

## The Society, State and Jihad in Daura c.1750-1806

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### Abstract:

*Since the 1804 Jihad of Sheikh Uthman Danfodio, there were major socio-economic and political transformations throughout the Hausaland to which Daura was an integral part. Relying on both oral and written sources, this paper traces the historical development of Daura laying emphasis on the nature of the society and the state before the Jihad years, the migration of the Fulbe and their role in overthrowing the Hausa state of Daura, as well as the impact of the Jihad on the socio-political and economic life of the people of the area. The paper found out that though the Jihad succeeded in the establishment of a theocratic state, it also came along with new socio-political problems.*

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### Introduction

Daura Emirate lies in the north-eastern limit of Hausa territory between latitude 12<sup>o</sup>30 and 13<sup>o</sup>30 north and longitude 8<sup>o</sup> and 9<sup>o</sup>East.<sup>1</sup> It is located in the extreme north of the Sudan Savannah, with agriculture as the main stay of the economy integrated with other non-farming activities before the nineteenth century. According to Temple, the Emirate lies in the north east of Katsina immediately to the north of Kano.<sup>2</sup> It is strategically located within a hundred kilometre range or thereabout of some major cities of northern Nigeria, such as Kano, Katsina and Kazaure and on the major pre-colonial trade routes linking the Nigerian area to North Africa and the Mediterranean World.<sup>3</sup>

It is more difficult to define the boundaries of Daura Emirate before the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> However, on the eve of the jihad, the chiefdom of Daura

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<sup>1</sup>Mark Gartfield Smith, *The Affairs of Daura* (Loss Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 30.

<sup>2</sup> Temple, "Kano Province" in C.L. Temple (ed.), *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of Northern Provinces of Nigeria* (Cape Town: Argus Publishers, 1919), 479.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Mustapha Gwadabe (*et al*), *Turaki Nuhu: Biography of a Merchant Scholar* (Kaduna: Amana Printers, 2006) 5.

<sup>4</sup> It is desirable to state that the kingdom of Daura had no definite boundary before and after the Jihad in the nineteenth century because of the lost of territories it suffered in the hands of Damagaram and its immediate neighbours of Katsina, Kano and later Kazaure Emirate. This

incorporated the territory of about 3000sq miles.<sup>5</sup> For example, in 1800, Daura included most of the territories north of Kazaure town. Its southeastern perimeters also included the territories of Magarya and Kance, now in Niger Republic.<sup>6</sup>

Daura in the Hausa tradition was one of the seven Hausa states, which include: Katsina, Rano, Kano, Zazzau, Gobir and Biram. Daura is commonly regarded by the historians of the area as one of the earliest states to emerge in Hausaland. A state like system first began to appear in this region between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>7</sup>The history of Daura is tied to two separate legends of origins.<sup>8</sup> The name Daura is eponymous to the 9<sup>th</sup> Queen called Daurama who moved the capital from Kufuru in “Tsohon Birni”, the earliest settlement, to “Sabon Birni”, the new settlement.<sup>9</sup> The reason for this movement is not known. However, it is plausible to assume that the movement was not unconnected with security, strategic and environmental factors. Before the nineteenth century, Daura was peopled predominantly by the Hausa and the Fulbe. Other people who lived in Daura included the Kanuri (Barebari), Maguzawa<sup>10</sup> and Azbinawa (or Bugaje)<sup>11</sup>

This paper assesses the nature of the political and socio-economic condition in Daura in particular and Hausaland in general which contributed to the jihad in the region; and explores the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Emirate type of Government in Daura. To achieve this it is imperative to look at the development and influence of Islam on the society and State in Daura before discussing the jihad activities in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

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could be attributed to its geographical location which marked the ancient lines of division between the influences of Borno and Songhai and later Katsina and Kano and the location of the kingdom on the trans-Saharan trade routes.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Gartfield Smith, *The Affairs of Daura*, 23

<sup>6</sup> Mark Gartfield Smith, *The Affairs of Daura*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> George Amale Kwanashie et al, *A Little New Light: Selected Writings of Professor Abdullahi Smith* (Zaria: Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, 1987), 101-104.

<sup>8</sup> The first legend of origin is about a man called Najib who came from Canaan in Palastine and founded Daura. The second legend claimed that a man called Abu Yazid otherwise known as Bayajidda from Bagdad founded Daura. For more details see Richmond Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs: Being mainly a Translation of a Number of Manuscripts Relating to the Central and Western Sudan*, Vol. III, Lagos: Government Printers, 1928), 132-134; Thomas Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 74.

<sup>9</sup> NAK/MSS/KATPROF/HIS14 “Littafin Girgam”.

<sup>10</sup> Maguzawa are often referred to as the Hausa speakers who are non-Muslims and non-Christians. They lived mainly in scattered communities in Daura area such as Unguwan Liman Jatau, Kwaryar Sallah, Yanduna, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Mallam Yusha’u Armaya’u, aged 69, Daura, 7<sup>th</sup> June, 2014.

### **The Nature of the Society**

Historically, the society in Hausaland in general and in Daura in particular had professed to be Islamic and Islam had taken a firm grip as a State religion.<sup>12</sup> This was due to the activities of some intelligentsia, notably Sheikh Jibril B. Umar, the famous teacher of Uthman Dan Fodio. Others included Albarnawi (Dan Marina), Alkatsinawi, Al-Maghili, to mention just a few. These *ulama* were the first to initiate reforms in *Bilad al-Sudan*. Some of them served as advisers, secretaries, judges among others, to the kings.<sup>13</sup> But in spite of the reforms, the multi-religious character and hence the secular nature of the society had largely been maintained. People in the society had professed Islam, but it was not practiced in its true tenets. Many of the *ulama* in this period hardly interfered with the conduct of public affairs and that of the Government. They stayed aloof and pursued quiet life. In fact, no attempt was made to correct the ills of the society. However, the intelligentsia were bound by a common goal of educating people on the fundamentals of their religion and admonishing them to pursue an honest and decent life.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century a culture of Islamic reform activities had been gathering momentum in the *Bilad al-Sudan*. The presence of the intelligentsia had become increasingly noticeable and became an important segment of the society, especially in their alignment with all the social classes; *masu sarauta* and the *talakawa* (commoners). The *ulama*, unlike those before them, impacted on the political and social life of the society.

Prior to the nineteenth century, the general picture of the society in Hausaland and in Daura was that of unbelief, iniquity and open defiance of *shari'a* laws became the order of the day. The social system was immoral; women were oppressed and treated like animals. There was unrestrained mixing of men and women, cheating and fraud were rife. The society was syncretist, mixing Islam with pagan practice. People in the society practiced things that were repugnant to Islam and in their dealing with one another, buying and selling in the markets and in all their

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<sup>12</sup> The activities of rulers in Hausaland such as Muhammad Runfa of Kano, Muhammad Korau of Katsina, Muhammad Rabo in Zazzau, who patronised Islam and made it a State religion was a clear picture of the situation. For detail see, Abdullahi Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan" in Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, Longman, London, 1976, p. 190.

<sup>13</sup> Mervyn Hiskett, 'Material Relating to the State of Learning among the Fulani before the Jihad', *Bullet of the School of Oriental African Studies*, University of London, xix 3 (1957): 566.

activities things were conducted not in accordance with the *sharia*. Many people were ignorant of the *shari'a*.<sup>14</sup>

From about the second half of the eighteenth century, social criticism was receiving unprecedented impetus, aimed at reforming the society along Islamic lines. Islamic culture nurtured and supported by sufficiently widespread of the tenets of the religion and its practices, appealed to a wide section of the populace. In this period, scholars in the caliber of Uthman Dan Fodio, his brother, Abdullahi and his son, Muhammad Bello, criticized the societal anti-Islamic practices. Consequently, *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fodio divided the society in Hausaland into three ideological groups. The first believed sincerely in Islam, the second were idolators, who worshipped stones, trees, spirits or the likes and the third comprised the syncretics – those who practiced Islam alongside pagan rites.<sup>15</sup> To affect changes, *Shehu* embarked on preaching tours to many places, as far as Daura in the East, Gurma in the west and Illo in the South,<sup>16</sup> calling people to adhere strictly to the real practice of Islam, with emphasis on social justice, particularly in their daily activities and public conduct. He also called on people to be able to distinguish between what is right and what is evil, thus enjoined the people to do good and forbid evil.<sup>17</sup> Shehu and his lieutenants realized that what they needed first and foremost was to educate people about their rights in an attempt to raise their consciousness and correct certain misconceptions about the role and objectives of Islam. They felt the need to do all this through a direct contact with all the segments of the society,<sup>18</sup> members of the ruling class, economic elite, commoners and others. Consequently, many people, particularly the *talakawa* class, who cut across ethnic and religious divides supported him and became his *jama'a*.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibrahim Sulaiman, *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio* (London: Mansell, 1986), xxii.

<sup>15</sup> Ibrahim Suleiman, *A Revolution in History*, xviii.

<sup>16</sup> Sidney John Hogben, *Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1967), 36.

<sup>17</sup> Mervyn Hisket, 'An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century', *BSOA*, xxv, (1962): 585.

<sup>18</sup> Ahmad Muhammad Kani, 'The Role of the Sokoto Caliphate in the Integration and Transformation of Political Communities in the Western and Central Sudan 1804-1837' (Departmental Seminar, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1985).

<sup>19</sup> *Jama'a* means the followers of any learned man. But gradually as Dan Fodio's followers grew stronger, the term *Jama'a* came to be used to identify those who had placed themselves under his religious and political leadership.

The situation in Gobir was also similar to the one found in Daura and other parts of Hausaland. In Daura, the *Talakawa* class constituted the majority of the society, including the leadership of the community group. The example of this group was the Fulbe in Kurneji who mobilized and supported the jihad under the leadership of Mallam Isyaku. The Daura society composed of Hausa, Fulbe and Tuaregs as the dominant group. Like his teacher, Uthman Dan Fodio, the style of leadership of Mallam Isyaku made him to earn more followers and increase the size of his *jama'a* even among the *ulama* of his time. Some considerable number of them flocked to him for Islamic knowledge. Many people saw him like a messiah who had come to direct them to the side of God and save them from the ills of the society and free them from the oppression of the ruling class.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Nature of the State**

The society and the State are allies and have intrinsic relationship. One cannot be divorced from the other. In the case of Daura, the nature of the society did not differ significantly with the State. The nature of the State could only be construed within the context of its political/economic relations between the authority and the commoners in relations to the influence of Islam. The State was stratified into classes: the aristocratic class, made up of the king, title holders under him, like Provincial and District Heads, Occupational Heads, big merchants or wealthy people, and the commoners who were the non-ruling class, the *talakawa* subjects who did not occupy any traditional title or privileged positions.

The pre-jihad State of Daura had also identified itself with Islam in all its political institutions, which included the official priesthood, judgeship, Muslim law, particularly in relations to debt, inheritance, marriage, personal status and commerce but were not strictly observed according to Islam. By the end of the eighteenth century and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Daura State was under Abdu Dan Tsoho, otherwise called Sarkin Gwari Abdu. In reality, the prevailing regime at the time was like a parody of Islamic Government. Islamic laws were often honoured locally on the breach, particularly in its operations and in regard to market, in relations with the subjects or between the rulers and the commoners and in other channels of economic distributions. The aristocrats only lived luxurious and expensive lifestyles at the expense of the *talakawa*. They did not pay tax and they survived through the exploitations of

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<sup>20</sup> Group Interview at the Emirs' Palace, Daura, 5<sup>th</sup> February, 2018.

labour, trade, agriculture and taxes of the commoners.<sup>21</sup> The rulers, despite the fact that they were Muslims, practiced imperfect Islam. They engaged in rituals and practiced certain syncretic rites.<sup>22</sup> The king, Sarkin Gwari Abdu and the officials of the State were more concerned with the collection of taxes or caravan tolls, passing through Daura to Kano and other States in Hausaland, as well as boundary disputes, than the observance of true Islam. This was ostensibly in order to maintain their expensive lifestyles and preserve their status quo. Taxes and forced labour were imposed as means of coercing people to submit to the whims and caprices of the ruling class. Other exploitations and oppressions of the common people were rife, especially in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the time the jihad was gathering momentum. That is why it was no surprise that the people of Daura supported the jihad<sup>23</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century, the political hegemony of Borno over most of the political communities in the central Sudan, but especially the Hausa States, including Daura, was weakened and became insignificant.<sup>24</sup> Its peripheral vassal States engaged in military adventure, including attacks on one another, with increasing impunity. By this period, however, the balance of power had already tilted in favour of Gobir State which succeeded largely in destroying the power base of the Zamfara State; weakening Kebbi and depleting the economic and human resources of Katsina. The State of Gobir was able to establish, in the western Hausaland, its control through maintaining military superiority in the whole region, which eventually led to its downfall.<sup>25</sup> To survive the situation, Gobir embarked on oppression, exploitation and tyranny, such as the forceful conscription into the army to fight uncanonical wars, imposition of excessive taxation, among others. It was a situation, such as this, which Uthman Dan Fodio criticized that brought him into conflict with the king of Gobir, Bawa Jan Gwarzo and subsequent rulers, leading to the outbreak of the jihad in 1804.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Alhaji Yusha'u Armaya'u, aged 69, Katsina, 27<sup>th</sup> December, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Mark Gartfield Smith, *The Affairs of Daura*, 35-36.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Alhaji Hamza Kane, aged 67, Daura, 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Kyari Tijjani, 'Political and Administrative Development in Pre-Colonial Borno' (Ph.D Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1980), 528.

<sup>25</sup> Abdullahi Rafi Augi, 'The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, c. 1650-1808 A.D.' (Ph.D Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1984), 416.

<sup>26</sup> Abdullahi Rafi Augi, 'The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, c. 1650-1808 A.D.', 460-486.

Furthermore, Daura shared a similar condition with the Gobir state. It was at the time Daura engaged in territorial expansion, boundary disputes and military conflict with the Sosebeki States of Dungas and Jere, located to the north and northeast of Daura. It also engaged in collection of Caravan tolls and other excessive taxations, such as *kudin kasa*, cattle tax, *jangali*, *kudin gaisuwa*; the mixing of Islam with rituals and other anti-Islamic practices in the State. In *Kitab al-Farq*, Uthman Dan Fodio has exhaustively and vehemently criticized the oppressive and tyrannical nature of the various Governments in Hausaland, more especially the division of the society between the aristocrats and the commoners, the intensity of the oppression of the lower classes, excessiveness of the various taxes collected and social injustices committed against the womenfolk, as well as the general arbitrariness of the *sarauta* class.<sup>27</sup> It was this excessiveness of the then king of Daura, Sarkin Gwari Abdu's administration that led Mallam Isyaku, a Fulbe leader, a scholar living in Kurneji near Daura and a flag bearer of Uthman Dan Fodio to challenge the situation and waged jihad in Daura.<sup>28</sup>

### **3.4 Historical Background to the Jihad**

Islam infiltrated into Hausaland through trade and migration, perhaps since the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It was only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century it began to assume any recognizable, concrete form.<sup>29</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Islam had only invaded the courts but had made little incursion into the ranks of the general masses. On the condition of Islam in Hausaland, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio traced the state of Islam and asserted that though it was widespread among the subjects, it gained little or no appeal among the rulers who persisted in pagan practices.<sup>30</sup> As earlier mentioned, the rulers in Hausaland particularly in Daura had professed Islam. However, the situation of Governments was just like a parody of Islamic state. The institutions of the states were all Islamic. But all their operations in relation to their subject did not reflect any sign of Islamic tenets or *Shari'a*. The conduct of Governments was full of plain illegalities and anti-islamic practices.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For detail see, Mervyn Hiskett, *Kitab al Farq* (trans) 'A Work on the Habe Kingdoms Attributed to Uthman Danfodio', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxiii, no. 3 (1960): 558-579.

<sup>28</sup> Group Interview, Baure, 6<sup>th</sup> January, 2012.

<sup>29</sup> Alhaji Yaya Abubakar, 'The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi' (Ph.D Thesis, Ahmadu Belo University, Zaria, 1974), 338.

<sup>30</sup> Richmond Palmer (trans.), Tambih al-Ikhwan, *Journal of African History*, 1913-14, 407.

<sup>31</sup> Group Interview, Baure, 6<sup>th</sup> January, 2012.

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a great resurgence of Islamic revivalism in the Western Sudan in general and in Hausaland in particular. The period saw the proliferation of scholars and the development of various Muslim communities all over Hausaland. These scholars concomitantly impacted on the educational and social life of Hausaland. The major preoccupation of the scholars, in most of their centres or communities was Islamic teaching and preaching, geared towards establishing an Islamic society based on the *Shari'a*. As mentioned earlier, the Shehu's preaching was not confined to his community at Degel or even in Gobir. He toured many parts of Hausaland and became particularly popular in Zamfara, Kebbi, Zaberma to the Niger region<sup>32</sup> and part of Daura area to the South. The Islamic scholars were widely spread in scattered communities all over Hausaland and lived in separate towns and villages. These communities, developed as centres of learning. A town, such as Kurneji in Daura, among many others, developed as a centre of Islamic scholarship. Many people from all over Hausaland flocked into this centre for Islamic learning.

It was in the midst of these teaching and preaching that Mallam Isyaku built his *Jema'a*. His intention was no less than to undertake a full implementation of the *Shari'a*, according to the Qur'an, the *Sunna* and *Ijma*. At every stage of his preaching activity, he made reference to the constituted authority, particularly their syncretic practices, imposition of unfair taxation, oppression of the masses, corruption, arbitrary dispensation of justice, to mention just a few were the basis of their whole movement. Many people flocked to him because they regarded him as a savior and a deliverer in this World and hereafter.<sup>33</sup> The growing influence of Mallam Isyaku, however, manifested political implication, which the *sarakuna* of Daura could not concede to. They became frightened. The fear, of course, was the possibility of Islam rising to supremacy in a land where cynical and oppressive rulers had established their powers on foundations and principles that were repugnant to Islam. The rulers were well aware of the all-embracing consequences of the new order if it were to emerge. Their rule would be swept away, their powers broken, their syncretism and opportunism terminated and their whimsical and oppressive laws put to rest.<sup>34</sup> Having realized this danger and the situation in

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<sup>32</sup> Rowland Adeleye Aderemi, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906* (London, Longman, 1971).

<sup>33</sup> Many people joined the movement for a diversified reason, the Muslims, non-Muslims, Hausa, Fulbe, Tuareg, and others. For detail of these reasons see, Adrian David Bivar, 'The Wathiqat Ahl-Sudan', *Journal of African History*, 11, no. 2 (1961).

<sup>34</sup> Ibrahim Sulaiman, *A Revolution in History*, 103.



Gobir and the spread of the Jihad in other parts of Hausaland, the condition became tensed in Daura. Later the jihad wars broke out in Daura in 1805.

### **The Fulbe in *Kasar Daura***

There were four groups of Fulbe in *Kasar Daura*. These were the *Wojabe*, *Kunin Kawa*, *Rahazawa* and *Boen*.<sup>35</sup> Of these groups the first two were the dominant. One version of the Fulbe tradition of origin maintains that they came to Daura in 1774 A.D. from Gobir kingdom along with their family and animals in search of better pasture. They settled in Kurneji, some few kilometers away from Daura. While at Kurneji, their leader, Mallam Isah, the father of Mallam Isyaku, engaged in scholarship and animal tending.

Some versions state that the Fulbe under the leadership of Mallam Muhammadu Dattuwa, the father of Mallam Isah Muhiya and a grandfather of Mallam Isyaku left Mali and settled in Agadez in the present day Niger Republic. Mallam Dattuwa met Sheikh Al-Maghili in Agadez and they taught Islamic knowledge and preached to the people. After staying in Agadez for some years, Mallam Dattuwa left with his family due to the deviation of the people from the real Islamic orthodoxy and moved southeast until they reached Kurni also in present day Niger Republic. While at Kurni, Mallam Muhammadu Dattuwa, his wife and one of his children died and were buried there.<sup>36</sup> His son Mallam Isah, the father of Mallam Isyaku, left Kurni with his family and some Fulbe followers and settled at Kurneji in about 1774. Among his children there were Liman Ibrahim, Mallam Isyaku and Magajiya Aba. At Kurneji Mallam Isah Muhiya engaged in teaching and preaching Islamic knowledge. Among his students was his son Mallam Isyaku, who he later sent to Uthman Dan Fodio at Alkalawa, to learn the knowledge of other aspects of Islamic science.<sup>37</sup>

Another version suggests that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were already some Fulbe settlements in Daura area, particularly in Kurneji, a very short distance from Daura. The Fulbe settled in Kurneji in large number, more than any other settlement in Daura area, probably because of the fertility of the land for agriculture and good pasture for their cattle.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Mallam Abdu Tari, aged 82, Daurawa in Jigawa State, 27<sup>th</sup> December, 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Alhaji Mamman Dandada Manzo, aged 73, Daura, 17<sup>th</sup> December, 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Group Interview with Alh. Ilo, Alh. Ado Magajiya, Karkarku, 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Group Interview with Alhaji Umbaru Manzo, Mall. Muhammadu Ardo Kurneji, Alhaji Dan Dada, 23<sup>rd</sup>, January, 2011.

The Fulbe in Daura, like other Fulbe in Hausaland, were largely semi nomads. Among the Fulbe settlements, Kurneji became a leading centre of Islamic scholarship. One of the leading scholars was Mallam Isah. He came to Kurneji as a political refugee from Gobir, in the eighteenth century. Mallam Isah was murdered at Kurneji shortly before the jihad, by sponsored assassins, sent by Sarkin Gobir. After his death, his son, Mallam Isyaku emerged as the leading scholar in Daura area. Scholars in and around Daura came into Kurneji to benefit from his teachings. When the news of the great Fullo scholar, Danfodio, reached Kurneji, a nephew of Mallam Isyaku, Abubakar Saddiq, travelled to Gobir to enquire more about the Shehu's knowledge. On reaching Alkalawa in Gobir, Abubakar Saddiq became impressed by the Shehu and when he returned to Kurneji, he was able to persuade his uncle to visit the Shehu. Mallam Isyaku and Abubakar Saddiq travelled together to the Shehu. Mallam Isyaku is said to have been taught for seven years by Shehu Danfodio.<sup>39</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that when the jihad broke out in 1804, Mallam Isyaku who was at Alkalawa collected a flag of allegiance from the Shehu and returned to Kurneji as a flag bearer. As one of the disciples of Uthman Dan Fodio and a flag bearer Mallam Isyaku led the jihad in Daura.

### **The Jihad Campaign<sup>40</sup>**

Long before the outbreak of the jihad in 1804, in Gobir, the nature of the political and economic condition in Daura had worsened, as earlier noted in this paper. When the jihad movement started, scholars all over Hausaland became the leaders of the movement. In Daura, Mallam Isyaku, who was taught Qur'an, Hadith and Arabic by his father and later moved to Shehu Dan Fodio where he learned other Islamic sciences, became the leader of the movement. As a student of the Shehu, and a scholar in Kurneji, in Daura, he had already become very popular and attracted disciples from all over Daura and neighbouring areas. Students from Daura, Danbatta, parts of Katsina and Kano flocked to him in order to benefit

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<sup>39</sup> Ahmad Umar, 'The Restoration of the Hausa Dynasty in Daura' (B.A. History Project, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1972).

<sup>40</sup> The concept of jihad has defied a single definition. The word has many meanings depending on the individual perspective. With regards to the nineteenth century jihad of Usman Dan Fodio, many scholars, such as Johnston Hugh Anthony, A. Smith, Rowland Aderemi Adeleye, among others have defined it differently. Broadly, however, we shall adopt the one by A. Smith as our working definition. Smith defines Sokoto Jihad as an important social and intellectual movement, involving in the minds of the leaders a conception of the ideal society and a philosophy of a revolution.

from his scholarly teaching. They were particularly enticed by the content of his teaching, calling people for a change from the old order and urging the authority on political and economic reforms. Just like Usman Dan Fodio, his teacher, his power of elocution and intellectual prowess earned him many followers even before the outbreak of the jihad.<sup>41</sup>

Mallam Isyaku and other scholars who resided in various parts of Hausaland were in contact with the Shehu and his writings, particularly through his poems and pamphlets for popular instruction on the fundamentals of Islam, which were widely circulated throughout the region, in Fulfude and Hausa, among his disciples.<sup>42</sup>

When the Shehu decided to embark on *hijra*, he instructed all his supporters and disciples, who were then with him at Degel, to return to their area and prepare.<sup>43</sup> Also, while at Magabshi, Shehu sent out letters to the rulers of Hausaland. In those letters, he explained to them that he was striving to revive the Sunnah and establish the *Shari'a* by destroying *bid'a* that he was on the side of the truth against falsehood.<sup>44</sup> Shehu asked them to be sincere Muslims and stop all the practices forbidden by the *Shari'a* and requested that they should help him in the jihad. He told them not to be deceived by the rumours spread by his enemies that he did not mean well; and warned them that joining the enemies will only bring calamity upon them, as Allah has sworn to help the believers and defeat the unbelievers.<sup>45</sup> When the messenger delivered the letter to Sarkin Katsina, Bawa Dan Gima, it was read then tore up with anger and contempt. The Sarkin Kano, Alwali on the other hand, wavered before rejecting it, while in the case Sarkin Zazzau and Sarkin Daura, Abdu they accepted the requests of the Shehu but found themselves opposed by their councils. Some *Ulama*, who aligned themselves with *Sarakuna*, opposed the contents of the letter and the Shehu's call that he would only bring *fitna* to the communities.<sup>46</sup>

After the outbreak of the jihad wars in 1804, Mallam Isyaku, who already came back to Daura, started mobilizing people. Many people particularly the

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with Mallam Idirissou Hankorau, aged 90, Kwargum, 7<sup>th</sup> January, 2018.

<sup>42</sup> Last Murray, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 9.

<sup>43</sup> Usman Yusufu Bala, 249.

<sup>44</sup> Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al-Maisurfi*, 73.

<sup>45</sup> Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, 'The Teaching of the Sokoto Caliphate', 44.

<sup>46</sup> Andrian David Biver, 'The Wathiqat al-Sudan: The manufestor of the Fulani Jihad', *Journal of African History*, ii, no. 2 (1961): 235-243; Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al Maisurfi*, 73-74.

commoners, his students, Fulbe, among others, who saw this as an opportunity of airing their grievances, migrated enmass into Kurneji. Mallam Isyaku, without any slightest hesitation, quickly entered into alliances with the rest of the Fulbe from all over parts of Daura area. He called for a meeting at Kurneji in 1805. Sarkin Gwari Abdu of Daura, who noticed the movement, wanted to stop it, but could not, because of the pressure and challenges posed by the expanding culture of Islamic intellectual activities and demand for reform all over Hausaland. By 1806, hostility broke out in Daura.

### **The Outbreak of the Jihad in Daura**

After the outbreak of the jihad at Tafkin Kwatto, in 1804, the flag bearer in Daura, Mallam Isyaku, mobilized his supporters in 1805, in various settlements of Daura area, such as Kurneji, Shukwanawa, Shakowa, Ruwan Dutsi, Fago Fulani, Madobi, Bojo, Suduje, Zugai, Kwassarawa, Karkarku, Daneji, Rima, among many others to start the war.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, *Sarkin* Daura and *Sarkin* Katsina for the first time in their bid to counteract the jihadists formed a united front and attacked the Fulbe settlements, in *Kasar* Kano, who supported Shehu's cause. The Sarakuna of Daura and Katsina were apparently frightened by the way the jihadists were consuming the Hausa kingdoms which made them to attack the Fulbe in Kano, probably in support of the ousted Government there. However, they were defeated by the combined forces of Mallam Isyaku, Dan Tunku and Mallam Musa. It is said that the kingdom of Daura was placed under a prolonged siege and eventually starved it into surrender by cutting off the corn supplies.<sup>48</sup> Abdu, the *Sarki*, escaped from Daura by the gate called *Kidi-da-Hauka* and settled for six months in Kworgom, thirty miles to the north. For the next few years he moved between Nguru in the east and Murya in the north, but he was never strong enough to win back his capital. He later died about 1809 in Yekuwa.<sup>49</sup> There are however, seeming contradictions over when and where the king of Daura died. Many sources give divergent views on the issue.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Mallam Isah Na Yalli, Livestock Farmer, 93 Years, Fago Fulani, 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 2018, Sarkin Fulani Surajo, Farmer, 62 Years, at Sandamu, 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2018.

<sup>48</sup> NAK/MSS/KATPROF/HIS14 "Littafin Girgam".

<sup>49</sup> Sidney John Hogben, and Anthony Hamilton Kirk-Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria* (London, Oxford University Press, 1966), 151.

<sup>50</sup> A lot of literature carried contradicting opinions over where the king of Daura Sarkin Gwari Abdu died. In my field work my informants said he died in Borno not Yekuwa. See Mark Gartfield Smith, *The Affairs of Daura*, 145.

After the siege of Daura and the flight of the *Sarki* which marked a huge success for the jihadists, they entered the capital. Soon after they entered the capital, a serious conflict ensued between the two of the jihad leaders, Mallam Isyaku and Dan Tunku, over who would occupy the throne as the first Emir.<sup>51</sup> Although, Dan Tunku did not belong to the Fulbe group in Daura, he played a major role in order to assert his position, he hurriedly occupied the throne. Many of the jihadists in Daura were disappointed and felt aggrieved over Dan Tunku's action, because they had wished and preferred Mallam Isyaku to be the Emir for a simple reason that he was their leader and lived among them even before the jihad. Few days after Dan Tunku occupied the palace; the supporters of Mallam Isyaku tricked him out and placed Mallam Isyaku on the throne. Dan Tunku was later forced to pledge his loyalty *bayaa* to Mallam Isyaku as the true Emir of Daura in 1806.<sup>52</sup> To appease Dan Tunku, Mallam Isyaku appointed him to the important office of Kaura. Dan Tunku declined the offer and withdrew with his supporters and moved southwards where he eventually established his base at Danbatta and took over the Government.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, this marked the beginning of a new administration in a form of Emirate system. Meanwhile the Emirate Government of Daura continued to survive from 1806 until when it was taken over by the British in 1903. About nine emirs ruled the Emirate of Daura from the period of Mallam Isyaku. For detail of these emirs and the period they reigned see the diagram below.

**Table 1.1: Names of the Emirs of Daura and their Period Reigned from 1806-1907**

S/N	NAME(S)	PERIOD OF REIGN	YEARS SPENT ON THE THRONE AS EMIR	STATUS
1	Mallam Isyaku	1806-1830	24 Years	First Emir
2	Mallam Yusuf	1830 – 1836	6 Years	Son of Isyaku
3	Muhamman Sani	1836 – 1836	6 Months	Son of Isyaku
4	Zubairu	1837 – 1837	3 Months	Son of Isyaku
5	Muhammad Bello	1837 – 1868	31 Years	Son of Isyaku
6	Muhamman Altine	1868 – 1876	8 Years	Son of Bello
7	Muhamman Maigardo	1876 – 1906	30 Years	Son of Bello

**Source:** Alhaji Mamman Manzo, *Sarkin* Fulani, Kwassarawa, 29<sup>th</sup> December, 2017.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Balarabe Adamu Sandamu, aged 56, Sandamu, 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2018.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Alhaji Ahmadu Dandada, aged 79, Sandamu, 4<sup>th</sup> January, 2018.

<sup>53</sup> Sidney John Hogben and Anthony Hamilton Kirk-Greene, *The Emirate*, 151.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

The chapter analysed the nature of the society and the State in Daura in particular and Hausaland in general before the nineteenth century up to 1804, which was characterized by tyranny, oppression, exploitation and anti-Islamic activities. It also discussed how Islamic religion tried to transform the society and the State, leading to a sharp contradiction between the *Ulama* championed by Mallam Isyaku in Daura, who were the protagonists of change on the one hand and the aristocrats or the antagonists, who were more interested in maintaining the statusquo on the other. This situation, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, resulted in the outbreak of the jihad and the establishment of Daura Emirate, as well as and the emergence of Mallam Isyaku as the Emir of Daura. The resultant effect of the jihad also included transformation of the society and institutions in Daura along Islamic lines and the *Shari'a* law took its firm root, among others.

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# A Synopsis of Historical Origins of Markets in Toro Area of Bauchi, C. 1800-1960

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## Abstract

*The thrust of this paper is to capture the evolution of trade and development of markets in Toro area of Bauchi state. Using the wholly orthodox and alternative theories of market origin, it is argued that markets in Toro area emerged as a result of the interplay of internal dynamics and external factors. The wholly orthodox sees the origin of markets in local demands and exchanges, while the alternative views external contacts, especially long distance trade, as the beginning of market. The study pooled all available data through the historical methodology, whereby information were derived from primary, secondary and even tertiary sources. The historical sources demonstrate the roles of barter in the beginning of Market-less trading and that of long distance commerce in the development of Marketplace trade. The paper concludes that various factors contributed to the development of the markets under review.*

**Keyword:** Markets, internal dynamics, external factors, Bauchi

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## Introduction

As authorized public concourse of buyers and sellers, the earliest markets in Hausaland were places of bartering one good for another. A regular currency, scheduled market days and officials are a recent development.

<sup>1</sup> A similar path places of barter trod in Toro area to become markets. Toro area had been peopled before the fifteenth century. For instance, Nengel identified three stages –the Aturu period c. 1000-1500AD, the Pengana period c. 1500-1800 AD and the post-Pengana period c. 1800-1900 AD –in the peopling of Pengana District, and amongst these traditions speak of migrations either to, or from, Toro

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas Edwin Ferguson, 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy, and Society of His People,' (PhD Thesis, University of California, 1973), 354.