Birni, Alkammawan Sabon Birni, Alkanci, Benanci, Zoromawan Sabon Birni, Konni, Kofar Rimi and the quarter of Sabon Birni. The Sarkin Adar of Dundaye, a title given to the descendants of Al-Musdafa, a fugitive Adar Emir allied to Sokoto, had a more general leadership role for all Adarawa resident in Sokoto, for whom he was the official representative at the court

of the Sarkin Musulmi.[14] The shiyar Sabon Birni was made up of several small sub-quarters such as Gidan Bakiri, Gidan Salanke, Gidan Liman, Mainiyo and Gidan Sarkin Hurumi all of which were populated by households bound by kinship (and of course their slaves and barori). In these and similar quarters in the city such as Gidan Muhammadu Adde, Siriddawa, Burwa, Gidan Kanawa, Gidan Salihu, Gidan Fadama, etc. - kinship was the dominant basis of authority, reinforcing other types of authority. In quarters populated by traders and craftsmen of a heteregeneous mix however, social leadership was exercised either by the wealthiest person and/ or lineage or by the one which had acquired greater prosperity in the craft. This type of leadership was usually given official political status by the grant of the serauta of the craft in question, such as Mazuga or Sarkin Makera (Chief of the smiths), Sarkin zango (Chief of the zango), etc. Attajirai exercised influence not just on the basis of their wealth but also because some of them had close links with royalty and the masu

---

14. Interview: Alhaji Wali Bako, Adarawa, 18/3/76. See Djibo Hamani, 'L'Adar Precolonial, p.243; and H.A.S. Johnston, The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, O.U.P., London, 1967, p.147; Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.107-113.

sarauta. Often, however, the sarauta of a craft was conferred not so much in recognition of any professional excellence but purely on the basis of royal favour and prerogative.

One important mechanism for social control, and a crucial factor in urban administration, was the moral authority and leadership exercised by scholars in society. As moral and religious instructors, as indispensable agents in such rituals as prayer, wedding, naming and burial ceremonies scholars shaped the moral tone and values of society and exercised an influence that extended far beyond the immediate circles of their students. In this way they not only made the political order acceptable by their approval and submission to it, but in cases provided leadership for several of the wards in Sokoto as did scholars like Mallam Sumaila and Modibbo Sufi for Marinar Tsamiya and Minanata, respectively. This was very crucial, for it must be remembered that the opposition of a large and powerful body of scholars was what led to the collapse of the authority of the Sarakuna of the Hausa states and ushered in the new order in which Sokoto became so prominent.

Interpersonal arbitration played a significant role in the informal administration of the quarters.

Thus manya or respected dattibai (heads of households, elders and/or scholars) disposed of simple quarrels and thereby strengthened communal unity under their own leadership. Even women were often involved in the settlement of disputes especially where these were of a matrimonial nature, though the institution of purdah did not on the whole allow them to sit in with the menfolk in the zaure.[15]

It can be seen therefore that since the pattern of authority and communal unity in the wards helped to perpetuate the social structure and its values, to repress the active expression of dissent and to secure individual and collective participation in communal life - such as the building or repair of walls and mosques and the waging of war - there was no need to formalise the administration of the quarters in Sokoto. However, this informality did not altogether pervade the system since, as has been pointed out already, the administration of the Sharia required a specificity of functions and roles.

---

15. Zaure is the term by which the audience chamber or hut at the entrance of homes is known, but it is also used - as it is in this context - to refer to the discussion of communal issues or personal quarrels by the Dattibai, such discussions normally having a zaure for a venue.

The main office in judicial administration was that of the Alkali (with his assistants) but the Muhtasib, the Sarkin Yara - also called Sarkin Dogarai - (Chief of Police and Gaoler) and the Sarkin Hurumi were also titles which carried quasi-judicial powers. Once appointed by the Sarkin Musulmi, the Alkali had power to investigate cases and pass sentences as prescribed by the Maliki school of Islamic law, the legal code or interpretation of the Sharia which was adopted in Sokoto and indeed throughout Muslim West Africa. Only the Sarkin Musulmi could order the execution of a culprit who has been adjudged guilty of a capital offence by the court, and for this reason the executioner in Sokoto was directly responsible to the Sarkin Musulmi.

Theoretically, the jurisdiction of the Alkalin Sokoto was restricted to the city only, since most of the larger settlements had their own Alkalai. However, the Alkali in Sokoto was in fact an Alkalin Alkallai (lit: judge of the judges, that is, Chief Judge) and in that capacity heard appeals arising from cases dealt with in lower courts elsewhere within the Caliphate. In discharging his functions, the Alkali relied not only on established precepts of the Sharia but because these were often open to different interpretations, also on consul-

tations with leading scholars and jurists in Sokoto. In the early days of the new order there appear to have been more judges in places like Gwandu, Sifawa and Sokoto. With the consolidation of the new order many of these judges were dispersed to adjudicate in other towns, but this still left Sokoto with a substantial population of jurists. The appointment of an Alkali was therefore a highly political one, since not only did it involve chosing one from among many candidates but had a direct bearing on the tone of the regime. In fact in their writings the Jihad leaders such as Bello, Abdullah and Uthman Ibn Fodio regarded the judge as one of the two major pillars of government (the other one being the kingship). Nonetheless - and perhaps for understandable reasons - seeing that the scholars generally were bound by close marriage and to some extent of kinship ties, most of those who had been appointed Alkalai in Sokoto came from one or two lineages only. Thus though the office itself did not become hereditary, many of the Alkalai were direct relations of one another: for instance, the Alkali Musdafa and several of his relations had been appointed to the office. When at the end of the nineteenth century the Sarkin Musulmi Abd al-Rahman removed the Alkali Modibbo from office for alleged incompetence and ignorance of the law, the political

fallout demonstrated the extent to which appointments to the post had been politicised. Abd al-Rahman's action caused quite a stir even though he is said to have appointed to the post Mallam Abdullahi, reputed to be the leading jurist in Sokoto at the time. The disruption of delicate connections and interests which Abdu's action caused, and the politics it had generated, continued into the early colonial period when the British were persuaded to restore Modibbo.[16]

Like that of the Alkali, the office of Muhtasib was directly responsible to the Sarkin Musulmi; unlike the Alkali however, the Muhtasib in Sokoto had arbitrary powers of arrest. He could not, however, adjudicate except in very minor cases, such as a debt acknowledged by both parties. Where he came across cases beyond his jurisdiction and competence the Muhtasib referred them to the Alkali.

The office of Muhtasib was in fact a specifically urban institution, deemed necessary for the

---

16. Interviews: the late Alkali Yahaya, Sokoto, (5/2/76). Modibbo had been made Alkali by the Sarkin Musulmi Umar (1881-91).

larger settlements. In Sokoto, the powers of the Muhtasib were not only city-wide but themselves comprehensive, covering economic relations in the market, the maintenance of public utilities, personal behaviour down to one's use of such personal property as donkeys and farms. The duties of the Muhtasib were defined by an informant as "commanding the good and prohibiting evil" among the lowly as well as the powerful. The Muhtasib is said in the early reigns to have functioned so efficiently that he was the terror of the hoarders and those who practiced kissa (cheating and fraud) in the market. In actual fact, however, the efficient and impartial discharge of the functions of the office would involve resentful restrictions on people and treading on powerful toes, and require a structure and staff which the Muhtasib did not quite have. Informants imply that not long after the reign of Atiqu (1837-42) the functions or effectiveness of the Muhtasib went into abeyance and the title became, like others in the system, simply a title to privelege. First the functions, and then even the office, of the Muhtasib retreated in the face of changing social conditions and political reality; so that by the short reign of Sarkin Musulmi Abubakar b. Bello (1873-77) the Muhtasib had for all practical purposes ceased to matter.

This was in part a result of the rise in the power of princes and its abuse, tendencies which became strong in Sokoto in the second half of the nineteenth century and which eroded the powers and privileges of many a non-royal title. However, the resentment and fear which an efficient Muhtasib caused was also an important consideration. Given the powers of the Muhtasib, and given the dominant character of social and economic intercourse, everyone around was guilty. Asked why he would not go to the market anymore, the Muhtasib in Abubakar b. Bello's reign is said to have remarked that if he did the market would disperse because everyone would be afraid of the consequences of their guilt.[17]

The office of Sarkin Dogarai (Wāli al-Shurta), unlike that of the Muhtasib, had more clearly defined powers: the maintenance of the prison and the supervision of prisoners serving out sentences. To assist him, the Sarkin Dogarai had assistants (dogarai or simply yara) who normally were either his relations and barori or people assigned to him by the Sarkin Musulmi. These dogarai were both policemen and prison

---

17. Alkali Yahaya (5/2/76) and Dr. Waziri Junaidu (7/4/75) provided the information on the Muhtasib, but see Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.49-50.

warders: they made arrests, supervised prisoner labour on the walls, city roads, in the palace and mosques daily, the prisoners being maintained from the public treasury (beit al-Mal).[18]

Economic Administration

The importance which the rulers of Sokoto attached to state intervention in the economy has already been alluded to at the beginning of this Chapter. This intervention had three basic aims: to ensure justice and fairness in economic relations, to promote the growth and prosperity of the economy and, thirdly, to extract revenues for the discharge of the functions of government.[19]

In order to promote the growth and prosperity of the economy a lot of effort has been expended especially in the reign of Muhammad Bello to attract and settle in Sokoto traders and craftsmen, to encourage the settlement of nomads and the development of towns, and to stabilise trade and trade routes with neighbouring states by strengthening and protecting them with diplomatic and political

---

18. Interviews: Alkali Yahaya (5/2/76); Ige Maituwo and Alhaji Hamza Mainiyo (22/10/75); see also Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.57.

19. See the Diya al-Hukkam and Usul al-Siyasat, (notes 3 and 4 supra.).

action. These policies, as we have seen in Chapters Three and Four, have had a significant influence on the economic transformation of Sokoto and its hinterland in the course of the nineteenth century.

Similarly, a determined attempt was made in the first half of the century to create a system of economic relations based on the precepts of the Sharia. This attempt largely concerned itself with the market as the central institution in economic relations. Two main offices, that of the Lumo'o and the Alkalin Kassuwa were created with specific responsibility for the regulation of relations and conduct in the Sokoto market. As they were assisted by the lieutenants of the Sarkin Dogarai, however, and as the powers of the Muhtasib also spilled over into the market, it would appear that in fact the authority of four offices overlapped at the market. The Lumo'o was the one generally in charge of the market, while the Alkalin Kassuwa settled disputes and infringements arising from exchange. The general dilution of the orthodoxy and effectiveness of market administration which occurred especially from the middle of the century should not be regarded as being solely the result of the insincerity or greed of the rulers, but as the reflection of the growth or reassertion of an increasingly material and liberal ethos associated with rising prosperity: the very

things that the Jihad leaders had sought to repress. Nonetheless Clapperton at least attests to the efficient administration and regulation instituted early in the century, and to its salutary effects.[20]

The procurement of revenue was considered of great importance, and the Jihad leaders emphasized the necessity for tax collection and the appointment of a tax-collector. For the state, the Sharia recognises and legalises only certain forms of revenue, and has defined the purposes for which such revenue should be spent: for improving defences and purchasing arms, for paying the salaries of soldiers, judges, scholars and officials, for catering for the poor and destitute, supporting prisoners and for general social welfare.[21] However, tax policy and administration in Sokoto evolved peculiar characteristics which cannot be understood solely within the provisions of the Sharia.

In the first place, tax, tribute and tolls were never levied in Sokoto itself or in the

---

20. The information on market administration is derived from Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.92 and from the following interviews: Dr. Waziri Junaidu (13/3/75); Alkali Yahaya (5/2/76).

21. See the Kitāb al-Farq (in Hiskett, op.cit., pp.570f), the Diya al-hukkam (in Binji, op. cit., pp.18-21) and other works by the Sheikh Uthman, Abdullah, Bello and other Jihad scholars on the subject of state revenues.

metropolitan district around it. One reason usually advanced for this was that the people were free muslims and not liable to such levies and therefore would oppose them. When the British conquered Sokoto in 1903, they found no ready and general scheme of taxation in the area.[22] Whatever may have been the rationale for this state of affairs, the fact remains that it was made possible by the fact that the vast revenue required and used in the Sokoto area was raised elsewhere in and around the Caliphate, thus obviating the need for it to be raised in the metropolitan districts.

Secondly, even though some revenues prescribed by the Sharia were collected, such as the zakat (property tax), we cannot say in what amount or even how regularly. The collection of the zakat[23]

---

22. Oral and colonial sources both affirm that taxes were not levied in Sokoto. However, tolls and various taxes on trade, on dye-pits and even on dillalai were being paid in a place as near as Jega. For the non-payment of taxes in Sokoto, see Last, op.cit., p.103f and the following records at the National Archives Kaduna: Sokprof 2/1, 129/1903; Sokprof 2/2, 151/1904; Sokprof 3/27 (S.2845), 21/1904. In the Diya al-hukkam, Abdullahi Ibn Fodio implies that caravan tolls (Hausa: fito) can only be collected from fatake entering the Muslim domains from a land between which and the Muslims there was amān (i.e. a treaty of peaceful coexistence): see Haliru Binji, op. cit., pp.19, 33.

The zakāt is a property tax which Muslims pay on their property; its value depends on the type and amount of the property in question.

was important enough to warrant the creation of the office of Sa'i early in the Jihad. In Sokoto however, the collection of the zakat is said to have been very difficult since payment depended solely on one's sense of social and religious duty. As is clear from the Diya al-hukkam, the law itself commands that nobody should be coerced into paying and that whatever plea a person enters for failing to pay must be accepted. However, British records of the early colonial period do testify that the Zakkāt was collected in many towns, and oral accounts of informants in Sokoto suggest that the amount collected was distributed to the prescribed recipients in the place of collection. By one account, jangali, a cattle-tax, was also collected from herd-owners in some of the districts of the Caliphate though probably not in Sokoto itself.[24] The weekly doles given out to the aged and infirm, to beggars and those without support, and to students and scholars engaged in full-time literary activity in Sokoto[25] probably came partly

---

24. Shehu Saraki (Interviews: 9/7/75 and 17/7/75) says that the Galadima collected the jangali in the districts under his jurisdiction. But Saraki doesn't say at what time and we suspect the jangali simply formed part of the general tribute paid to the Galadima from these districts.

25. Resident Burdon, in Sokprof 2/2, 151/1904, National Archives, Kaduna.

from the zakat collected in Sokoto, but mostly from revenues derived from other emirates.

The administration in Sokoto received the bulk of its revenue in the form of tribute and gaisuwa from the emirates. Tribute payment was a condition and expression of political subjugation, and was paid to the emirs and rulers by all those who had been conquered by them as well as those under amān.[26] Of that received by the emirs, a proportion was forwarded to Sokoto in recognition of its primacy and authority in the system. Though the amount of the tribute varied, the principle of payment was such an accepted pillar of administration in the Sokoto Caliphate that non-payment would be construed as a sign of rebellion, repudiation or insult. Thus Sarkin Musulmi Abd al-Rahman threatened defaulting emirs with deposition for non-payment of the tribute.

The amount of tribute received annually at Sokoto was very enormous[27] and crucial, and the

26. An amān is an agreement by which a Muslim state agreed to coexist peacefully with a non-Muslim state in return for a certain material obligation by the latter.

27. For an indication of the flow of tribute to Sokoto from the emirates, see Clapperton, Journal..., p.216; Barth, Travels and Discoveries..., Vol.III, pp.84, 95, 101, 504, and J.A. Burdon's "Notes on Tribute in Sokoto Province", Sokprof 2/2, 151/1904, National Archives, Kaduna.

administration set up an elaborate machinery to ensure its collection. Each emirate of the Caliphate had appointed for it a representative through whom business with the Sarkin Musulmi - including the transmission of tribute - was channelled. This intermediary was called the Kofa (entree, approach, access). Thus the councillors of the Sarkin Musulmi - the major titleholders in Sokoto - were each kofa for specific districts and areas. In their turn they appointed secondary kofofi (plural of kofa) for different parts of the area under them. The distribution of the kofa-ship in fact was a whole system in itself, being the principal way in which political support was rewarded and privelege guaranteed. The senior title holders in Sokoto, and some members of the dynasty had large areas for which they were Kofa, and from which they received tribute in slaves, cowries, gowns, etc. Until it was eclipsed in that area late in the nineteenth century by a branch of the royal family, the family of Aliyu Jedo, the Sarkin Yaki, had responsibility for much of the area to the north of Sokoto, in the Konni area. The districts to the south of Sokoto mostly fell under the kofa-ship of the Sarkin Zanfara, while those to the north-east came under the Sarkin Sudan na Wurno. The holders of these titles were always the senior princes in the Atiqu and Bello branch of the royal family, respectively. The Waziri had

responsibility for Kano, Zaria, Hadejia, Katagum, Missau, Adamawa and Gombe emirates, and a few other areas (e.g. Tambawel) in the Sokoto hinterland. The Galadima, on the other hand, was kofa for Katsina, Daura and Kazaure emirates, and for such towns/districts in the Sokoto hinterland as Gora, Gusau, Kwiambana, Chafe and Dingyadi.[28]

Apart from the tribute, gaisuwa was also an important source of revenue and income for the ruling class. Unlike tribute, gaisuwa - lit: 'greetings', but in Hausa political terminology referring to the presents and gifts that invariably accompanied such greetings - was 'paid' even in the city of Sokoto itself. While the tribute was a levy (more or less) on conquered or subordinate areas the gaisuwa is supposed to have been a voluntary personal gesture, in material form, given in recognition and reaffirmation of the authority of the recipient, and the allegiance of the giver. This had a long history in Hausaland and had come to acquire the strength of a norm of the political culture so that it was regarded by the recipients as a right and by those who were in a position to give as a duty: in the words of the Sheikh Uthman, it had become a way of

28. See Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.43, 101, 125-6, 158 for some indication of the distribution of the kofa-ship. The data on the Galadima is derived from oral interviews with Alhaji Shehu Saraki (9/7/75).

government.[29]

Though the gaisuwa is said to have been voluntary, custom and the subtle insistence of the ruling class on its priveleges have made it a necessary condition of political dependence. Thus even the term often used in describing the act of giving these presents - biya - connotes payment as if of a debt. Given the aversion of the Sheikh Uthman to the gaisuwa it seems unlikely that it was institutionalised in administrative and political relations of the Caliphate in his life time.[30] After the Sheikh's death and as a ruling class emerged asserting its power and priveleges as against its agents and the talakawa (commoners) the system might have been fully reinstated. Thus in Sokoto gaisuwa was given to, and received by, all masu sarauta. In the market, it was given to market officials such

---

29. See the Sheikh's "Kitab al-Farq" in Hiskett, op.cit., p.567. Gaisuwa literally means greetings, but since such salutations were always accompanied by a present, the material component has tended to define the substance of the relationship such that gaisuwa is understood in political terms to refer to the gifts/presents themselves.

30. Major Arther Festing who confuses gaisuwa with the system of individual and voluntary contribution to communal effort and projects, says that the gaisuwa was voluntary in the first three decades of Fulani rule: see correspondence Major Arthur Festing, Acting Resident Kano, to

as the Lumo'o, by traders and dillalai; even craftsmen such as smiths are said to give gaisuwa to the Sarkin Musulmi, the presents (consisting of implements or arms) being collected and transmitted by the Sarkin Makera or Mazuga.[31]

The structure and organization of the system of gaisuwa reflects the overlapping nature of administrative functions and priveleges. Though its value was not fixed, it nonetheless had to reflect the means of the giver and the status of the recipient. While the zakat was used principally or exclusively for the public welfare, tribute and gaisuwa formed the personal income of the masu sarauta, and their collection became of paramount importance, being more systematically and efficiently organised than zakāt collection for instance.

Besides affording the ruling class a mechanism by which slave labour, concubines and other trappings

---

the Resident Sokoto in SNP 6/3, 64/1907, National Archives (SNP Series) Kaduna. Festing's observations on the subject of gaisuwa are on the whole misinformed. For an indication of the nature and pervasiveness of gaisuwa see Backwell, H.F. The Occupation of Hausaland, Lagos, 1927.

31. Interviews: Alhaji Dr. Junaidu, Wazirin Sokoto (13/3/75);Mazuga, (17/10/75);Mallam Ladan Na-Allah, (5/2/76);Alhaji Shehu Saraki (17/7/75);Mallam Yahaya Assada, (13/5/75). Professor Mahdi Adamu says, however, that tausa or fige, not gaisuwa was the name by which 'gifts' so given in the market were known.

of power were acquired, the system of Kofa also constituted a basic link between urban administration on the one hand and general state administration on the other, the emirates and districts being under the supervision or responsibility of absentee officials and title-holders resident mostly in Sokoto. These major title-holders in their turn portioned out their respective areas, and appointed for each a kofa from among their sons, relations or personal following and close barori. In this way the conflicting ambitions and expectations of members of the ruling class for a role in power sharing were accommodated and arbitrated, since the appointees were not only the agents for the collection of, but had a share in, the tribute and gaisuwa from the areas for which their patron was kofa.

The link between Sokoto and its hinterland, and between urban and rural or general administration in Sokoto in fact ran deeper than the mere issue of the system of Kofa representation. This is because title-holders in the Sokoto area almost invariably owned extensive agricultural estates in those areas for which they were the kofa or the rulers. Thus the Galadima had such estates at Tsabre, Chimawa, Wurno, Kandam, Tofa, Gandi, Danbawa and Dundaye. The estate at Tsabre alone is reputed to yield large quantities

of grains each year. The Sarkin Yakin Binji had similar holdings at Tudun Kwannawa (just outside Sokoto) and at Binji. As titles and offices proliferated with the expansion of the ruling class these estates also increased in size, number and even productivity as more and more slaves were settled by their owners on agricultural estates around Sokoto. The unfolding of this process established a vital and fundamental economic link between Sokoto and its rural districts.

In conclusion, it can be seen that in its philosophy and goals at least urban administration in Sokoto had a revolutionary and populist orientation. From the evidence available it does seem that the Jihad produced a governmental system which sought to operate on the basis of certain objective criteria. And in fact considerable headway was made in several areas in the attempt to translate this philosophy and these goals into meaningful social action, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century.

However, the institutionalisation of a system of administration and management based on priveleges deriving essentially from birth and kinship proved harmful to the populist philosophy and goals

enumerated in the writings of the Sheikh Uthman, Abdullah and Muhammad Bello. Thus as time went on, the administration in Sokoto and throughout the Caliphate increasingly assumed the essence of a holding operation for the realisation of the interests and priveleges of the ruling class since in a system where average households virtually shouldered the responsibility for the material and social well-being of their members, where government-sponsored public utilities were minimal or even marginal, and where common people gave out more than they ever received, the duties shouldered by government or administration were relatively light.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: ANATOMY OF AN URBANISM

Stagnation or Growth? Sokoto, 1837-1903

Chapter Two has examined the development of Sokoto from a tiny hamlet at the beginning of the Jihad to a large and bustling city by the end of Amir al-Muminin Bello's reign in 1837. If it is considered remarkable how fast its growth and expansion were in the twenty-eight years since 1809, it should not at all be surprising that the same rate of growth could not be maintained for the remainder of the century. In fact, the period of phenomenal growth under Bello was ironically also the period when this growth began to slow down.

Perhaps the single most important factor in this development was the success that attended Muhammad Bello's policy of establishing ribāts and the speed with which these ribāts were developing into towns which were not just military posts but important centres of trade, industry, scholarship and administration.[1] On the one hand

1. For the ribāts, see D.M. Last, Sokoto Caliphate, pp.75-80, 87. For the development of towns in the Sokoto hinterland generally, see Harris' Gazetteer of Sokoto Province.

these ribāts offerred defence in depth to Sokoto and thereby enabled it to develop in relative security. However, they also became competing foci of immigration and centres of population. This was particularly so of ribāts and towns which had been established to the north and north-east of Sokoto, and which lay across the path of an important and continuous migratory drift from Adar to the Rima valley. The rapid development of these towns was founded on this very process itself and served to peg down the population not just in urban centres but throughout the northern countryside. The bases of this rural population were the fertility of the soils and the prosperity of the interregional trade, especially in livestock, grains and leather products, that passed through the area.

The development of some of these ribāts had in fact a much more direct and immediate impact on the growth of Sokoto. When the early ribāts - notably Magariya and Wurno - were built, all the major Sarakuna and officials of the Sarkin Musulmi established houses in them where part of their families, slaves and barori were settled. Around these royal and quasi-aristocratic establishments there developed quarters a substantial

proportion of whose initial population was drawn from Sokoto. It is for this reason that the quarters in these ribāts took on the names of quarters in Sokoto from which they derived their population, such as Gidadawa, Alkammawa, Galadanci and so on. Thus the development of towns like Magariya and Wurno represented an actual drain on the population of Sokoto.[2] Wurno in particular has had great impact on the development of Sokoto. Established by Muhammad Bello c.1828[3] the town was situated on high ground overlooking the Rima valley some forty kilometres north-east of Sokoto. The town probably derived its name from a Fulfulde word which means to nurture, bring-up, foster or protect. The aptness of the name becomes manifest when one recalls the role envisaged for Wurno: the defence of Sokoto, the promotion of scholarship and the consolidation of authority in the surrounding districts against encroachment by remnants of the dispossessed Gobir dynasty. For it must be borne in mind that at the time it was established the Jihad

2. A significant proportion of the inhabitants of Magariya in 1824 were said to be slaves of the great in Sokoto; besides these "all the people in the villages, for a considerable distance around, were ordered to live in the town". Clapperton, H., Journal of a Second Expedition, London, 1829, pp.192, 199.

3. Johnston, H.A.S., The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, London, 1967, pp.129f.

wars in this sphere had pushed the defiant Gobirawa dynasty under Ali b. Yaqub further to the north-east[4] and Wurno thus became the major base and post for the extension and defence of the frontier. This had important political implications for Sokoto, since the Amir al-Muminin's court thus effectively moved to Wurno, which was taking over some of the military and administrative functions which Sokoto previously discharged. This development had other, non-political implications in that the presence of the Amir al-Muminin in Wurno was a powerful factor in the immigration into it of artisans and traders many of whom came from Sokoto. Wurno retained this new-found prominence in the reigns after Bello, when some Caliphs continued to use Wurno as the place of residence for part of the year or, as in the case of the Caliphs Ali b. Bello I (1842-59), Ali b. Bello II (1866-67) and Umar b. Ali b. Bello (1881-91), as the place of permanent residence in their reigns.[5] Sokoto no doubt sufferred declining growth and neglect as a result of this practice.

---

4. See Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, pp.70-71.

5. Ibid., pp.83-84, 119, 123-126.

When Barth visited Sokoto in 1853, while Ali b. Bello I ruled from Wurno, he reported a bleak picture of urban desolation and a decayed glory, especially in contrast to the picture painted by Clapperton (who resided in Sokoto in 1824, 1826 and 1827).[6]

The settlement of slaves within the city in large numbers had probably slackened off by the last years of Bello's reign. Instead the Sokoto ruling and propertied class increasingly resorted to the strategy of settling their surplus slaves on farms and estates around the capital, for the production of food crops and for animal husbandry. Initially of course many of these slaves were settled not far from the city itself, but as land around the city became scarce more and more of them became settled in the districts where the title-holders had territorial jurisdiction. As a result, urban settlement of slaves in a form as occurred for example at Runjin Sambo did not develop in this period. What was happening in effect, was the re-routing of immigration directed towards

6. Barth, Travels..., Vol.III, pp.128, 129. Waziri Junaidu confirms this phenomenon of the negative impact on Sokoto, of the Amir al-Muminin's living in Wurno.

Sokoto into the districts and thus curtailing the role of this type of immigration in the growth rate of the city's population and size.

Given these factors it is understandable why very few quarters developed in Sokoto in the period 1837-1903. Those established in this period include Gidan Igwai, Norawa and Rumbukawan Gabas, all of which were established in the reign of Abd al-Rahman b. Atiq (1891-1903). Both Gidan Igwai and Norawa were settled by Adarawa, whose movement southward into this area had increased in the last quarter of the century, resulting in increased development of settlements in the areanorth and west of Sokoto. Pategi, according to some informants, was founded also at this time, but others contend that the quarter was founded as early as the reign of Muhammad Bello, by Nufawa (Nupe) immigrants coming probably from the Nupe settlement of that name.[7] The explanation for the substantial southward movement of population in the

---

7. The information on these quarters comes from interviews at: Rumbukawan Gabas (24/3/76); Norawa (28/10/75). Gidan Igwai (28/10/75). For the establishment of the settlements west and north of Sokoto, see the District Notes on Dundaye, Durbal and Gwadabawa districts in Harris' 'Gazetteer of Sokoto Province' (unpublished).

late nineteenth century is not altogether clear, but may not be unconnected with the bad famines and cattle diseases of the eighties which had a devastating impact on the desert-side and Savana economies of the Nigerian area.

It is not clear how and to what extent a fall-off in the rate of urban expansion in Sokoto affected the economy of the city. It must be remembered however, that the prosperity of the industries which had been established in it by the end of Bello's reign depended directly on developments in the commercial sector, particularly in the sphere of interregional trade. There is as yet no evidence to show that this latter had declined appreciably in the years since the late thirties. Even Barth, who painted such a bleak picture of the appearance of Sokoto in 1853 noted that the city market still served the needs of the towns and villages around, and spoke of the trade with Adar and of Jega's commercial prosperity. It is reasonable to assume that inspite of its physical wretchedness the city of Sokoto at this time fared much better in terms of the strength and linkages of its economy. The long-distance trade in dyed textiles, leathergoods, salt, grains and other products that formed the foundations of the city's economy had not suffered

any serious setback, inspite of the disappearance of so-called Arabs in its foreign trade.[8] In fact in the reign of Ahmad b. Abubakar Atiq (1859-66) Sokoto and its hinterland are said to have enjoyed a period of boom in the caravan trade associated with peace, migration and settlement in the districts, and higher productivity.[9]

However, this expansion in regional trade seems to have favoured other centres more than it favoured Sokoto, with the result that the latter's position in inter-regional commerce suffered a relative decline. By the early thirties Sokoto was perhaps the busiest market in the long-distance caravan trade in Hausaland west of Kano and Katsina. But by as early as the time of Barth's visit in 1853 the town of Jega had developed into a rival regional market and route centre. Established circa 1820, Jega entered into a period of rapid growth as a regional

8. Barth, op.cit., p.129.

9. Imam Aliyu, Majmu al-khulafa (ms), trans. F. Gowers (from a Hausa translation by Mallam Ibrahim), Kadcap O/AR 1.12 National Archives Kaduna; Junaidu, Tarihin Fulani, p.55; Harris op.cit., pp.102-3; Arnett, "Gazetteer of Sokoto Province", in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria Vol.I, London, 1972, p.33; Johnston, op.cit., p.153. Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.124, also speaks of the flourishing of trade with the southwest, as a result of peace with the Kebbawa, in the eighties.

market in the commercial relations of Hausaland and the Gold Coast hinterland, the Niger bend, the Middle Niger valley (Nupeland) and the Lagos-Ilorin area as well as Adar-Sokoto. Situated at the head of navigation on the Gindi river, it became the meeting point of trade routes and the breaking point of caravans from the east, west, north and south. Because of this, it also developed specialised industries based on the exports of such things as dyed cloths and leather goods. In terms of its strategic location in relation to the existing commercial frontiers and access to main regional markets in the Central Sudan, Jega surpassed Sokoto in no small measure. By the time of the British conquest Jega had become the region's main trading and route centre and Sokoto only the main market on a major commercial lane.[10] Commercial statistics in British colonial records show that as at 31st December 1904 the value of inward and outward trade at the Jega and Sokoto tolls stations was as follows:[11]

10: Sokprof 2/1, 129/1903, Report by Resident Burdon and Sokprof 2/2, 101/1904, Report by Acting Resident Hillary covering July-Aug, 1903 and March 1904, respectively. Sokprof Series, National Archives, Kaduna.

11. Source: Annual Report No.1, by Resident, for year ending 31st Dec. 1904. SNP7 85/1905, National Archives, Kaduna.

	Outward	Inward
	£ s d	£ s d
Jega	15,025:16: 0	15,920:17: 6
Sokoto	5,029:16: 0	6,851:12: 9

In other words, the outward and inwards trade of Jega outstripped that of Sokoto by just about three times and just under two-and-half times, respectively. If anything shows the relative extent of the market regions of these settlement, this does. It also shows the extent to which Sokoto had lost out to Jega in terms of some of the functions with which it had been associated earlier in the century. The reasons for this do not lie, as Acting Resident Hillary asserted, in Amir al-Muminin Abdu's stopping of trade because it brought the British invasion but in the general orientation of long distance trade connections, in the respective locations of cities and towns in relation to commercial networks and consequently in the different degrees to which they benefited from the advantages of general expansion and prosperity of long-distance commerce.

While these changes cannot be shown to have had any great impact on the character of the city's urbanism they were nonetheless important in that they represented a significant fall-off or stagnation in the rate of urban growth and point to significant developments in the overall political and economic

conditions in which the city was evolving. Sokoto still remained politically and economically the most important city in the region, for even though as a regional market it came to be surpassed by Jega, the latter's size, industrial base and overall functions remained essentially narrower. In the spheres of education and culture too Sokoto retained its pre-eminence in the Caliphate and beyond, with its numerous educational establishments, its large population of resident scholars and its Hubbare attracting scholars and pilgrims from all parts of the Caliphate. While Wurno also became a centre of pilgrimage which drew people to the tombs of Muhammad Bello and some of his descendants, it never attained the position of Sokoto in this regard. Inspite of its political pre-eminence in the reigns of Ali b. Bello I, Ali b. Bello II and Umar b. Ali, Wurno remained essentially a product of Sokoto: in fact, so much so that it would not be very much an exaggeration to regard Wurno as a sort of distant suburb or extension of Sokoto.[12]

12. In large measure, Sokoto made Wurno what it was: a rival centre of power, even though the two shared a special relationship (Sokoto da Wurno ai dai na - Sokoto and Wurno are but one and the same). When the Sarkin Musulmi moved to reside in Wurno, the Wurno people began to refer jokingly to the Sakkwatawa (the people of Sokoto) as kauyawa (village folks) on account of the ruler not residing with them!

Anatomy of an Urbanism: Sokoto Society in the Nineteenth Century

(i) Class Structure

The underlying structure of Sokoto society was simple. There were, in ascending order, three basic classes. These were the slaves (bayi), the commoners (talakawa) and the aristocrats or the ruling class made up of the dynastic and title-holding lineages (masu sarauta).

The urban society was organised into households and or families each of which was bound together by ties of marriage, kinship, slavery and/or baran-taka. Households and families in the upper levels of the urban society generally were larger due to the fact that rampant slavery (to be precise, concubine marriages) tended to create superhouseholds at such levels.

Slaves constituted, by some accounts, the largest class in Sokoto society. These were recruited initially through capture in wars, after which they were forwarded to the city as tribute or trade goods. However, natural increase in the city's slave population was also an important mechanism. Slaves were generally of two types: so-called domestic slaves based in the city around their owner, and farm slaves

engaged in crop production and animal husbandry. By the nature of their role the latter were predominantly rural-based; as an urban-based and absolutely loyal privately owned following and labour-reserve, the former were used effectively by their masters in urban politics. Both types of slaves were politically significant since, apart from the wealth they generated, they also constituted a sort of private army and instrument of power. Female domestic slaves were either assigned household chores, sent out on the farm, given to male slaves as wives (in which case they reproduced slaves), or taken as concubines. Concubinage pervaded the social system at its upper levels, and some of the Caliphs, princes, princesses and masu sarauta of Sokoto were the children of concubines some of whom often influenced the politics of succession to political office.

This typology, however, should not give us the impression that the conditions of slaves and slavery were uniform throughout the urban society.[13]

---

13. For a generously benign picture of slavery in Sokoto in the nineteenth century, see Clapperton's Journal of a Second Expedition, pp.213-214.

These varied according to such factors as the sex and personal qualities of slaves, and the status, wealth and disposition of their owners to mention but some. Recalcitrant slaves, and slaves of vicious owners, suffered great maltreatment. On balance also those engaged in production either on the farm or in the city suffered the greatest exploitation and possible maltreatment, especially if their owners had only a few slaves out of whom they tried to make a living. Though practiced, manumission was not so important as to result in largescale de-enslavement in Sokoto, and often was abused. 'Political' slaves, that is, those slaves who were used as personal servants and official agents by masu sarauta constituted an elite class, often had a status far above that of the common, free-born folk whom they held in contempt[14] and often terrorised at will.

The talakawa (commoners, ordinary citizens) as peasants, artisans, traders and other specialists who were neither rich nor of aristocratic descent produced part of the surplus that sustained the Sokoto

14. One of my informants, Sarkin Fada Nabato, a descendant of a line of royal slaves, illustrates this latter attitude. When asked a question about traders in those days of the past, Nabato replied that royal slaves had nothing to do with such scum as traders!

urban society. They generally kept to themselves, looking up to the masu sarauta and their slaves with fear and respect induced by long cultural conditioning. Many of the talakawa sought an escape from their poverty, or from the tedium of having to strive hard to make ends meet, or simply from the depredations of some of their betters, by attaching themselves as barori (clients) and personal servants to masu sarauta.

The ruling class in Sokoto consisted of the aristocratic and title-holding lineages, with the Toronkawa as its core. Rampant concubinage and a generally more comfortable life style has produced a higher birth rate among this class, with the result that its expansion has been rapid. Taking no direct part in production - except by proxy, through its slaves and barori - this class of citizens specialised mainly in government, administration and scholarship. Though relying for their livelihood on the profits of commerce, and though generally of non-aristocratic descent, attajirai by virtue of their wealth associated closely with the masu sarauta. However, though in this and in their social status and life-styles generally they were an essential part of the ruling class, the attajirai probably did not have much political influence.

Its noble descent, its power and education and a sense of cohesion reinforced by class-oriented marriages have given the aristocracy in Sokoto a world view which at the same time served to justify their priveleges and eccentricities. The Sheikh Uthman occupied an important place in the cosmology of this class but of course also of all Sakkwatawa, since the social order largely revolved around his image. In some of the literature and folk stories of Sokoto the Sheikh was being depicted as a being with supernatural powers such as ubiquity, the ability to speak with jinns, to fly, to be invisible, etc. Delineating his genealogy and writing up his virtues and those of his descendants became major preoccupations of establishment scholars.[15] Closeness of descent from him and association with him became two very important considerations in the social system; some Sakkwatawa even accorded the Shehu a role in sorting out the faithful and dispensing rewards on the Day of Judgement.[16]

15. The Raudh al-jinan of Maccido b. Bukhari and Kashf wal-Bayan of Gidado b. Laima are examples, but the panegyric literature is extensive.

16. This naive attitude was not peculiar to Sokoto but was - and is still - to be found in many parts of what was the Sokoto Caliphate.

In short, they saw in him an instrument for the creation of their world and their place in it.

This concern with the Shehu as the pivot of relations and the Jihad as the basis of these relations bred another distinction in Sokoto society between the Muhajirina (that is, those who had been with the Shehu in his emigration upto the time of his settlement in Sokoto) and those coming in to settle in Sokoto from elsewhere. Being part of the emigration that heralded the Jihad and the earliest members of the jama'a gave the Muhajirina high esteem and pride and a sense of superior legitimacy over other members of the urban community.

However, the distinction between Muhajirina and others was secondary to the basic class structure of the urban society: that is, the distinction between the ruling class, the talakawa, and the slaves. An analysis of the settlement pattern of Sokoto shows that it is seen to reflect and accord with the basic class or social structure. Such an analysis reveals two broad zones of settlement, one enclosed within the other. The innermost of these was the area running east-west along the centre of the city, stretching from Galadanci, Kofar Rimi, Torobbe and Gidadawa on the east to the western fringes of the quarter of Sabon Birni

on the west. At the centre of this core area were to be found, at different locations, the city's two jami mosques, its two palaces, the Alkali's court, the prison, the Sheikh's tomb (Hubbare) and the open spaces that served as the city square. These were the symbols and institutions of the city's political and cultural life such that sovereignty and religious leadership of the community united in the palace and the dynasty, reinforcing one another. It was around these symbols that the ruling class had its residences and those of the slaves it possessed and the following it commanded. There were very few craftsmen resident in this zone, and most of the specialists in its population had connections with royalty or attended to its tastes as for instance the royal minstrels and praise-singers of Kwandawa, and the royal seal- and trumpet-makers of Mazuga. One other occupation worth the name in this zone was dunki (cloth-making) in such quarters as Gidan Bakiri and Alkanci. Otherwise, sarauta (political authority and privelege) was the basis of the livelihood of the inhabitants of this inner zone of settlement.

Surrounding this inner core of royal and aristocratic quarters was the more extensive zone

inhabited by the talakawa: peasants, artisans, teachers, scholars and the like. The truly peasant and pastoral elements in the urban society occupied the outer fringes of this zone, scattered in such suburbs as Runjin Sambo, Gidan Igwai, Gidan Fadama, Norawa, Danbara, Guiwa, Mabera and Minanata. There was also a concentration of tanners and dyers (as well as owners of large herds) at or near the city fringe in such quarters as Marinar Tsamiya, Marinar Gangu, Marinar Here Damtse, Marinar Kashshe, Karaye, Binawa and Dankaila. Such fringe location is said to have resulted from an urban relocation or restructuring effected by Muhammad Bello in which all tanners, dyers and owners of large livestock moved out and settled at the edge of the city. This plan, implemented shortly after 1817, is said to have been motivated by concern for the threat to public health and welfare paused by the filth and stench associated with dyeing and tanning and a high concentration of large livestock within the city. However, one of its effects was to sharpen the class orientation apparent in the settlement pattern.

(ii) Urban Toponymy:

Besides the reflection of urban class structure which the settlement pattern exhibited, there also was a secondary but more apparent pattern which

reflected the division of the urban society into wards incorporating lineage and/or communal and occupational groups the boundaries between which were delineated by footpaths, fences, walls and open spaces. The toponymy of these wards offers interesting insights not only into their history and structure but also into the basis or nature of social identity in the society as a whole. In general, the names of the wards expressed their territorial, kinship, ethnic, communal as well as economic, historical or political affiliations or affinities. With regards to territoriality, the name of a ward may embody a reference either to the local topography or to the area of derivation of its settlers. Examples of the former are such ward-names as Helele, 'Yar Dutse (or Dutsen Assada), Tudu, Faru and Yola. Helele derived its name from the open, undulating terrain on which the ward was built, fili or hili being the Hausa name for "field": thus helele - "the place surrounded by fields"; 'Yar Dutse ('the little rock') or Dutsen Assada (Assada's rock) after the rocky landscape or topography of the ward settled by Assada and his Azbinawa followers c.1815; Tudu, from the Hausa word for high ground (tudu);

Faru from a resin-bearing tree (Odina Barteri) of that name which stood in the ward; Yola from the Fulfulde word for knoll or high ground ('yolde). Often, however, the name of the ward embodied or connoted a reference not to its topography but to the land, place or region from which its settlers originated. Kalfu, Karaye, Dibo (Dibau), Pategi, Tako, Konni, Adarawa, Wangarawa, Gobirawa are examples of wards whose names embodied such a principle. Kalfu and Karaye were settlements in the land of Adar from which the founders of these Sokoto wards came, respectively, and after which they named their new abode. Similarly, Dibo, Pategi and Tako were named after settlements of a similar name in Nupeland from which the founders of these wards came. The Konni ward was named after an area (the Konni district of Adar) as well as a clan of the Fulbe which inhabited that area and members of which, under the leadership of Aliyu Jedo, the Sarkin Yaki (war chief) of the Sarkin Musulmi, settled in this ward; the ward was often also called Konnawa ('the people of Konni'). Adarawa ward was named after the Adar origin of its settlers (Adarawa - 'the people of Adar'), as also was Wangarawa ward ('the Wangara people": Wangara was the Hausa name for the gold-producing area in the hinterland of Sierra Leone

inhabited by the Mandingo Dyula). In some instances however, the toponym hinted at the ethnic derivation of the settlers of the ward: as in Kurmin Nufawa ('the forest of the Nupe people', 'forest' denoting the density of settlement in the ward) or Anguwan Nufawa ('the ward of the Nupe people').

By far the most dominant principle was for the toponym to hint at or derive from the occupation or economic specialisation with which the ward or its settlers were associated. Several or in fact most of the wards in Sokoto were named along such a principle: Tulunawa ('the makers of the tulu or water-jar), Zango (from zango, 'the trading post'), Rumbukawa ('the potters'), Siriddawa ('the makers of the sirdi or saddle: hence 'the saddlers'), Jibdawa (the people of the jibda or civet-cat: from their making perfume out of an excretion from this animal), Kwandawa (the 'town-criers', from kondo, the Hausa name for a town-crier), Mazuga ('the bellows', from their occupation as smiths and the residence in the ward of the holder of the title of Mazuga, 'head of the smiths'), etc. Besides these wards however, there were all those wards which embodied the words marinar ('the dyeing place of'), Makerar ('the smithy of') majemar ('the tannery of') in their names: Marinar

Tsamiya ('the pits where tsamiya' - a silk cloth - 'was dyed'), Majemar Korino, Makerar Jibdawa, etc. etc. Often the toponym may bear a funny but nonetheless socially relevant connotation, as for example Marinar Here Damtse: 'the dye-pits where arms are bared' - a sobriquet acquired because the isolated surroundings here became favourable grounds for people who wanted to settle their differences by physical combat or baring the arm! Minanata (Fulfulde ; meaning 'I can't hear or understand') acquired its name because at the time its Fulbe settlers arrived in Sokoto they understood no Hausa and always said 'mi nanata' whenever it was spoken to them! In a few cases the term anguwan (ward of) preceded other words which referred to the occupational identity or activity of the people of the ward: as in Anguwan Fatake ('the ward of the caravan traders'), Anguwan Korino ('the ward where korino is made'), etc.

In Sabon Birni and in the suburbs several of the wards comprised people of a single extended lineage (zuriya) only (and possibly their slaves). These wards usually had toponyms which not only embody the name of the founding or leading personage but are often preceded by the term gidan

('house' or 'home of'): thus Gidan Liman, Gidan Muhammadu Adde, Gidan Sarkin Hurumi, Gidan Salanke, Gidan Bakiri, Gidan Salihu, Gidan Igwai, etc. Such toponyms were usually encountered in greater frequency in the rural hinterland as more or less agnatically homogeneous hamlets, and even in Sokoto some of them - Gidan Salihu and Gidan Igwai to be precise - were agrarian hamlets. All the others, however, occurred in a part of the city occupied by upper class scholarly families with close kinship, marriage or clientage ties to the Sheikh Uthman.[17]

(iii) Social Mobility

The underlying structure of the settlement pattern and the basic identities acquired by groups in the city reflected the significance of economic/occupational specialisation in urban social differentiation. Of course, the role of the household in production and in social relations generally, and the lack of an equally permanent institution in the conduct of such affairs, gave descent an important role in social differentiation. In short, descent determined whether one was born a talaka (commoner) - and therefore destined to make

17. See Chapter Two where the establishment of these wards has been discussed.

a living as a peasant, artisan, trader or bara (client of someone) - or a basarake, (aristocrat or title-holder) and thus able to live off peasants, artisans, traders and slaves. However, the role of descent in social differentiation had limits. Where they occurred, changes in power sharing or forms of social dislocation such as result in enslavement often neutralised the factor of descent. Indeed, such a process was responsible for transforming the dominant element within the Sokoto aristocracy from being commoners before the Jihad to masu sarauta or sarakai as a result of the Jihad. Besides, other factors operated alongside descent in the determination of social differentation and mobility.

In Sokoto, one of these factors was Islamic education or the possession of learning. This had been important in the creation of a specialised class - the scholars - with sufficient standing and influence to have a voice or nuisance value in the management of public affairs even before the Jihad. In the process of the Jihad itself this power deriving from learning was taken a step higher when the scholars initially dominated power-sharing and the decision-making process. With the emergence and ascendancy of the dynasty of the Sheikh Uthman and its dependent dynasties,

the scholars lost place to the dynasts but still performed an important role as judges, advisors and generally as agents of social and political indoctrination. Scholarship or education therefore continued to be an important vehicle for ascending the social ladder. And though people were indeed born into scholarly families, or traditions, their becoming scholars - in other words their pursuit of education - was largely a matter of choice and conscious effort.

Sokoto was noted more for its aristocrats and scholars than for its attajirai (rich or wealthy men) but this notwithstanding wealth did offer a tiny minority of its people a means of social advancement, prestige, independence and above all control over others and thereby conferred a means of forging useful connections with all levels of the society, making it possible for the attajirai not only to live well (which in itself was a sign of importance) but also associate closely and more or less freely with the aristocracy even though they be of humble origins. But then tajirci (the possession of wealth) only came through hard work and patient manipulation and the attajirai in Sokoto were a minority class inspite of the city's substantial population of traders and dillalai.

Another medium of social mobility in Sokoto was barantaka (clientship) in which talakawa voluntarily attached themselves to their social superiors as servants and followers. For many of the former, its appeal lay in the fact that some of the prestige and the material benefits accrueing to these superiors rubbed off onto them. The benefits of this association to the socially superior partner was that the bara invariably provided cheap labour and/or dependable political capital for the superior. Barantaka was largely an aspect of the relationship between the masu sarauta and the common citizenry, but it also characterised the relations between scholars and their circle of students. Among traders it often involved a more or less regularised payment or more strictly speaking reward for the services of the bara.

As a condition which took away one's freedom of action and existence as an independent being, slavery cannot be said to offer a means for upward social mobility or even escape from its own state. However, as has been said already, there was in Sokoto an elite class of slaves of royalty and aristocracy which in its life style, level and means of livelihood and social status was far above ordinary freeborn citizens. For this class, it is arguable whether, inspite of the

loss of personal freedom ('yanci), slavery was very much a debasement of objective living conditions.

Sex was also an important factor affecting social differentiation and mobility in the Sokoto society. In fact, it may be considered second only to descent in this respect. For instance, women were barred by convention from many aspects of public life such as holding public office, participation in war etc.- and assigned secondary roles in others. This stemmed from the view of the woman as an essentially inferior and fickle species of being. This attitude was a reflection of, as well as the justification for, the historic abuse of women in the social system, including the denial of even the little conceded to them in the religious (legal) code. These attitudes and the demands of domestic life such as child-rearing and general home-management restricted the role of women to a few areas in the economic sector. These include farming (only among poor peasant and pastoral families where their labour was necessary), small trading (chiefly in the retail of food and domestic products), knitting, weaving and pottery. From most other activites that mattered, women were excluded. And though

the Sheikh Uthman had preached against the maltreatment of women - especially the neglect of their education - only a tiny minority of women were able to acquire a meaningful education and even these were daughters of aristocratic homes who had slaves and servants to free them from the need to expend their labour on household chores and concentrate instead on education. Thus prominent among such women were the two daughters of the Sheikh Uthman, Asmāa and Mariam, who made a name as teachers and poets. In the main, however, early marriages, the practice of purdah or women seclusion and uncompromising male chauvinism largely minimised the role of women in social and economic intercourse. Since slave-women did not have rights in Islamic law equal to that of freeborn women to start with, they suffered a greater degree of discrimination; in terms of the restrictions imposed on exposure, however, they were generally freer than freeborn women and attended the markets and performed other male-dominated activities for the benefit of their owners.

(iv) Sokoto: City, Town, or Village?

Can a settlement with a structure and society such as the one we have described qualify to be

called a city? In other words, what made nineteenth century Sokoto a city, and at what point did it become one?

In deciding these and other related issues we have been guided not only by the theoretical definitions of a city but - since all such definitions, their claims to universality notwithstanding, are culturally conditioned - also by the specific cultural heritage which produced such a city and of which we are a part. In this context, the Hausa conceptions of the birni (which translates into English roughly as 'city'), the maraya (denoting a settlement of political and cultural primacy), gari (town, but could also mean 'city') and kauye (village) constitute the basis on which Sokoto has been categorised in this study as a city, irrespective of what any school of western anthropology thinks of it. Cities are indeed universal, in that they are the products of certain broadly similar processes in society. However, the precise combination of material, cultural and historical conditions that make up these processes are not the same in all cases and at all times. And often settlements 'denied' the appellation 'city' have in the material and cultural conditions of their existence functioned and been recognised as such. In short, therefore, while this study recognises

the relevance and in fact makes use of unversalist notions and definitions of the city, it has tried to adapt these to the material and cultural conditions that produced a specific city in a specific historical context.

In Sakkwatanci (the dialect of Hausa spoken in and around Sokoto), birni stands both for 'city' and 'city-wall' (or 'town-wall'). But though there was a certain identity or association between 'city' and 'city-wall', not all walled settlements were birane (cities) nor was the possession of a wall the distinguishing feature or attribute of the birni since many kauyuka (villages) and non-birni settlements did have walls around them. Furthermore, the term gari translated as 'town' was in ordinary usage often employed to mean or to refer to 'city' or 'settlement'. Thus in Hausa usage there is often no clear-cut distinction between city and town even though the concept of the birni (city) does exist and function to denote a specific type of 'gari'. Similarly, maraya may be applied in reference to a birni or gari which functioned as a political/cultural centre. Thus in a Hausa translation of his Infayq al-Maysur[18] Muhammad Bello, speaking

18. Kadcap 0/4R 2/43, Vol.II, p.85, National Archives, Kaduna.

about his 'founding' of Sokoto, expressed his wish that it would become "mareya ta Musulunchi" ('a centre or place for fostering Islam'). The term birni is used in this translation, but in a context that suggests 'wall', rather than 'city'. Alkariya is another Hausa term for 'city' and it is so used in this translation of the Infeyq to portray what Bello envisioned Sokoto to grow into. What then are the characteristics or the main attributes of the birni? These are: a large size; a cosmopolitan composition; an elaborate or complex pattern or structure that transcends the almost exclusively kinship-based system associated with rural settlements; a basically non-agricultural economy in which manufacture and trade predominated; a large market with a wide market-region and less-than-weekly market periodicity; a role as a centre of power and authority with an urban culture associated with material or cultural sophistication, or an aristocratic tradition. Of course, some birane developed one or more of these attributes more than others, and some not at all, depending on the peculiarities of their history.

The earliest impressions we have concerning Sokoto's size are those reported by Lyon (a second-

hand report) and the eye-witness accounts of Clapperton and Lander.[19] And while later primary evidence like that of Barth, Monteil and the British conquerors of Sokoto may have complained of the desultory or insanitary condition of the city, only the question of its exact size was in dispute. While not reliable or consistent, estimates of its population at different times in the nineteenth century reflect its importance. Lander estimated the population in 1827 to have been about 120,000 (In 1824, Clapperton had estimated the population of Kano to have been between 30-40,000). Later estimates were not quite as generous as Lander's, for in 1894 William Wallace thought it to have been around 10,000 only.[20] The rather high figure given by Lander is most probably an exaggeration (just as Wallace's an underestimation) but there seems little doubt that the city's population reached its peak between the late-twenties and early thirties and thereafter decline before

---

19. See Chapter Two.

20. Lander, R., Records of Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa, Vol.I, London, Colburn and Bentley, 1830; Wallace, W. "Notes on a Journey Through the Sokoto Empire and Borgu in 1894", Journal, Royal Geographical Society, No.III, Sept. 1896.

stabilising at a lower figure. A number of factors may have been responsible for this. Both Clapperton and Richard Lander report that the city contained a large number of slaves, and that slave settlements were even then being established in the countryside by the slave-owning class in which these slaves were settled as agricultural labour. Secondly, at this time Magariya was just being established and Wurno had not even been founded and therefore there tended to be a great concentration of people in Sokoto. As these two settlements - and especially Wurno - were being established, however, they drained considerable population away from Sokoto. The fact that the Sarkin Musulmi was resident in Sokoto at the time of Clapperton-Lander's visit, and that the estimate was made in the dry season (a time when traders, itinerant scholars, diplomatic and political agents, emirs and their large retinues and escorts were wont to visit Sokoto in large numbers), meant that an impression of a dense population would be made on any observer. As Barth's observations show, the reverse would on the other hand create an impression quite the contrary.

As Chapters Two, Three and Four have shown, Sokoto had a very cosmopolitan composition, with a

population that included elements from several ethnic groupings (Fulbe, Hausa, Nupe, Arab, Touareg, etc.) and occupational classes (weavers, taylors, smiths, dyers, woodcarvers, administrator-aristocrats, traders, tanners, scholars, etc.) derived from a wide geographical region (that included not just the Rima basin but Adar, Air or Asben, the Niger Bend, Nupeland, Kano, Borno, etc.). The cosmopolitan foundation inherent in the composition of the jama'a was enlarged in Sokoto through migration into the urban complex.

The social and occupational heterogeneity thus produced was welded together into a society which was stratified on the basis of the social division of labour and patterned out according to occupational, kinship, territorial, political and other ties. This in turn reflected an economy in which the division of labour (in other words, the range and variety of occupations) was fairly advanced and in which manufacture and commerce played a crucial role. However, agriculture was still important in the urban economy. For one thing, farming was a secondary occupation among the vast majority even of the city's artisan and trading population since its seasonality made its harmonization with other occupations not only feasible but even necessary for many

urban dwellers. Furthermore, slavery enabled the slave-owning class to produce not only their own requirements of food and agricultural products but a surplus as well. Apart from its part-time farmers and absentee landlords, the Sokoto population contained at its fringes groups that were more or less wholly dependent on farming and/or cattle husbandry: Danbara, Minanata, Runjin Sambo, Gidan Salihu, Norawa, Gidan Igwai in particular were all suburban farming communities. Barth, Wallace and early colonial records give vivid impressions of the prosperous and intensive agriculture carried on in the surroundings and hinterland of Sokoto, especially in rice, grains and livestock,[21] all of them essential to the maintenance of a high level of population and amenable to production in large quantities. Inspite of this, however, Sokoto was not a farming as it was a manufacturing and political centre.

With a large market which held daily, a substantial trading community, extensive commercial

---

21. Barth, Travels..., Vol.III, pp.100, 125-6, 132, 555,557, etc; Wallace, "Notes...", and Sokprof 2/1 129/1903, Sokprof 2/2 86/1904 and Sokprof 3/27 180/1904, National Archives Kaduna. Wallace found the amount of cultivation around Sokoto "astonishing".

contacts and important commercial institutions associated with fatauci, Sokoto fulfilled the attribute of the birni as a centre of commerce engaging in fatauci,[22] and serving the needs of an extensive trading area.

On the political and cultural level, Sokoto's credentials as a birni were established fairly early and remained pivotal in the city's life for the remainder of the century. The moment Muhammad Bello was chosen as the Sheikh's successor to the Caliphate in 1817, Sokoto's political primacy became established over the vast expanse of the emirates brought into being as a result of the Jihad. From this moment it became the ideological and administrative centre to which all other centres in the Caliphate turned for direction and legitimacy. Its being a/maraya in the political as well as the cultural spheres, its royal cemetery, its reputation for scholarship and large body of scholars and schools, all symbolised the ideals of the Jihad leaders and movement.

---

22. For market periodicity as an index of the degree or state of urbanisation, see M.G. Smith's "Exchange and Marketing among the Hausa" in Bohannan and Dalton, Markets in Africa.

In its evolution of a status in many respects equal to, rivalring or even surpassing that of older cities in the Nigerian Savanna Sokoto again established its mark as a birni. In Hausaland, the major dialects and the people speaking them were associated with and named after certain birane and the territory they controlled: Katsinanci and Katsinawa with Birnin Katsina, Kananci and Kanawa with Birnin Kano, Zazzaganci and Zazzagawa with Birnin Zariya, and so on. All of these cities have a history centuries older than that of Sokoto. Yet, coming into prominence only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Sokoto not only came to be associated with a dialect of the Hausa language called Sakkwatanci even though the dialect - an odd mixture of Gobiranci (the Gobir type of Hausa), Zanfarci (the Zanfara type of Hausa) and Kebbanci (the Kebbi Hausa) - predated the city by hundreds of years. In the world view of the Sakkwatawa (the people of Sokoto or the speakers of the Sokoto dialect), 'Hausa' was synonymous with their dialect and their land, the fact that other Hausawa regarded Kebbi and Zanfara as being originally Banza Bakwai states notwithstanding.

A defiant aristocratic pride and posture and a sense of cultural and often moral superiority completed Sokoto's identity as a birni. Proud

of the origin of their city and of its role in history, and emboldened by the fame of the Sheikh Uthman and of Muhammad Bello both of whom loom large in the city's cosmology, the Sakkwatawa often looked at other cities and people as somewhat culturally inferior. This sense of social and cultural superiority was an urban self-indulgence and certainly formed, in various degrees and ways, a part of the cultures of all Hausa cities, whose defiant and genial self-esteem coexisted with and partly derived from a stereo-type view of others. Thus while the Sakkwatawa regarded the Kanawa as a vain, avaricious and fraudulent lot, the Kanawa, who prided themselves on their (possession of an) ancient, worldly and sophisticated urban culture, in turn regarded the Sakkwatawa as kauyawa (timid, country folk), indolent and perpetually begging.[23] Some of these stereo-types of the society of Sokoto and its qualities actually point up real contradictions in city life and culture. Thus inspite of their city being - and its priding itself on being -

23. For these mutually hostile stereotypes, see Edgar, F., Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi Na Hausa, Vols.I and II, Belfast, 1911.

a centre of learning and religion, the Sakkwatawa were often ridiculed as being abysmally ignorant or nonchalant about basic rules governing the Muslim daily prayers and for their allegedly believing that the Sheikh Uthman had atoned, a la Jesus, for all their misdeeds and absolved them of guilt. The Sakkwatawa regarded their city as the embodiment of religion and likened its role to Noah's Ark, but to many even within the Caliphate it cut a figure much less attractive. The dependence of the Sokoto ruling class on tribute and largesse from the emirates and subject states was so heavy and so taken for granted that the Sakkwatawa were wont to behave as if it was their divine right to receive and the duty of others to give of what they had. The impression given by Clapperton (in the twenties) of the leisurely life of the Sokoto aristocracy is real, and no doubt was at the root of the stereotype of the Sakkwatawa as an indolent people. But as we have seen in this study, leisure was a luxury which only the dominant class in the urban society could afford because they did not have to produce the means of their sustenance by labouring directly.

These stereotypes are therefore reflections of a certain reality, in that they represent not only the Sakkwatawa's assessment of themselves but a product also of their practical relations with history and society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. Contemporary Nineteenth Century Arabic Material.

BELLO b. UTHMAN b. FODIO, Muhammad

Infayq al-Maysur.

(i) (paraph.) E.J. Arnett as *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*. Kano, 1922.

(ii) (ed.) Abubakar M. Gumi. Cairo, H.1383 (1964).

(iii) KADCAP C/AR 2/42, 2/43, 2/53. National Archives, Kaduna.

Usul al-Siyasat.

(trans. & ed.) B.G. Martin, in McCall & Bennett, *Aspects of West African Islam*. Boston, 1971.

al-Ribat wal-Hirasa.

(trans.) Abdullahi Smith. Unpublished, n.d.

Risala ila Muhammad al-Mukhtar.

(trans.) Ahmed M. Kani, Senior Research Fellow, N.H.R.S., A.B.U., Zaria.

BUKHARI, Maccido b.

Raudh al-Jinan.

(trans.) U.F. Malumfashi as The Life of Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio and Sultan Muhammad Bello. M.A., A.B.C./A.B.U., 1973.

FODIO, Abdullahi ibn

Tazyin al-Waraqat.

(ed. & trans.) Mervin Hiskett. Ibadan, 1963.

Diya al-Hukkam.

(ed. & trans.) Haliru Binji. Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, n.d.

FODIO, Uthman b.

Nur al-Albab.

(ed.) I. Hamet, Revue Africaine, vol.41 & 42. Algiers, 1897-98.

Tanbih al-Ikhwan.

(ed. & trans.) H.R. Palmer, J.A.S., 1914-15.

Kitab al-Farq.

(ed. & trans.) Mervin Hiskett, B.S.O.A.S., vol.XXIII, 1960.

FODIO, Uthman b.

Wathiqat ahl al-Sudan.

(ed.) A.D.H. Bivar as "The Wathiqat ahl al-Sudan: A Manifesto of the Fulani Jihad", J.A.H., II:2, 1961.

Bayan Wujub al-Hijra.

(ed. & trans.) F.H. el-Masri as A Critical Edition of Dan Fodio's Bayan Wujub al-Hijra. Ph.D., Ibadan, 1968.

LAIMA, Gidado b.

Kashf wal-Bayan.

(trans.) U.F. Malumfashi as The Life of Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio and Sultan Muhammad Bello. M.A., A.B.C./A.B.U., 1973.

SA'ID, al-Hajj

Tarikh Sokoto.

(i) (ed.) O.V. Houdas, in Tedzkiret en-Nisian. Paris, 1901.

(ii) (trans.) C.E.J. Whitting, as History of Sokoto. Ife-Olu, Kano, 1949.

II. Travellers' Journals, Notes and Records.

ALLEN, W. & THOMSON, T.R.H.
Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841, vols.I & II. London, 1948.

BAIKIE, W.B. "Notes of a Journey from Bida in Nupe to Kano in Hausa", Journal, Royal Geographical Society, vol.XXXVII, 1867.

BARTH, H. "Report on Agades", Journal, Royal Geographical Society, vol.XXI, 1851.

_____ "A General Historical Description of ... Northern Central Africa", J.R.G.S., vol.XXX, 1860.

_____ Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, 3 vols. Frank Cass, London, 1965.

BOVILL, E.W.(ed.) Missions to the Niger, vol.IV - The Bornu Mission, 1822-5. Cambridge, 1966.

CAZEMAJOU, M.C. "Journal de Route", Bulletin, Comite de l'Afrique Francaise, 1960.

CLAPPERTON, H. Journal of a Second Expedition ... John Murray, London, 1829.

CLAPPERTON, H. in E.W. Bovill(ed.), Missions to the Niger, vol.IV - The Bornu Mission, 1822-5. Cambridge, 1966.

CROWTHER, S.A. Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tshadda Rivers in 1854. London, 1855.

DENHAM, et al. Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa. 2nd ed. John Murray, London, 1826.

DUPUIS, J. Journal of a Residence in Ashanti. London, 1960.

FALCONER, J.D. On Horseback Through Nigeria. Fisher-Unwin, London, 1911.

HUTCHINSON, T.J. Narrative of the Niger, Tshadda And Binue Expedition. London, 1855.

JACKSON, J.G. An Account of Timbuctoo and Hausa. London, 1820.

LAIRD, M. & OLDFIELD, R.A.K. Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa. London, 1837.

LANDER, R. Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition, 2 vols. London, 1830.

LYON, G.F. A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years 1818, 1819 and 1820. John Murray, London, 1821.

MONTEIL, P.L. De Saint-Louis a Tripoli par le lac Tchad. Paris, 1894.

ROBINSON, C.H. Hausaland. Low, Marston. London, 1900.

SCHON, J.F. & CROWTHER, S.A. Journal of the Expedition up the Niger in 1841. London, 1842.

THOMSON, J. "Sketch of a Trip to Sokoto by the River Niger", Journal, Manchester Geographical Society, vol.II, nos.1, 2 & 3, January-March 1886.

WALLACE, W. "Notes on a Journey Through the Sokoto Empire and Borgu in 1894", J.R.G.S., vol.III, September 1896.

III. Oral Tradition - Record of Informants and Interviews.

ABDULLAHI, Mallam (aged 73 years; at Kofar Atiku, Sokoto; on 25/10/75).

ABDULLAHI, Muhammad (at Gidan Sarkin Hurumi, Sokoto; on 21/10/75).

ABUBAKAR, Alhaji & MALI (at Karaye, Sokoto; on 22-23/12/76).

ABUBAKAR, Ardo (aged 60-65 years; at Minanata, Sokoto; on 22/12/76).

ALU, Mallam (aged 80 years; at Dandi(Adarawa); on 24/3/76).

AHMADU (aged 63 years;. UMARU, aged 67 years; SAHABI, aged 73 years; and SUMAILA (also known as ILA), aged 55 years); at Kurmin Nufawa, Sokoto; on 18/10/75.

AHMADU, Halima(Mrs.), (at Gidadawa Ward, Sokoto; on 19/3/75).

ALA, Muhammadu (at Illela, Sokoto).

ALMU, Alhaji (aged 63 years; at Kurmin Nufawa, Sokoto; on 17/10/75).

ALU, Tudu (at Kofar Kware, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

ANACE, Idirisu (at Guragurawa, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

ASSADA, Yahaya M. (at Assada Ward, Sokoto; on 13/4/75).

AUDI, Maliam Ahmadu (at Gidadawa, Sokoto; on 16/3/75).

BAKO, Alhaji Wali (at Adarawa, Sokoto; on 18/3/76).

BALARABE, Alhaji (at Masunta, Sokoto; on 23/3/76).

BALARABE, Mallam (at Assada Ward, Sokoto; on 13/4/75).

BELLO, Muhammadu & Mallam NA'IYA (at Wangarawa, Sokoto; on 17/3/76).

BOYI, Mallam (aged 50 years; at Konni Ward, Sokoto; on 26/10/75).

BUHARI, Muhammadu (at Nufawa(Pategi), Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

BUKHARI, Ahmadu M. (aged 74 years; Mallam Maidamma ABDULKADIR, aged 70 years; and Mallam MUHAMMADU; at Anguwan Nufawa; on 19/2/76).

BURWA, Mallam Maccido (at Burwa Ward, Sokoto; on 29/10/75).

DANBARMO, Mamman (aged 70 years; at Konni; on 26/10/75).

DANGALADIMA, Alhaji (at Yola, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

DANGALADIMA, Mallam Yahaya (aged 60 years; SHEHU, aged 55 years; Malam SAMAILA, aged 80 years; at Faru, on 21/2/76).

FADAMA, Mallam Isa (at Gidan Fadama, Sokoto; on 28/10/75).

FARI, Alhaji Iro (at Bube Ward, Sokoto; on 21/3/76).

GIDAN SALIHU, Mallam Adamu; Mallam ABUBAKAR: and Maianguwa BELLO (at Gidan Salihu, Sokoto; on 28/10/75).

GROUP Interview (at Alkamawa Ward, Sokoto; on 11/9/75).

GROUP Interview (at Waziri's Residence, Gidadawa, Sokoto; on 21/3/75).

GROUP Interview (at Marinar Tsamiya, Sokoto; on 21/3/75).

HAIDO, Akawama (at Zoromawa Ward Tsohon Birni); on 10/9/75).

HAKIMI, Baba (at Alkammawa, Tsohon Birni; on 11/9/75).

HAKIMIN DANBARA, Musa (at Danbara, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

HALIDU, Mallam (at Tsalibawa, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

HAMMADI, Alhaji Yahaya Shehun (at Helele, Sokoto; on 26/8/75 & 16/9/75).

HASSAN, Mallam (at Runjin Sambo, Sokoto; on 27/10/75).

HELELE, Balarabe (aged 40 years; MAIDAMMA, aged 73 years; and USMAN, aged 70 years; at Helele, Sokoto; on 23/9/75).

HUBBARE, Alhaji Sidi Mode (aged 50 years; at Alkammawa, Sabon Birni; on 15/9/75).

HUNGUMAWA, Mallam Yahaya (at Hungumawa, Sokoto; on 24/9/75).

IBRAHIM, Mallam (aged 64 years; at Anguwar Fatake, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

ILA, Alhaji (aged 65 years; at Anguwan Rogo(Binawa); on 22/12/76).

JIKAN BAHAGO, Maude (at Alkammawa, Tsohon Birni; on 11/9/75).

JUNAIDU, Dr. Alhaji Waziri (at Gidadawa, Sokoto; on 1/2/75, 11/3/75, 13/3/75, 17/3/75, 21/3/75, 7/4/75, and various other dates).

LADAN, Mallam Ibrahim (aged 70 years; at Kofar Marke, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

MAIAKWAI, Alhaji & Mallama MARIYA (at Dankadu Ward, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

MAIANGUWA, Alu (aged 67 years; at Shiyar Jariri; on 22/12/76).

MAIDAMMA, Muhammadu (aged 72 years; at Alkalawa; on 23/12/76).

MAIGANDI, M. Bello (aged 60 years; MAIANGUWA Attahiru, aged 45 years; MAIDOKI Dankane, aged 75 years; and Alhaji GADO; at Kalfu; on 7/2/76).

MAIGWANDU, Mallam Abdullahi (at Kofar Rimi, Sokoto; on 24/9/75).

MAINIYO, Alhaji Hamza & Mallama Ige MAITUWO (at Mainiyo, Sabon Birni; on 22/10/75).

MAIZARI, Maidamma (at Makerar Dutsi, Sokoto; on 19/7/75 & 7/8/75).

MAMMAN, Alhaji (aged 60 years; Boyi MAIKATIFA, aged 65 years; Umaru MAMMAN, aged 60 years; and Boye RURA, aged 70 years; at Konni; on 26/10/75).

MARAFA, Umaru (at Zoromawa, Sabon Birni; on 23/9/75).

MAZUGA, Sarkin (at Mazuga Ward, Sokoto; on 17/10/75).

MUHAMMADU, Alhaji (at Dandi, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

MUHAMMADU Mallam (at Makerar Jibdawa, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

MUHAMMADU, Mallam (at Gandu, Sokoto; on 27/10/75).

MUHAMMADU, Mallam (at Maginar Danfo, Sokoto).

MUHAMMADU, Mallam (at Takalmawa, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

MURTALA, Muhammadu (at Majemar Rumbukawa, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

MUSA, Shuaibu (at Gidadawa, Sokoto; on 10/8/75).

NA-ALLAH, Ladan (at Gobirawa, Sokoto; on 5/2/76).

NABATO, Sarkin Fada (at Kofar Bai, Sokoto; on 13/9/75).

NA-TA'ALA, Muhammadu & Alhaji Sani MAIKORINO (at Unguwar Korino, Sokoto; on 28/7/75).

RUFA'I, Ahmad (Sarki) - at Sabon Birni; on 14/9/75.

RUMBUKAWA, Muhammadu (aged 80 years; at Rumbukawan Gabas; on 23/3/76).

SA'ADU, Salanke (at Gidan Salanke, Sokoto; on 21/12/75).

SABIR, M. Ahmad (at A.B.C./A.B.U., Kano; on 10/1/76).

SA'IDU, Mallam (at Tozamawa, Sokoto; on 22/3/76).

SAKE, Mallam Alu (at 'Yan Sake, Sokoto; on 21/2/76).

SARAKI, Alhaji Shehu (at Galadanci, Sokoto; on 9/7/75 & 17/7/75)

SARKI, Mallam Ma'azu (aged 70 years; at Rijiyar Zaure, Sokoto; on 29/10/75).

SARKIN FULOTI, Bello (at Kofar Marke, Sokoto; on 21/3/76).

SARKIN NAUYI, Alhaji Yahaya (at Helele; on 14/7/75).

SHEHU, Maianguwa Musa Magaji (at Kofar Atiku, Sokoto; on 25/10/75).

SHEHU, Mallam (at Zango, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

SIRIDDAWA, Alhaji Buhari (at Siriddawa, Sokoto; on 29/10/75).

TIJJANI, Mallam (at Rumbukawa, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

UMARU, Liman (aged 70 years; at Gidan Liman, Sabon Birni; on 21/10/75).

YAHAYA, Alkali (at Gidadawa, Sokoto; on 5/2/76).

YAHAYA, Mallam (aged 72 years; at Gidan Bakiri, Sabon Birni; on 21/10/75).

YAHAYA, Mallam (at Mariner Gangu, Sokoto; on 17/3/76).

ZAGI, Maidamma (at Maginar Tsohuwar Kassuwa, Sokoto; on 24/3/76).

Total number of Informants = 116.

Total number of Interviews = 83.

IV. Archival Material.

(i) National Archives, Kaduna.

SokProf.2/1:

7/1903 - Report no.1 of 31st March, 1903.

23/1903 - Report no.2 of April 30, 1903.

34/1903 - Report no.3 of May 31, 1903.

58/1903 - Report no.5 of July 31, 1903.

129/1903 - Report no.8 on tour by Resident Burdon in July, August and September 1903.

SokProf.2/2:

51/1904 - Sokoto Province. Report for January and February 1904.

86/1904 - Report of a Tour to the Asbenawa District by the Acting Resident.

SokProf.2/2 (cont'd):

101/1904 - Report for March 1904 by Acting Resident Hillary.

151/1904 - Notes on Tribute in Sokoto Province.

401/1905 - Report for January 1905 by Acting Resident Hillary.

190/1905 - Report for February 1905 by Resident Sokoto.

260/1905 - Report (Sokoto Province) for March and April 1905 by Resident Sokoto.

315/1905 - Report (Sokoto Province) for May and June 1905 by Resident Sokoto.

575/1905 - Report for July and August by Resident Sokoto.

85/1906 - Report for November and December 1905 by Resident Sokoto, Burdon.

756/1905 - Report for September and October 1905 by Resident Sokoto.

758/1906 - Report for Quarter Ending 31st March, 1906 by Resident Sokoto.

625/1906 - Report for Quarter Ending June 30, 1906 by Acting Resident Sokoto.

977/1906 - Report for Quarter Ending September 30, 1906 by Acting Resident Sokoto.

50/1907 - Report for Quarter Ending December 1906 by Resident Sokoto.

343/1907 - Report for Quarter Ending March 31, 1907 by Resident Sokoto.

SokProf.2/2 (cont'd):

610/1907 - Report for Quarter Ending June 30, 1907 by Resident Sokoto.

86/1907 - Annual Report no.3 of Sokoto Province for Year Ending 31st December, 1906.

SokProf.3/1:

C.31 - Sokoto N.A. Central Administration and Office Holders, etc.

C.218 - Immigration: Aliens.

C.9 - Sultan Muhammadu Maiturare. Report on Political Conditions - Sokoto Province. Senior Resident H.R. Palmer to Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna.

C.172 - Sokoto N.A. - Succession to the Sultanate.

C.10 - Sultan Tambari.

4789 - Ibo Union, Sokoto.

SokProf.3/2:

5325/S.1 - Dr. Charter's Report on Local Production of Sugar.

3295A - Public Burial Grounds.

SokProf.3/27:

S.2845 - Reports, Sokoto Province.

21/1904 - Report no.13 of April 1904.

148/1904 - Report no.14, May 1904, by Acting Resident Hillary.

SokProf.3/27 (cont'd):

- Report no.15 for June 1904 by Acting Resident Hillary.

180/1904 - Report no.16 for July 1904 by Acting Resident Hillary.

181/1904 - Report for August 1904.

- Report no.18 for September 1904.

217/1904 - Report no.19 for October 1904.

- Report no.20 of November 1904 by Acting Resident Hillary.

- Report no.21 of December 1904 by Acting Resident Hillary.

SNP.6/3:

137/1907 - Domestic Slaves - Desertion of.

64/1907 - Emir of Sokoto - Relations with other Emirs.

SNP.7:

81/1905 - Sokoto Province Annual Report 1904, by Resident Burdon.

85/1905 - Annual Report no.1 for Year Ending December 1904.

12/1904 - Report no.10 of 1903 for November and December 1903.

SNP.7/9:

5169/1908 - Resident Kano to Sir Percy.

5173/S.10 - Textile Officer, Department of Commerce and Industries, Sokoto, to Director, Department of Commerce and Industries, Lagos, 3rd February, 1951.

5173/S.11 - Indigo Dyeing in Sokoto Province.

BURDON PAPERS, The

KADCAP O/AR.1/3 - History of Sokoto from the Hijra to the Occupation.

" " 1/5 - History of the Jihad.

" " 1/7 - Khashf wal-Bayan (translation of).

" " 1/8 - Sard al-Kalaam (translation).

" " 1/9 - Tarikh Umaraa Sokoto (translation of).

" " 1/12 - Majmu al-Khulafa'i of Imam Aliyu (translation of).

" " 1/19 - Virtues of Aliyu Babba.

" " 1/20 - Tanbih al-Ikhwan (translation of).

" " 1/23 - Raud al-Jinan (translation of).

EDGAR PAPERS, The

KADCAP O/AR.2/16 - Muri History, et al.

" " 2/22 - Native Medicines.

" " 2/27 - Historical Narratives of Hausa States.

EDGAR PAPERS (cont'd):

KADCAP O/AR.2/30 - Index of Edgar's Book of Tales.

" " 2/31 - Hausa Medicine and Historical Notes.

" " 2/37 - Biography of Shehu.

" " 2/38 - History of Kings of Sokoto.

" " 2/42)
" " 2/43)- Infaikul Maisur (translation of).
" " 2/53)

" " 2/63 - Sokoto History down to Maiturare.

" " 9/4 - Abdullahi Fodio: Guide to Islamic Political Administration (A translation of the Diya el-Sultan).

" " 10/5 - Infaqul Maisuri. Palmer's collection.

CO.446/30 Public Records Office, London:

- High Commissioner to Lt.Col. G.B. Elliot, October 1903.

- Lugard to Secretary of State for Colonies, 9th January, 1902.

- Lugard to Chamberlain, 16th January, 1903.

- Lugard to Chamberlain, 23rd January, 1903.

- Lugard to Earl of Onslow, 13th February, 1903.

- Lugard to Secretary of State for Colonies, dated Kano, 5th March, 1903.

CO.446/30 (cont'd):

- Lugard to Chamberlain, dated Zungeru, 21st March, 1903.
- Lugard to Secretary of State, dated Kano, 7th March, 1903.
- Lugard to Secretary of State, from Camp, Wateri River.

CO.446/31:

- Lugard to Chamberlain, dated Sokoto, 19th March, 1903.
- Lugard to Secretary of State, dated Sokoto, 22nd March, 1903.
- Sultan of Sokoto Attahiru II to Colonel T.L.N. Morland (translation of the Arabic letter of).
- Kemball to Lugard, dated Camp Sokoto, 19th March, 1903.
- Acting High Commissioner Wallace to Chamberlain, 18th May, 1903.
- Resident Kano to High Commissioner, April 24, 1903.
- Resident Bauchi, Temple, to Resident Zaria, 4th May, 1903.
- Wallace to Chamberlain. Zungeru, 27th May, 1903.
- Resident Kano (Dr. Cargill) to High Commissioner.
- Resident Zaria to High Commissioner, 7th May, 1903.
- Acting High Commissioner to Chamberlain, 4th June, 1903.

CO.446/31 (cont'd):

- Resident Kano to High Commissioner Kano, 15th May, 1903.
- Capt. Sword to Resident Kano.
- Resident Bauchi to High Commissioner, 20th May, 1903.
- Lt.Col. G.B. Elliot to High Commissioner, 18th February, 1903.

CO.446/32:

- Wallace to Chamberlain. Zungeru, 25th June, 1903.
- Attahiru I to Resident Bauchi.
- Wallace to Chamberlain. Zungeru, 8th July, 1903.

FO.403/64 - FO.403/75:

Microfilms. K.I.L.

(ii) Sokoto Divisional Library.

District Note Books:

1. Sabon Birni District Notebook.
2. Anka " "
3. Maru " "
4. Zurmi " "
5. Kaura Namoda " "

District Note Books (cont'd):

6. Chafe District Notebook.
7. Gusau " "
8. Isa " "
9. Kotorkoshi " "
10. Moriki " "
11. Bungudu " "
12. Kiambana " "

V. General Works.

ABRAHAM, R.C. Dictionary of the Hausa Language. 2nd ed., London, 1962.

ABUBAKAR, Saleh "Immigration in Nineteenth Century Sokoto: An Historical Perspective". Kano Seminar Paper, January 1976.

_____ "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to c.1850", in Y.B. Usman(ed.), Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate. New York, 1979.

ADAMSON, P.B. "The City Wall of Kano", Antiquity, vol.24 no.96, December 1950.

ADAMU, Mahdi A Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the Nineteenth Century. M.A. thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1968.

_____ "Distribution of Trading Centres in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries". Sokoto Seminar Paper, January 1975.

_____ The Hausa Factor in West African History. A.B.U. Press/O.U.P., Zaria/Ibadan, 1978.

ADAMU, Muhammadu Uba "Some Notes on the Influence of North African Traders in Kano", Kano Studies, vol.I no.4, 1978.

ADELEYE, R.A. Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906. Longman, London, 1971.

AFRICAN ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the African Association, vols.I & II. London, 1967.

AHMAD, Alkalin Gwandu. Tarikh Gandu (trans. McAllister), Ibadan, 1909. Unpublished.

AJAYI, J.F.A. & CROWDER, M.(eds.), History of West Africa, vol.I (London, 1971); vol.II (London, 1974).

ALLEN, H.J.B. "Aspects of Urban Administration in the Northern States of Nigeria", Savanna.

AL-HAJJ, Muhammad. "The Fulani Concept of Jihad: Shehu Usman Dan Fodio", Odu, vol.I, 1964.

ALKALI, Hamidu. "A Note on Arabic Teaching in Northern Nigeria", Kano Studies, vol.I no.3, 1967.

ALKALI, M.B. A Hausa Community in Crisis: Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century. M.A. thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1969.

AMIN, S.(ed.) Modern Migrations in West Africa. Oxford, 1974.

ARNETT, E.J. Gazetteer of Sokoto Province. London, 1920.

_____ "A Hausa Chronicle", J.A.S., vol.IX.

_____ The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani. Kano, 1922.

_____ "Gazetteer of Sokoto Province", in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, vol.I - The Hausa Emirates. Frank Cass, London, 1972.

BACKWELL, H.F. The Occupation of Hausaland. Lagos, 1927.

BALOGUN, S.A. The Gwandu Emirates in the Nineteenth Century. Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970.

BIVAR, A.D.H. Nigerian Panoply: Arms and Armour of the Northern Region. Federal Department of Antiquities, Lagos.

_____ "Arabic Documents of Northern Nigeria", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XXII, 1959.

_____ & HISKETT, M. "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XXV, Part I, 1962.

BOAHEN, A.A. Britain, the Sahara and the Sudan. Oxford, 1964.

BOVILL, E.W. "Jega Market", J.A.S., vol.XXII no.85, 1922.

_____(ed.), Missions to the Niger, vol.IV - The Bornu Mission, 1822-25. Cambridge, 1966.

_____ The Golden Trade of the Moors. O.U.P., 1970.

BURDO , A.M. Niger et Benue. Paris, 1880.

BURDON, J.A. "The Fulani Emirates of Northern Nigeria", Geographical Journal, vol.XXIV, no.6, 1904.

_____ "Sokoto History: Tables of Dates and Chronology", J.A.S., vol.VI, 1906/7.

BURDON, J.A. Northern Nigeria: Historical Notes... London, 1909.

CAMPBELL, M.J. "The Walls of a City", Nigeria Magazine, vol.60, 1959.

CHURCH, H.R.J. "West African Urbanization: A Geographical View", The Sociological Review, N.S., vol.VII no.1, July 1959.

COHEN, R. et al. Social Stratification in Africa. New York, 1970.

COLVIN, L.A.G. The Commerce of Hausaland, 1780-1833. M.A. thesis, Columbia University.

CONNAH, G. Three Thousand Years in Africa: Man and His Environment in the Lake Chad Region of Nigeria. C.U.P., Cambridge, 1981.

CRAIG, D.D. "Precolonial Tiv Trade and Cloth Currency". Kano Seminar paper, January 1976.

CROIX, F.W. de St. The Fulani of Northern Nigeria. Gregg International, Westmead, 1922.

DANIEL F. de F. "Shehu Dan Fodio", Journal of the Royal African Society, vol.25, 1926.

DHOFF, G. Katsina: Profile of a Nigerian City. Praeger, New York, 1970.

DOKAJI, al-Hajj Abubakar. Kano Ta Dabo Cigari. Zaria, 1958.

EAST, R.M. Labarun Hausawa Da Makwabtansu. Zaria, 1932.

EDGAR, F. Littafi Na Tatsuniyoyi Na Hausa, Littafi Na Farko. Belfast, 1911.

_____ Littafi Na Tatsuniyoyi Na Hausa, Littafi Na Biyu. Belfast, 1911.

EL-MASRI, F.H. "The Life of Shehu Usumanu", J.H.S.N., vol.II no.4, 1963.

_____ A Critical Edition of Dan Fodio's Bayan Wujub al-Hijra. Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1968.

_____ & ADELEYE, R.A. "Sifofin Shehu", Research Bulletin (Centre for Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan), vol.II no.1, January 1966.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA of Islam. New edition, vol.I.

es-SADI Tarikh es-Soudan, ed. O.V. Houdas. Paris, 1898-1900.

FALCONER, J.D. On Horseback Through Nigeria. Fisher-Unwin, London, 1911.

FERGUSON, D.E. Nineteenth Century Hausaland. Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1973.

FISHER, H.J. "... the Horse in the Central Sudan", J.A.H., vol.XIV no.3, 1973.

FLINT, J.E. Sir George Goldie. Oxford, 1960.

GHORABA, H. "Islam and Slavery", Islamic Quarterly, vol.II no.3, 1955.

GIBB, H. & BOWEN, H. Islamic Society and the West, vol.I, Part One. O.U.P., 1969.

GIBSON, H. "Slavery in West Africa", J.A.S., vol.III no.9, 1903.

GLEAVE, M.B. & PROTHERO, R.M. "Population Density and Slave Raiding", J.A.H., vol.XII no.2, 1971.

GODDARD, A.D. "Land Tenure, Land Holding, and Agricultural Development in the Central Sokoto Close-Settled Zone, Nigeria", Savanna, vol.I, 1972.

_____ "Population Movements and Land Shortages in the Sokoto Close-Settled Zone, Nigeria", in Samir Amin (ed.), Modern Migrations in West Africa (Oxford, 1974).

GODDARD, A.D., GOULD, W.T.S. & PROTHERO, R.M. "Space and Time Dimensions in the Study of Population Mobilization in Tropical Africa". Paper presented at the Conference on African Population, I.U.S.S.P., Accra, 1971.

GOODY, J.(ed.) Literacy in Traditional Societies. Cambridge, 1968.

GOODY, J. & MUSTAPHA, T.M. "The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga", J.H.S.N., vol.III no.4, 1967.

GOULD, W.T.S. & PROTHERO, R.M. "Population Mobility in Tropical Africa: Nature, Data, and Implications". United Kingdom African Studies Association, Birmingham, September 1972.

GREENBERG, J.H. The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion. New York, 1946.

GROVE, A.T. "Population Densities and Agriculture in Northern Nigeria", in BARBOUR & PROTHERO (eds.), Essays on African Population (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1961).

HAMANI, Djibo L'Adar Precoloniale. These Doctorat de 3^{e} siecle. 1975.

_____ "Adar, the Touareg and Sokoto:

Relations of Sokoto with the Hausawa and Touareg during the Nineteenth Century", in Y.B. Usman (ed.), Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate (New York, 1979).

HARRIS, P.G. "Notes on Drums and Musical Instruments seen in Sokoto Province", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1932.

_____ Gazetteer of Sokoto Province. Mimeo., 1939.

HASSAN & SHUAIBU, N. A Chronicle of Abuja. New ed., Lagos, 1962.

HEUSSLER, R. The British in Northern Nigeria. London, 1968.

HISKETT, E.M. "City of History: The Story of Kano", West African Review, 28:360, September 1957.

_____ "Materials Relating to the State of Learning among the Fulani before their Jihad", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XIX no.78, 1959.

_____ "Kitab al-Farq: A Work on the Habe Kingdoms Attributed to Uthman Dan Fodio", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XXIII, 1960.

_____ "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in

the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XXV, 1962.

HISKETT, E.M. "Materials Relating to the Cowry Currency of the Western Sudan", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XXIX, 1966.

HODGKIN, T.L. 'Uthman Dan Fodio", Nigeria Magazine, Special Issue, October 1960.

HOGBEN, S.J. & KIRK-GREENE, A.H.M. The Muhammedan Emirates of Northern Nigeria. O.U.P., 1966.

HOPEN, C.E. Report on the Study of Field Fulani. Government Printer, Kaduna.

_____ The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu. O.U.P., 1958.

HULL, R.W. "The Impact of the Fulani Jihad on Inter-State Relations in Katsina Emirate", in D.F. McCall & N.R. Bennett (eds.), Aspects of West African Islam (Boston University, 1971).

HUNWICK, J.O. "Arabic Manuscripts ....", Supplement, Bulletin of News (Historical Society of Nigeria), vol.VII no.2, 1962.

JACKSON, J.G. An Account of Timbuctoo and Hausa. London, 1820.

JAGGAR, P.J. "The Kano Blacksmiths - A Study in Social Change", Social Science Seminar, A.B.U.

JOHNSON, Marion "The Cowry Currencies of West Africa", J.A.H., vol.XI no.1 & 3, 1970.

JOHNSTON, H.A.S. The Fulani Empire of Sokoto. O.U.P., London, 1967.

JONES, B. The Sedimentary Rocks of Sokoto Province. Government Printer, Kaduna, 1948.

JUNAIDU, A.(Wazirin Sakkwato) Tarihin Fulani. N.O.R.L.A., Zaria, 1957.

_____ Bugyatur Ragibin bi Ziyadati Is'afiz Za'irin (trans. Haliru Binji), Zaria, 1961.

_____ Al-Tuhfat al-Saniyya fi Ta'arifi Sokoto al-Bahiyat. Unpublished Ms., n.d.

KADUNA, Government Printer. General Instructions Relating to Land Tenure in Northern Provinces. n.d.

KANI, A.M. & STEWART, C.C. "Sokoto-Masina Diplomatic Correspondence", Research Bulletin (Centre for Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan), vol.XI nos.1 & 2, 1975/76.

KATI Tarikh el-Fettach (ed. O.V. Houdas). Paris, 1913.

KHALDUN, A. Ibn Muqaddimah (trans. F. Rosenthal). Bolinge Series (Pantheon Books Publication), New York, 1958.

_____ Muqaddimah, vol.2 (trans. F. Rosenthal), 2nd ed., Princeton, 1967.

KIRK-GREENE, A.H.M. Decorated Houses in a Northern City. Baraka Press, Kaduna, 1963.

KISCH, M.S. Letters and Sketches from Northern Nigeria. Chatto & Windus, London, 1910.

KRAPF-ASKARI, Eva Yoruba Towns and Cities. Oxford, 1969.

KRIEGER, K. Geschichte von Zamfara. Berlin, 1959.

LAPIDUS, I.M.(ed.) Middle Eastern Cities. University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1969.

LAST, D.M. "An Aspect of the Caliph Muhammad Bello's Social Policy", Kano Studies, July 1966.

_____ The Sokoto Caliphate. Longmans, London, 1967.

_____ "Reform in West Africa: The Jihad Movement of the Nineteenth Century", in Ajayi, J.F.A. & Crowder, M.(eds.), History of West Africa, vol.II (London, 1974).

LAST, D.M. & AL-HAJJ, M.A. "Attempts at Defining a Muslim in Nineteenth Century Hausaland and Bornu", J.H.S.N., vol.III no.2, 1965.

LEARY, A.H. The Development of Islamic Architecture in Western Sudan. M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1966.

LELY, H.V. The Useful Trees of Northern Nigeria. London, 1925.

LOVEJOY, P.E. The Hausa Kola Trade. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

_____ "The Kambarin Beriberi: Formation of a Specialised Group of Hausa Kola Traders in the Nineteenth Century", J.A.H., vol.XIV no.4, 1973.

_____ "The Salt Industry of the Central Sudan - A Preliminary Survey". Kano Seminar paper, January 1976.

_____ "Inter-Regional Monetary Flows in the Precolonial Trade of Nigeria", J.A.H. (forthcoming?).

_____ & BAIER, S. "The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan", African Historical Studies (forthcoming?).

MALUMFASHI, U.F. The Life of Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio and Sultan Muhammad Bello. M.A. thesis, A.B.C./A.B.U., Kano, 1973.

MARTIN, B.G.(ed.) Middle Eastern Studies, vol.IV, 1968.

_____ "... Notes on the Political History of a Trade Route", J.A.H., vol.X no.1, 1969.

MASON, M. "Captive and Client Labour and the Economy of the Bida Emirates", J.A.H., vol.XIV no.3, 1973.

MASON, M.G. "An Annotated Bibliography of Flegel's Expedition in the Niger-Benue Region", Kano Studies, vol.I no.4, 1968.

McCALL, D.F. & BENNETT, N.R.(eds.) Aspects of West African Islam. Boston University Press, 1971.

MEANS, J.E. The Influence of Islam in Northern Nigeria. Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown, 1965.

MEILLASSOUX, C.(ed.) The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa. O.U.P.,1971.

MINER, Horace The Primitive City of Timbuctoo. Revised ed., New York, 1965.

_____ "The Decline of the Guilds of Fez". A.B.U. Social Science Seminar, December 1970.

MISCHLICH, A. "Uber Sitten und Gebrauche Hausa", M.S.O.S., vol.X, 1907.

_____ "Contribution to the History of the Hausa States", J.A.S., vol.XV no.59, 1916.

MOCKLER-FERRYMAN, A.F. British Nigeria. London, 1902.

_____ Up The Niger. G. Philip, London, 1892.

MOODY, H.L.B. "The Walls and Gates of Kano City: Historical References", Kano Studies, vol. I, 3, 1967.

MOODY, J.E. "Paul Staudinger: An Early European Traveller to Kano", Kano Studies, vol.3, 1967.

MORTIMORE, M.J. "Population Densities and Systems of Agricultural Land-Use in Northern Nigeria", Journal of the Geographical Association of Nigeria, vol.14 no.1, June 1971.

_____(ed.) Zaria and its Region. Department of Geography, A.B.U., Occasional Paper no.4, 1970.

_____ & WILSON, J. "Land and People in the Kano Close-Settled Zone", Department of

Geography, A.B.U., Occasional Paper no.1, 1965.

MUFFETT, D.J.M. Concerning Brave Captains. London, 1964.

MUHAMMED, L. Hausa Dialects. Institute of Education, A.B.U., Zaria, n.d.

MUMFORD, Lewis. The City in History. Penguin, 1961.

NA-DAMA, Garba. The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara. Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1977.

NEWBURY, C.W. "Credit in Early Nineteenth Century West African Trade", J.A.H., vol.VII no.2, 1966.

_____ "North African and Western Sudan Trade in the Nineteenth Century", J.A.H., vol.VII no.2, 1966.

N.H.R.S., A.B.U./University of Ibadan. First Interim Report. Zaria, 1966.

_____ Second Interim Report. Zaria, 1967.

_____ Third Interim Report (1967-71). Zaria, 1975.

_____ Fourth Interim Report (1971-76). Zaria, 1977.

N.H.R.S., Ahmadu Bello University. Fifth Interim Report (1976-78). Zaria, 1981.

NIVEN, C.R. "Kano in 1933", Geographical Journal, vol.82 no.4, October 1933.

OBAYEMI, H.M.A. "Report on Archaeological Sites in Sokoto ...", Third Interim Report, N.H.R.S., Zaria, 1975.

ORR, C.W.J. The Making of Northern Nigeria. New ed., Frank Cass, London, 1967.

PADEN, J.N. Religion and Political Culture in Kano. London, 1973.

_____ "The Cultural Context of Administration", Nigerian Administration Project Second Interim Report, Institute of Administration, A.B.U., Zaria, 1975.

PALMER, H.R. "Western Sudan History: The Raudthat ul-Afkari", J.A.S., vol.XV no.59, 1916.

_____ "History of Katsina", J.A.H., vol.XXVI no.103, 1927.

_____ Bornu, Sahara and Sudan. London, 1936.

PARRINDER, E.G. "Moslem Revival in Nigeria", West Africa, 30th July, 1955.

PARRIS, W. Religious Acculturation in the Central and Western Sudan. Ph.D. thesis, Colorado, 1971.

PERCHONOCK, Norma. "Occupation and Residence in Kano City". Kano Seminar paper, January 1976.

POSTAN, M.M. Fact and Relevance. C.U.P., 1971.

PROTHERO, R.M. "Migrant Labour From Sokoto Province". Mimeo., Lagos, 1954.

_____ "Some Observations on Dessication in Northern Nigeria", Erdkunde, vol.XVI, 1962.

RORIG, Fritz. The Medieval Town. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1969.

SHARWOOD-SMITH, B.E. Sokoto Survey, 1948. Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1948.

SJOBERG, Gideon. The Pre-Industrial City. New York, 1960.

SMAILES, A.E. The Geography of Towns. Hutchinson University Library, London, 1966.

SMITH, A. "Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland", J.H.S.N.,

vol.V no.3, December 1970.

SMITH, A. "The Ideal of Development Administration: An Historical Perspective", The Nigerian Journal of Public Affairs, vol.I no.2, May 1971.

SMITH, H.F.C. "Muhammad Bello, Amir al-Muminin", Ibadan, no.9, 1960.

_____ "The Islamic Revolutions ...", J.H.S.N., vol.II no.2, 1961.

_____ "A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Islamic Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century", J.H.S.N., vol.II, 1961.

SMITH, M.G. "Political Organization in Hausaland". Institute of Commonwealth Studies Seminar Paper P1/59/4, Session 1959/60 (Ms.).

_____ "The Hausa System of Social Status", Africa, vol.XXIX, 1959.

_____ "Sokoto City", Nigeria Magazine, vol.57, 1958.

SMALDONE, J.P. Historical and Sociological Aspects of Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate. Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1970.

SOLKEN, H. "Die Geschichte von Kebi Nach Imam Umaru", Mitteilungen des Instituts fur Orientforschung, vol.VII no.1, 1959 and vol.XI no.1, 1963.

STEPLETON, J. "In Their End is Their Beginning: A Fulani Crisis", Nigerian Field, vol.I.

SUTTON, J.E.G. "The Aquatic Factor in Northern Nigerian History". Kano Seminar paper, January 1976.

_____ "Kebbi Valley Preliminary Survey, 1975", Zaria Archaeology Papers, vol.I, 1977.

TEMPLE, C.L.(ed.) Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of Northern Nigeria. Frank Cass, London, 1965.

TILHO. Documents Scientifique de la Mission Tilho, II. Paris, 1909. (trans. A.E. Owoyele).

TOMLINSON, G.J.F. & LETHEM, G.J. A History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Nigeria, 2 vols. Waterloo & Sons, 1927.

UDO, R.K. Geographical Regions of Nigeria. London, 1970.

URVOY, Y. Histoire de Population du Sudan Centrale. Paris, 1936.

USMAN, Y.B. The Transformation of Katsina, c.1796-1903. Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1974.

_____(ed.), Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate. New York, 1979.

VANSINA, J. "Pre-Colonial Trade", J.A.H., vol.XI, no.4, 1970.

WALDMAN, M.R. "The Fulani Jihad: A Re-Assessment", J.A.H., vol.VI no.3, 1965.

_____"A Note on the Ethnic Interpretation of the Jihad", Africa, July 1966.

WATT, M. Islam and the Integration of Society. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948.

WATTS, W.M. "Islamic Political Thought: The Basic Concepts", Islamic Surveys, vol.VI, 1968.

WHITTING, C.E.J.(trans.), History of Sokoto. Ife-Olu Printing Works, Kano, 1949.

WILKS, I. "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan", in J.R. Goody (ed.), Literacy in Traditional Societies. Cambridge, 1968.

WILLIS, J.R. "Jihad fi Sabil-Allah - Its Doctrinal Basis in Islam and Some Aspects of its Evolution in Nineteenth Century West Africa", J.A.H., vol.VIII no.3, 1967.

YELD, E.R. "Islam and Social Stratification in Northern Nigeria", British Journal of Sociology, vol.II, 1960.

--oOo--