

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMIRATE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN
DAURA C.1800-1806

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the establishment of the Emirate System of government in Daura. It examines the deteriorating political and socio-economic conditions in Hausaland in general and in the Daura Kingdom in particular before the nineteenth century, which led to the outbreak of the jihad, which, by extension, spread to and affected the Daura Kingdom by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The paper used a corroborative historical research method, drawing on primary and secondary sources to unearth valuable information. It discusses the establishment of the Emirate Government in Daura, which resulted from the jihad. Additionally, the paper assesses the impact of the establishment of the new emirate, which revolutionised almost everything in the society. It concludes by showing how the new emirate government transformed not only society and the economy but also almost all aspects of human life, institutions, and structures, based on the Islamic conceptualisation of justice, compared to the old kingdom, which was secular.

Keywords: *Daura, Emirate System, Jihad, Hausaland, Islam*

Historical Background to the Jihad

Islam penetrated Hausaland through trade and migration, perhaps as early as the 11th century A.D. It was only in the 15th century that it began to assume a recognizable and concrete form.¹ In the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, Islam had not only penetrated the courts but had also made important inroads among the general masses. Regarding the condition of Islam in Hausaland, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio asserts that, though it was widespread among the subjects, it had little or no appeal among the rulers, who persisted in pagan practices.² All

¹ A.Y. Abubakar, "The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi," Ph.D Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1974, p. 338.

² H.R. Palmer (trans), "Tambih al-Ikhwan", *Journal of African History*, 1913-14, p. 407.

their operations regarding their subjects showed no signs of Islamic tenets or the Shari'a. The conduct of the Government was full of plain illegalities and anti-Islamic practices.

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 the educational and social life of Hausaland.³ The major preoccupation of the scholars, in most of their centres, was Islamic teaching and preaching, geared towards establishing an Islamic society based on the Shari'a. The Islamic scholars were widely spread in scattered communities all over Hausaland and lived in separate towns and villages. These communities were developed as centres of learning. Towns, such as Kurneji in Daura, among many others, developed as centres of Islamic scholarship. Many people from all over Hausaland flocked to Kurneji as the centre for Islamic learning. The scholars preserved and applied the Timbuktu tradition of Sudanese scholarship and occupied key positions in most of the Governments of the Hausa States, like judges and advisers to the emir, among others.⁴ from teaching and preaching, these scholars later became reform leaders and rulers, mainly as a result of the advent of Uthman dan Fodio and the intellectual leadership he provided.⁵ The increase in Islamic learning and its phenomenal intellectual development was the direct result of the activities of Islamic scholars, which not only deepened ordinary Muslims' faith but also reshaped the existing social and political order. This led to the practice of Islam in its real form, which later became a vehicle for revolutionary change in the state and, with time, drew new converts into the fold of the faith. Reform had become a revolution. Each learned man of note had his own community of adherents. This intellectual development in the eighteenth century quickened the pace of change to the point of revolution and swelled the ranks of Muslims throughout Hausaland and beyond.⁶

Shehu Dan Fodio was born in 1754 to a Toronkawa family near Konni in the present-day Niger Republic. His father first taught him and later studied under many teachers, such as the famous Jibril Bin Umar and became very knowledgeable. He grew up as a scholar and teacher, and later engaged in preaching with a mission to educate, disseminate knowledge, awaken the public to their religious obligations, and reform society from syncretic practices.⁷ These characteristics made him very popular not only among the people but also among the ulama of his time, particularly in Zamfara, Kebbi, and Gobir. The qualities of Uthman Dan

³ Hiskett, "Material Related to the State of Learning among the Fulani before their Jihad," BSOAS, Vol. Xix, pp. 550-578.

⁴ A. Y. Abubakar, *The Establishment and Development...* p. 340; T. Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspective*, London, 1981. p. 35, F.H. El-Masri "The Life of Shehu Usman before the Jihad" *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. II, No. 4, 1963, pp. 435-448. These scholars occupied positions like advisers, scribes, judges etc

⁵ Usman dan Fodio won many of his followers because of his intellectual prowess and power of election through intenerent teaching, preaching and propaganda using poems, pamphlet, among others.

⁶ Adeleye, R.A. "Hausaland and Borno 1600-1800", in Ade Ajayi, J.F. and Crowder, M (ed.), *History of West Africa*, Vol. 2, Longman, London, 1976, pp. 597-600.

⁷ M. Huskett, "Material Related ...", p. 577.

Fodio attracted the rulers of Gobir, including the king of Gobir, Bawa Jan Gwarzo, who employed him as tutor for his two sons, Nafata and Yunfa, at Alkalawa. At their first meeting, the king of Gobir became highly impressed with Shehu Dan Fodio, particularly because of his vision, which, to a greater extent, was more than that of many scholars before him. At that meeting in 1789, the king of Gobir made a public pronouncement to the effect that the Shehu was at liberty to teach throughout his land. Abdullahi asserts that Bawa's support and protection increased the Shehu's following, as people did not disobey the king's orders.⁸ At the meeting, Shehu demanded concessions which were granted to him by the king of Gobir, after the Eid al-Kabir:

that my Jama'a and I are in no need of your wealth, but I asked of you five things. To allow me to call people to God in your country; not to stop anybody who intends to respond to my call; to treat with respect any man with a turban; to free all the political prisoners and not to burden the subjects with tax.⁹

The king of Gobir, Bawa, accepted Shehu Dan Fodio's requests. 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 referred to the constituted authority, particularly their syncretist practices, imposition of unfair taxation, oppression of the masses, tyrannic corruption, and arbitrary dispensation of justice, to mention just a few, as the basis of their whole movement.¹⁰ Many people flocked to him because they regarded him as a savior and a deliverer in this World and the hereafter.¹¹ Consequently, Uthman Dan Fodio became increasingly popular and influential in Gobir and other parts of Hausaland. However, the growing influence of the Shehu had political implications that the sarakuna of Gobir, after the death of Bawa and his successor, Yumfa (1790-95), could not contain. The situation in Gobir was similar to the condition in Daura and other parts of Hausaland.

At the time, the talakawa class also constituted the majority of society, including the leadership of clan groups, such as the Fulbe group in Kurneji, which mobilized and supported the jihad under Mallam Isyaku. The Daura society at the time was composed of the Hausa, Fulbe, and Tuareg, who were his main followers and the dominant group in Daura. Mallam Isyaku imitated the leadership style of his teacher, Uthman Dan Fodio, which made him increase the size of his *Jama'a* (community). A considerable number of them flocked to him for Islamic Knowledge. Many of them saw him as a messiah who came to direct them to the side of God and save them from the ills of society and free them from the oppression of the

⁸ Abdullahi b. Muhammad, *Tanzin al-Waraqat* (ed. M. Hiskett), Ibadan, 1963, p. 86.

⁹ El-Masri, "The Life of Shehu...", p. 441; D.M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longman, London, 1976, p.8.

¹⁰ H.C.F. Smith, "A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Islamic Resolutions of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. II, No. 3, December 1961, p. 177.

¹¹ Many people joined the movement for a diverse reasons, the Muslims, non-Muslims, Hausa, Fulbe, Tuareg, among others. For details see, A.D.H. Biver, "The Watiqat Ahl Sudan," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1961.

ruling class. The situation triggered fear and tension. 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.¹² Having realized this danger, the successors of Bawa Jan Gwarzo, Nafata and later Yunfa, resorted to hostile reactions and persecutions against the Shehu and his followers. A case in point was the attack on Abdulsalam, a follower of Uthman Dan Fodio. The actions of Nafata and later Yunfa in 1803 became highly inflammable, a spark to the tinder, leading to the first military clash between Danfodio's followers and the Gobir ruling class at Tafkin Kwatto in February 1804, in which the kingdom was defeated.¹³ In the same year, the jihad spread to other parts of Hausaland. The jihad war broke out in Daura in 1805, as we shall see later.

The Jihad¹⁴ Campaign

Long before the outbreak of the jihad in 1804 in Gobir, the political and economic situation in the Duara State had worsened. When the Jihad movement started, scholars all over Hausaland became the leaders of the movement. In Daura, Mallam Isyaku, who his father taught the Qur'an, Hadith, and Arabic, and later moved to Shehu Dan Fodio, from whom he learnt 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 popular and attracted disciples from all over Daura and neighbouring areas. Students from Daura, Danbatta, and parts of Katsina and Kano flocked to him to benefit from his scholarly teaching. They were particularly enticed by the content of his teaching, which called people to change from the old order and urged authorities to pursue political and economic reforms. Just like Usman Dan Fodio, his teacher, his eloquence and intellectual prowess earned him many followers even before the outbreak of the jihad.

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 among his

¹² I. Sulaiman, *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman dan Fodio*, Mansell, London, 1986, p. 103.

¹³ Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al Maisurfi* (ed.), Whitting, London, 1951, p. 67.

¹⁴ The concept of jihad has defied a single definition. The word has many meanings depending on the individual perspective. With regard to the nineteenth-century jihad of Usman Dan Fodio, many scholars, such as H.A.S. Johnston, A. Smith, and R.A. 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. For details, see H.C.F. Smith, "A Neglected Theme of West African History..." p. 170.

disciples in Fulfulde and Hausa throughout the region.¹⁵

When the Shehu decided to embark on hiira, he instructed all his supporters and disciples who were with him at Degel to return to their areas and prepare.¹⁶ Also, while at Magabshi, the *Shekh* 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.¹⁷ The 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 would only bring calamity upon them, as Allah has sworn to help the believers and defeat the unbelievers. When the messenger delivered the letter to *Sarkin* Katsina, Bawa Dan Gima, it was read and then torn in anger and contempt. The *Sarkin* Kano, Alwali, on the other hand, wavered before rejecting it, while *Sarkin* Zazzau, Musa, and *Sarkin* Daura, Abdu, accepted the Shehu's requests but were opposed by their councils. Some *Ulama* who aligned themselves with the *Sarakuna* opposed the contents of the letter and the *Shehu's* call that he would only bring (*ftna*) chaos to the communities.¹⁸

After the jihad war broke out in 1804, Mallam Isyaku, who had already returned to Daura, began mobilizing. Many people, particularly commoners and their students, who saw this as an opportunity to air their grievances, migrated en masse to Kurmeji. Mallam Isyaku, without any slightest hesitation, quickly entered into alliances with the rest of the *Fulbe* from all over the Daura area. He called for a meeting at Kurmeji in 1805.¹⁹ *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 the demand for reform all over Hausaland. By 1806, hostilities broke out in Daura.

The Establishment of the Emirate in Daura

After the outbreak of the jihad war at Tafkin Kwatto in 1804, the flag bearer in Daura, Mallam Isyaku, mobilized his supporters in 1805, in various settlements in the Daura area, such as Kurmeji, Shukwanawa, Shakowa, Rüwan Dutsi, Fago Fulani, Madobi, Bojo, Suduje, Zugai, Kwassarawa, Karkarku, Daneji, Rima, among many others, to start the war.²⁰ 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 jihadists' camp in Kasar Kano, who supported the

¹⁵ M.D. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate...*, p. 9.

¹⁶ Y.B. Usman, *Transformation of Katsina, 1400-1883*, Ahmadu Bello University, Press, Zaria, 1978, p. 249.

¹⁷ Muhammad Bello, *Infraq al-Maisurfi* op. cit, p. 73.

¹⁸ A.D.H. Biver, "The Wathiqat al-Sudan: The Manufestor of the Fulani Jihad...", pp. 235-243; Muhammad Bello, *Infraq al Maisurfi*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁹ Alhaji Dandada Manzo, *Sarkin* Fulani, Kwassarawa, 73 years, December, 2017.

²⁰ M.B Sani, "A Hidtory of Daura Emirate 1806-1903 A.D." Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2023, p. 103.

Shehu's cause. The sarakuna of Daura and Katsina were apparently frightened by the way the Jihadists were consuming the Pre-Jihadist kingdoms, which led them to attack the Jihadists in Kano, probably in support of the ousted government there.²¹ 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 into surrender by having its corn supply cut off. 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 regain his capital. He later died about 1809 in Yekuwa.²² There are, however, contradictions over when and where the Sarki of Daura died. Many sources give divergent views on the issue.²³

After the siege of Daura and the Sarki's flight, which marked a major success for the jihadists, they entered the capital. Soon after they entered the capital, a serious conflict ensued between two of the jihad leaders, Mallam Isyaku and Dan Tunku, over who would occupy the throne as the first Emir.²⁴ Although Dan Tunku did not belong to the Fulbe group in Daura, he played a major role in the defeat of the kingdom. 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 the simple reason that he was their leader and lived among them even before the jihad. A 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 to Mallam Isyaku as the true Emir of Daura in 1806.²⁵ To appease Dan Tunku, Mallam Isyaku appointed him to the important office of Kaura. Dan Tunku declined the offer, withdrew with his supporters, and moved southwards, where he eventually established his base at Danbatta and took over the Government.²⁶ This marked the beginning of a new administration under an Emirate system. Hence, Daura became an emirate under the overlordship of the Sokoto Caliphate, with the Galadima of Sokoto as its supervisor. Meanwhile, the Emirate Government of Daura survived from 1806 until it was taken over by the British in 1903. Considering the justification for the jihad, the intrigue between the two contending jihad leaders over the assumption of the emirship in Daura after the jihad, and their efforts to bring about changes and reform society, some scholars concluded that the whole movement was fought purely for political reasons. To put it simply, the Fulbe fought the jihad to overthrow the Hausa ruling

²¹ M.B. Sani "A History of ...", p. 103.

²² S.J. Hogben, and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, p. 151.

²³ Many sources 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. Also see Amet, *The Rise of the Sokoto...* p. 79, for different views.

²⁴ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura...", p. 104

²⁵ M.B. Sani "A History...", p. 104

²⁶ F.W. Gowers, *Gazetteers of Kano Province, Frankcass, London, 1972, p. 29.*

class. This is certainly a wrong submission because Shehu Danfodio has clearly outlined certain criteria and qualities in his book, *Kitab al-Farq and Usul al-Siyasa*, by Muhammad Bello, what a person must possess before he is appointed as a leader in a community. The two leaders, Mallam Isyaku and Dan Tukku, both stood to become the emir because they had the qualities. Nine emirs ruled the Emirate during Mallam Isyaku's tenure. For details of these emirs and the period they reigned, see the table below.

Table 1.1: Names of the Emirs of Daura and their Reigns from 1806 - 1907

| S/N | NAMES | 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 | 31 Years | 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 |
| 8 | Sogiji | 1906 - 1906 | 19 Days | Son of Mairgardo |
| 9 | Magajiya Murnai | 1906 - 1907 | 4 Months | Son of Bello |

Source: Alhaji Mamman Manzo, Sarkin Fulani, Kwassarawa, 29th December, 2017.

The Impact of the Jihad

The impact of the nineteenth-century jihad on Daura can be better understood by comparing it, in part, with how the pre-jihad kingdom functioned.²⁷ The jihad brought about fundamental transformations, including the defeat and fragmentation of the former kingdom into three separate kingdoms of Daura, Zango, and Baure; the establishment of an emirate-type government; the expansion of Islam and the Islamisation of society; urbanization; and economic and commercial prosperity, among others.

The fragmentation of Daura into three separate States was due to the defeated kingdom's refusal to be subjugated; instead, the Sarki, with his people, continued to wander in exile. While an emirate-type government was operating in Daura, the defeated Sarki, with his entourage, moved to and settled in many places, establishing two separate kingdoms in addition to the Daura Emirate. Consequently, there were Daura Emirate, Daura Zango and Daura Baure. These two kingdoms, however, took over some villages that were under the Emirate into their control. After the old kingdom's defeat by the jihadists, the king fled the capital, settled with his followers in various places, and established a mobile government without a capital. After his death, his sons engaged in a political feud, leading to the fragmentation of the polity into separate chiefdoms. But this is a detail for another discussion. Therefore, the Daura Emirate

²⁷ For the Nature of the Government in Daura Kingdom before the 19th Century see, M.G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura*, University of California Press, Barkley, Loss Angeles, 1978, pp. 52-142.

was reduced drastically from its former size, which it had governed before the jihad.

Another far-reaching consequence of the jihad in Daura was the establishment of an Emirate-type government within the ideological framework of the Shari'a. It was a centralized administration based on Islamic theory of government and values, guided by the Holy Qur'an and Hadiths. It was a government headed by an *Amir* subordinate to the Caliph. The emir, in turn, delegated his authority to the subordinate rulers who administered provinces, districts and villages as vassals on his behalf, based on the principles laid down by the ideal of the jihad as clearly outlined by Shehu in *Infaq al-Maisur* and Muhammad Bello in *Usul al-Siyasa* as the constitution of the government of the caliphate and that of the emirates. The appointment of the emir used to be by the Caliph in Sokoto. The pre-jihad kingdom of Daura had no established method of succession to the office of the Sarki. There was no rule establishing direct hereditary succession from father to son, but every prince of the Royal House was eligible for succession.²⁸ In the Emirate, the selection of the emir allowed local opinion to be taken into consideration, but under the caliphate's constitution, as enshrined in the Emirate after the jihad against the preceding Daura Kingdom, selectors made their choice without considering local opinion. It was therefore easy for a powerful prince to usurp the throne with a display of wealth or the support of palace officials.²⁹ All the emirs of Daura in the nineteenth century were appointed by the emirate council in accordance with the constitution of the Emirate, except for Emir Zubairu, who usurped the position and was later deposed.

Also, the terror with which the Emir governed in the Daura Emirate depended on the Caliph's overlordship, not on the Sarki or the state being hitherto independent.³⁰ To a certain extent, the Emir enjoyed relative independence in administering the emirate, subject to the non-violation of the shari'a. Shehu Dan Fodio warned the emirs not to imitate the system of the Hausa governments in their conduct. Despite Shehu Dan Fodio's warning not to imitate the system of government of the Hausa Kingdom, Mallam Isyaku ignored it and adopted most of the titles of the old kingdom's government, which he overthrew. Appointments to political offices, which were supposed to be on merit and piety, were still hereditary in the Emirate. The government's operations within its political institutions were largely within the framework of the old order that the jihad leaders had envisaged establishing.³¹ Most of the titles of the pre-jihad Daura Kingdom were adopted, new ones were introduced, and those that had changed maintained their functions. For example, the new offices introduced included the Sa'i (tax

²⁸ Alhaji Ya'u Sani Zakari, Bunturawan Daura, 54, at Sandamu, 19/12/2017.

²⁹ This situation was clearly cited by S. Abubakar, "The Emirate-Type of Government in the Sokoto Caliphate," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. II, No. 2, June 1974, pp. 216-222.

³⁰ Alhaji Lawal Haruna, Council Members, op. cit., 18/12/2017. The adoption of old titles of the pre-jihad Daura Kingdom notwithstanding. This was governed by considerations of utility and convenience to suit the condition of the new society. This was allowed so long it would be operated within the framework of the constitution of the government.

³¹ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura...", p. 109.

collector), the Alkali (judge), and the Imam (leader of prayers), among many others. The office of the Sarka survived but transferred to Sarkin Bai. The matrimonial title of Magajiya of the old Daura kingdom, with constitutional powers to veto and depose the king, was rejected.³² The office was given to one Mallam Saddig, the cousin of Mallam Isyaku, who was made the district head of Karkarku. The office of the Galadima was maintained but lost most of its major functions, including the independent appointment, control, and dismissal of princes. The office of the Tarno was also retained, but given to an enslaved person rather than a prince. Other offices that were given to enslaved people, especially from the second decade of the nineteenth century, included Sarkin Bai, Wambai, Fada Babba, and Sarkin Dawaki. The office of Sarkin Shanu, Samba'a, was among the few that were abolished.³³ Those offices appointed immediately after the jihad were Bunturawa (heir apparent), Kaura, Waziri, Tarno, Galadima, Yerima, among many others.

One of the major impacts of the jihad in Daura after the consolidation of the Emirate government was the promotion of Islamic learning and Islamization. The Emir emphasized the need for people to acquire Islamic knowledge. This was encouraged because it is imperative in religion and in daily affairs, such as trade and commerce, marriage, and social interactions among the people. All these were observed because of the increased awareness of Islamic Sciences, which, to a large extent, helped greatly in Islamisation. Consequently, Islam became a vehicle for unity and cohesion in the Emirate. The old division of the society between the Habe and the Fulbe, Tuareg or Kanuri alike was replaced; now it was between Muslims and non-Muslims only.

As a result of the encouragement for Islamic learning, there was an increase in scholarship in the Emirate of Daura. Many Islamic centres developed in and outside the Birni, the capital. A good example of those centres included the one at Kuntaru. There was another school at Unguwar Liman, founded by Mallam Aliyu Matawallan Daura, who came from Ngazargamu in Bornu. His family also founded the Islamic Centre in Kolori in Damagaram. He came to Daura on the eve of the jihad during the reign of Sarkin Gwari Abdu. After the jihad, the school became a centre for Islamic scholarship. One Mallam Ahmadu Aliyu founded another centre at Kofar Bawu also in the capital after the jihad. Mallam Ahmadu came from Daura, Isa. Other Islamic centres were established outside the capital at Baure, Matallawa near Dutsi and Karkarku near Daura. The school in Karkarku was founded by one of Mallam Isyaku's relations, the Emir. Some of these centres still exist and are controlled by their descendants.³⁴

Daura Emirate enjoyed the rule of law safeguarded by a group of learned Ulama, whom the Emir appointed as jurists or Alkalai, judges. This was to stabilize the newly emerging administration. Their main function was to uphold social justice as the guardians of true faith.

³² M.G. Smith, *The Affairs...*, p. 285.

³³ For details of those titles appointed and those that changed functions in addition to those retained see M.G. Smith, *The Affairs...*, pp. 273-285.

³⁴ M.B. Sani "A History of Daura..." p. 110

These ulama came from different places, such as Katsina, Damagaram, and Bornu, and were appointed Qadis (judges) in various towns of the Emirate. Some of them, in addition to their primary function as judges, also became leading Imams at various mosques in major towns. In Mai Aduwa, for example, Mallam Muhammadu Tsoho became the chief Imam of the central mosque during the reign of Emir Muhammad Bello (1837-1868).³⁵ Also, in smaller towns, judges were appointed by the Emir. The Emir also granted the Ulama landed estates as motivation for their service to the Emirate. These scholars also served as advisers in the Emir's court. They received appeals from various courts in different towns.³⁶ The judicial system of the Emirate was highly effective in stabilizing the Emir's authority and promoting peace.

Another major impact of the jihad should be seen in the theory and practice of the new emirate's administration, which was largely carried out strictly in accordance with the Islamic conceptualization of justice. Everything, such as trade, production, and arbitration, was largely based on the Qur'an and Hadith, as opposed to the old kingdom, which was more or less secular. Urban development, which the jihad brought about, was an important consequence in the Daura Emirate. This was a result of demographic changes. There was the emergence and development of urban areas, particularly through migrations. After the jihad, Shehu Dan Fodio encouraged all Emirs in the Caliphate to establish new settlements. Consequently, urban development became one of the overall policies of Mallam Isyaku and subsequent Emirs in the Daura Emirate. The growth of centres of economic activity and administration facilitated the policy of urban development. Settlements such as Sandamu, Karkarku, Mai Aduwa, and Kwassarawa grew into urban centres. This was the result of increased agricultural production, manufacturing, trade, and commerce. These towns became semi-urbanized owing to the migration of artisans, traders, scholars, and students from within and beyond the Daura area into the Emirate. These towns became cosmopolitan in nature as a result of the sedentarisation of nomadic and semi-nomadic Fulbe in the Emirate. This migratory trend of peasant cultivators, Fulbe, and artisans into Daura was facilitated by the accommodating attitude of the Emirate's administration, particularly toward the pastoral Fulbe, which attracted them from Zango, Baure, and other neighbouring emirates of Katsina and Kano. The migration rate was generally higher in the Daura Emirate than in Zango and other places.³⁷ The growth of settlements due to migration and sedentarization further spurred the development of towns.

The Emirate attained a great position of economic prosperity in the nineteenth century. To consolidate the new emirate's administration, Daura needed a sound economy. The Emirate adopted an economic organization that was simpler and perhaps more rational than that of the former kingdom,³⁸ as shown earlier. The Emirate's economy depended on agricultural production. Therefore, Mallam Isyaku encouraged agriculture, livestock production,

³⁵ M.B. Sani "A History of Daura...", p. 111

³⁶ M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate...*, pp. 75-78.

³⁷ M.G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura...*, p. 271.

³⁸ M.G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura...*, p. 271.

manufacturing, and trade. Peasant agriculture became the economic basis of the Emirate with peasant labour as the basic means of production, combined with slave labour.³⁹ Unlike the pre-jihad kingdom of Daura, which depended on covee, the Emirate abolished covee in agricultural production and made greater use of slave labour than its Hausa predecessor. There was no harassment in the coffee production to cultivate official farms.⁴⁰

As a result of state encouragement, agriculture and livestock rearing soared due to intensive slave labour. Manufacturing and commodity production were expanded rapidly. Trade and commerce were also improved as a result of the influx of foreign merchants from North Africa and within the region.⁴¹ All the new and the already existing landed estates were expanded through slave labour, which also increased food production considerably. The Daura Emirate depended on the State Fiscal Policy to improve its economy. Mallam Isyaku reorganised state revenues by imposing only those taxes recognized and recommended in Islam. The Emirate imposed a poll tax, the tithe, land tax, booty and unclaimed property, among others. Other forms of taxes that were not recommended in Islam were abolished in the Emirate.

Conclusion

The paper discussed the transformation of Daura from a kingdom to an emirate in the nineteenth century. The paper revealed how society in the Daura kingdom before the nineteenth century had degenerated, leading to a sharp contradiction between the constituted authority, on the one hand, and the proponents of change, on the other. Consequently, a movement led by the intelligentsia emerged, overthrew the pre-jihad kingdom and in its place, established a new political community led by Mallam Isyaku under the overlordship of the Amir al-Muminin caliph in Sokoto. The research further revealed that the new emirate government of Daura transformed the society along Islamic lines. Thus, Islam became the guiding principle in all aspects of human life – in trade and commerce, agriculture and manufacturing, among others. The Emirate continued to rule until 1903, when the British overtook it.

³⁹ M.B. Sani “A History of Daura...,” p. 112.

⁴⁰ M.G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura...*, p. 271.

⁴¹ See, C.W. Newbury, “North African and Western Sudan Trade in the 19th Century: A Re-evaluation,” *Journal of African History*, Vol. Viii, No. 2, 1966, p. 167.

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