

**A Reconnoitre of British Colonial Modernism and Islamic
Theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate, c.1903-1914**

By

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Abstract

The paper explore a chequered reconnoitre of British colonial modernism and Islamic theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate, c.1903-1914. Sokoto jihad was a major Islamic movement around the 19th century in West Africa. It was the revolution that influenced other ones that took place at Masina and Tukolor. The Sokoto jihad brought profound transformations in the social, political and economic spheres of Hausaland and beyond. Some of such changes include the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the resurgence of Islam, and the development of learning and scholarship. By 1899, modernism was introduced through the British colonial conquest of 1903 to unseat Islamic theocracy. This subsequently posed lot of threats to continues existence of the Caliphate. Part of the British modernist ideas was reprisal and rejection of religion as well as denouncement of the Glorious Qur'an and Hadith as the only guiding precept and law. This was a paradigm shift that led to the dethronement of Sultan Attahiru I and the appointment of Attahiru II as the new Sultan of Sokoto in 1903. This marked the crestfallen and vilification of Islamic theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate toward the adoption of British law concomitantly with Islamic legal system as a binding law in 1903. By 1914, modernism percolated all sphere of governance and the Islamic theocracy was subdued to the lowest ebb through the adoption of indirect rule system. It was this landmark development and phenomenal change that converted the *Amir-al Munmini* (Commander of the faithful) and Emirs to mere camouflage rulers and tax collector. This paper adopts the synthesis of historical research approach data analysis and methodology.

Key words: Sokoto Jihad, Sokoto Caliphate, Reconnoitre, Modernism

Introduction

The establishment of Sokoto Caliphate in 1809, according to Hogben (1980) could be premised on the socio-economic and political ill-conditions of Hausaland prior the emergence of Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo 19th century jihad. According Last, the old Northern Nigeria as well as some areas in present-day Niger Republic was the scene for the decisive revolution at the beginning of the 19th Century. The movement known variously as the Sokoto, the Fulbe and the Usmanu Danfodiyo jihad marked a crucial turning point in the history of the area (Last, 1977). Over the ruins of the numerous polities of these vast areas of about 250,000sq miles, is the establishment of new political administration of Sokoto Caliphate based primarily on Islamic law and values. Hausaland was the major theatre area of the Islamic revolution which impacts are felt in Western and Central Sudan and from the Senegal in the West to Lake Chad in the East and from the Sahel in the North to the borders of the tropical rain forests in the South of Nigeria area, (Bugaje, 1985).

The British colonial conquest of Hausaland in 1903 was instigated as a result of the growth of industrial revolution and the quest for raw materials and already made markets in what later become Nigeria in 1914 through amalgamation of the North and Southern Protectorates, (Crowder, and 1978). This was the culmination of the integration of modernism into Nigeria capitalist economic system of the Sokoto Caliphate through the introduction of legitimate trade. It was this modernist development between British and Caliphate from 1903 and 1914 that resulted in pockets of resistance against British and colonial domination of the area, (Maishanu and Maishanu, 1999). It is interesting to note that, the British domination ushered in active confrontation in the sense of military in which the defeats of the Caliphate which was the resultant effect of the establishment of British law and government, (Adeleye, 1974). This action consequent on a serious blow that dealt with *Shari'ah* application, with forceful adoption and administration of justice in English law within the admixture Islamic theology. Through this, the application of Islamic theology received a deriving this force, while administration of criminal cases rejected by the use of Qur'an and Hadith, (Adamu, 2001). Here, the British law took a superseding role in which it eventually demoralized the application of Islamic theocracy in area where Islamic principles and precepts had already been established.

However, the period between 1903 and 1914 may be described as a decade of troubles for the Caliphate with the British incorporation of modernist ideologies to the Muslims State. The paper apart from the introduction set-out to examines conceptual discourse, Sokoto prior

the establishment of Islamic theocracy, the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate, the British colonial modernism and the application of Islamic theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate, c. 1903-1914 and lastly the conclusion.

Conceptual Discourse: Modernism and Islamic Theocracy

In general, the term modernism encompasses the activities and output of those who felt the traditional forms of art, architecture, literature, religious faith, social organization and daily life were becoming outdated in the new economic, social, and political conditions of an emerging fully industrialized world. The modernist movement at the early 20th century marked the first time that the term “avant-garde,” with which the movement was labelled until the word "modernism" prevailed. However, modernism is use for the arts rather than in its original military and political context, (Oser, 2007).

The term ‘modernism’ is notoriously difficult to define because it encompasses variety of artistic and philosophical movement which include symbolism, futurism, ageism and vorticism among others. Modernism is a progression of life of a group of people from an antique or old fashioned way to a new way of living. It is the philosophical movement that arose from the wide seek along with cultural changes in transformation of the western society in the 19th and 20th centuries, (Osmane, 2003). From the foregoing, modernism is an attempt to shape or a progressive trend that helps human beings to reshape their environment with the aid of practical experimentation, scientific knowledge, or technology. The historical factors that influenced modernism include: world war, industrial revolution, new technology, changes in politics.

The literal meaning of “theocracy” is “the rule of God.” In a contextual sense, it has become a term that refers to a “state dominated by priests and religious leaders.” Much of pre-eighteenth-century history shows that religion and politics were closely integrated, often indivisible and entwined. Several authors have insisted that in the last few decades, there has been a huge backing for theocratic governance principles not only from Muslims but also from people of other religions. Some countries such as Israel, India, Malaysia, and Nigeria allow certain matters such as personal status and family laws to be governed by religious communities. One author fiercely labelled this resurgence of religion in the State politics as the “revenge of God”, while many authors have concluded that this process is a result of the backing of religious believers and institutions who believe that the religion ought to play a

major role, and even to have the authority to dictate in the public sphere as explains y Backus, (1973).

Since Islam is a divine and all-embracing system meant to regulate the conduct of all human beings from the most sophisticated. Islam is, therefore, the root of a Muslim's life in this world, and a Muslim's faith, commitment and sincerity in Islam are expected to be such as to make him prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice his dire life in defence of its existence, (Sa'id, 1995:192). In the opinion of Adamu, (2001), Islamic theocracy is interchangeably or could be invariably express as *Shar'iah* which is indeed a direct commandment of Allah revealed to His noble Prophet (PBUH) for the guidance of humanity for all times. Therefore, according to Doi, (1984), *Shari'ah* or Islamic theocracy is an Arabic word meaning the Path to be followed or literally, it means "the way to a watering place."

Sokoto Prior to the Establishment of Islamic Theocracy

The establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate may look ordinary and incidental, but like all revolutions it had far reaching repercussions. Sokoto, prior the establishment of the Caliphate, was a wide area or a geographical entity occupied by Islam and indigenous religious practices, (Bugaje, 1985:7). In the opinion of Last (1977), in the middle of 18th century, the area where now Sokoto town stands, lay on the borders of the three Kingdoms of Gobir, Kebbi and Zamfara. When Shehu Usman first entered Gobir together with his brother Abdullahi and the rest of their followers, Islam was already in existence in the Hausa States, but almost all the Hausa chiefs and rulers were not fully adhering to the teachings of Islam. Anene and Brown (1966) expresses that what rather appears was the dilution of Islam with pagans' characteristics which is refers to as syncretism, this included the ancestral worship, magic or *Bori*(Devil possession) sacrifices to idols, trees, stones and streams among others.

In addition to the explanation of Bugaje (1985:7), there were many scholars with knowledge, but most of them preoccupied themselves with teaching their very few students in their ivory towers neglecting the mass of the people and even their families. The few scholars '*ulama*' who were engaged in mass preaching were very rigid in their views, anathematising, (*takfir*), the masses and engaging in all sorts of venality. Local customs and beliefs were so mixed with Islam that the issue of what is Islam and what is not Islam was the talk of the day. Thus, at the onset of his mission, Shaykh focussed his attention on these problems; the mass ignorance of Islam; the rigidity and venality of the '*ulama*'; the issue of syncretism and the question of Belief and Unbelief, *Kufr*, (Bugaje, 1985:8). There were also the corrupt '*ulama*' ('*ulama*'*al-su'i*) most of whom were associated with the rulers court, who in their

efforts to maintain the established order and protect their vested interest, justified political corruption, immorality and all sorts of evils on the grounds that these were customs (*ada*) and tradition.

The study by Smith (1987:135), states that the *Fulani Gida* (sedentary Fulani) had for several centuries been settled under the Hausa governments, though sometimes Muslim in name did not normally enforce the *Shariah*. Outside the metropolitan areas indeed, the Fulani were in place settled among the Hausa subjects who were quite untouched by Islam (Maguzawa). Immediately the southward of the Hausa speaking area, from Borgu to the Gongola valley and the upper Benue, Fulani Gida also settled among a great diversity of purely pagan peoples. In this regard, according to Trimingham, (1966), during the period, Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo- a great scholar, together with his brother Abdullahi Danfodiyo, his son Muhammad Bello and their supporters began to preach and teach a more purified form of Islam, to which he was calling those who had ears to hear. He started from Degel, then move to Gobir, and thereafter to Zamfara Kebbi and later the propagation spread to all Hausaland including Nupe, Ilorin and Abuja. In making this point clear the Shehu said:

Among their misconceptions is that some of them (i.e. ulama) tolerated unworthy customs on the ground of the sayings which are widespread in the lands, that the custom of a land is *Sunna*. But this is falsehood and confusion according to the consensus of opinion *Ijma* because a custom should not be tolerated if it contradicts the *Sunna* (of the prophet)... I was told by one of the brethren that he heard some of them say "Forbidding evil in the land of evil is the real evil." And for this reason, they do not query each other for committing an evil. I take refuge with Allah the Exalted; this is one the characteristics of the Jews, Al-Hajj quoted in Usman (1975:8).

More fundamental to the period prior the establishment of the Caliphate, Shehu Usmanu also condemned those classes of charlatans who posed as saints or *Sufi Shaykhs*. Such people were in most cases of very low learning who made their living by divination and prophecy. Many of these '*Ulama*' claimed the power of *Kashf* (mystical experience of transcendental knowledge) and thus duped the common people as demonstrates by Bugaje (1985:10). In addition, Al-Hajj (1975) and Kani (Muarram, 1405) extolls that of the major activities that confronted Sokoto prior the establishment of the Caliphate was that Shehu directed his attention in the initial stage of his movement primarily to the '*Ulama*' class who appear to have been a formidable force in Hausaland in the eighteenth century. This was a situation where Muslims, syncretises and pagans lived side by side the *Ulama* who wielded

considerable authority as the sole arbiters of religious practice and social behaviour. These were the fanatics who anathematized the common people on the basis of scholastic theology and rigid adherence to the Malik *madhhab*.

Another ill-condition prior the establishment of the Caliphate was the activities of the pseudo-saints. In another direction, the Shehu was critical of the excessive claims of religious charlatans who posed as *Sufi Shaykhs*. Such people were normally minor *scholars* who made living by divination and prophesy. Many of them claimed that they possessed the power of *Kashf* (mystical unveiling) and thus duped the common people. It should be remembered, however, that the Shehu was not opposed to genuine *Sufism* because he himself was a follower of the *Qadiriyya tariqa*. What he rejected was the claimed of *kashf* and the power to perform miracles. Thus, when his followers attributed to him such powers he denied their claims, (Trimingham, 1962).

In comprehension of intellectual position of Sokoto prior the Caliphate, Smith (1987:135) states that the movement represented much more than the attempt of a few under-privileged and determined men to seize political power for their own benefit. One of the major problems which faced the Shehu at the beginning of the movement was lack of religious instruction among the masses. According to Muhammad Bello, the majority of the common people were ignorant of the basic tenets of the faith, and very few of them could perform the *ibadat* (rituals) in the proper manner. In his preaching, therefore, the Shehu used to explain to the congregation the proper performance of the basic obligations of Islam (i.e. *salat, zakat, sawn*, etc.) in the vernacular (i.e. Fulfulde or Hausa). It should be noted that the Shehu used Arabic in teaching and scholarship as well as extensive use of *Ajami* in his sermons. In particular, his poems in Fulfulde seem to have been the real vehicle for the dissemination of his ideas among the masses, Al-Hajj in Usman (1975:10).

Equally significant to the socio-cultural ill-condition of Sokoto prior the establishment of the Caliphate system was the manifestation of ethnic colouration and differences among different inhabitants, for example the Fulani and Hausa. There was the fear and distrust on the part of the Hausa overlords, while superiority and frustration on the part of the 'settled' Fulani created unstable conditions in the society which contributed in a large measure to the growth of the Shehu's movement. Added to the social discrimination exhibited during the pre-Caliphate period as observes by Al-Hajj (1975) include the *Bararoji*(Fulbe pastoralists) who had suffered from arbitrary cattle-tax (*jangali*) and occasional raids on their cattle by the *Sarakuna* (Hausa rulers). Their position was made worse by the fact that they resisted

assimilation into Hausa society on grounds of differences of language and tradition. For the Fulbe, their way of life (*pulaku*) could not be compromised in any situation that might have arisen as it was sacred, superior and self-sufficient. Internal marriage with the local population was scornful and economic transactions. Thus, the *Baroroji* maintained themselves as a separate group completely untouched by Hausa culture. Their search for the best grazing land, however, often brought them into conflict with the Hausa peasants. But when the tension reached breaking-point, they usually reasserted their independence by migration to another territory. However, the Hausa peasantry were another group among the Shehu's supporters who were the objects of current form of oppression, exploitation and injustice as narrated by Hodgkin (1960:80). It would appear that 18th century Hausaland was feudal in the sense that the land belonged to the ruling aristocracy and the peasants had no right of ownership. This would mean an arbitrary system of land tenure which was open to abuse and exploitation. The peasants were made to pay excessive taxes, and their farms were often expropriated. As narrated by Al-Hajj (1975:11), the people of Zamfara, in particular seems to have suffered enormously from this arbitrary system of land tenure. Zamfara was conquered by Gobir in the middle of the 18th century but remained in constant rebellion throughout the latter half of the century, (Crowder, 1978). The conquest of Zamfara was followed by the depriving of land and its distribution as fief among the ruling aristocracy of Gobir. With these humiliation, therefore joined the Shehu's movement, not so much smelt the scent of Islam, but rather because the Shehu's attacks on arbitrary land tenure and uneconomical taxes coincided with their own economic grievances, (*Ibid*).

In essence, slavery formed the bulk of exploitation that transpired in the pre-Caliphate period. Another group of discontented elements in Hausa society were the slaves. Although in Islamic legal system only non-Muslims can be enslaved, in the 18th century Hausa freed Muslims met the same faith especially when they were captured in the inter-tribal wars. This practice forms an object of special criticism in the writings of the Shehu, who condemns in particular the enslavement of the Fulani to whom he attributes a long-standing Islamization.

I say, any success is with God, that it is unlawful to purchase the Fulani of these lands as slaves... because the majority of their tribes are Muslims except for a group behind Jenne who are said to be unbelievers, (Al-ajj, 1975).

For instance, in the early stages of his movement prior the establishment of Sokoto the Caliphate, the Shehu kept aloof from the court and did not go out of his way to antagonize the rulers. When Shehu's community expanded and its politico-religious nature became

evident, he tried to keep his followers within bounds and appease the rulers. Abdullahi corroborated and states:

The Shaykh was not in the habit of visiting the kings nor of having any dealings with them, but when the community around him increased and his mission became well-known to the kings and others, he realised that it was necessary to visit them. That he went to the Emir of Gobir, Bawa and explained to him the true Islam and ordered him to follow it and establish justice in his lands. Then he returned to his dwelling place and he was enabled thereby to preach the religion, since those who did not fear God began to fear denying his cause because of his connection with the Sultan, (Al-Hajj, 1975:13).

During the *Idiel* prayer, more than one thousand scholars from Gobir had defected to join the Shehu's community, (Last, 1977:7). When the Shaykh's followers became a formidable force to be reckoned with, they were subjected to all sorts of persecution. The kings have started to make mockery of them. According to Muhammed Bello those kings and their associates began to persecute the community (*Jama'a*) and stood in their ways and confiscated their properties. They threatened the *Jama'a* with extermination if they did not abandon what they were doing. At that time the *Shaykh's* community was helpless and has no intention of fighting the kings of the Hausaland. It is interesting to recognise that the end of 1795 was a decisive period in the history of the *Jama'a*, Al-Masri (1963:436). When the *Shaykh* noticed how large the *Jama'a* had become and how strong their demand was to break with unbelievers and wage a Jihad he began to urge them to arm themselves by saying "to equip oneself with arms is a *Sunna*." Al-Masri (1963) Then Nafata, the Sultan of Gobir, decided to check the power of the *Jama'a* by declaring that nobody except the *Shaykh* was allowed to preach, and that there should not be any more conversion to Islam and those who were not born Muslims should return to their former religion. Lastly, men should not wear turbans and that women not wear veils. Some sources claimed that Yunfa, the successor of Nafata, tried to kill the *Shaykh* by firing a gun at him when he invited him one day, but the *Shaykh* was saved by some Allah, Al-Masri (1963:445).

Thus, the king had become enraged and intolerant of the Shaykh's community that constituted a great danger to their throne and that the Shaykh's preaching and conversion exercise had success. The kings tried by all means to contain the spread of the Shaykh's ideas to the masses but, it was too late; for the Shaykh's idea, had become a widespread among their subjects. Moreover, his students have been taking active role in communicating the

knowledge they received from him and as well preached in their respective areas. Muhammad Bello expressed the way the Shaykh used to preach; he said:

...know that, I witnessed that when he wanted to come out of the people, he stood in the corner of the house for a while to say something. Then he went to the people. I asked him what is that you have been doing? He replied: I was renewing the *Niyya* (the intention) and pledging to Allah to be sincere in what I was going to say and I was saying and I was begging Him to help the people comprehend what I was saying (teaching).

The above backdrop depicts the socio-economic, political, cultural and religious ill-conditions prior the emergence of Sokoto Caliphate. However, the ill-conditions culminated to the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate and the enormous transformations impacted throughout West Africa in the 19th century.

Islamic Theocracy and the Establishment of Sokoto Caliphate

The forces that led to the creation of the Sokoto Caliphate and the modern Sokoto State are both tied together by the history and the forces of the jihad of 1804 in Hausaland itself. The Sokoto Caliphate is one of the earliest and egalitarian states established under the Islamic ideology in the sub-Saharan Africa. It was the first plural state that was diverse, and heterogeneous, essentially established by union of multiple and tribal entities in West Africa under the banner of the religion of Islam, (Abubakar, 2016).

The period 1810-1817 was the period of consolidation and expansion of the Sokoto Caliphate founded by Shaykh Usmanu Danfodiyo bin. Fodiyo. By 1810 almost all the Habe kingdoms were already overthrown. Moreover, the frontiers of the Caliphate were extended in all directions to include new areas such as Adamawa in the East and Nupe and part of Oyo Kingdom in the South. As a result of this new development, Sokoto Caliphate had to face new administrative, political, social and economic challenges, (Kani, 1405:85). Usmanu Danfodiyo, (an Islamic scholar and an urbanized Fulbe), had been actively educating and preaching in the city of Gobir with the approval and support of the Hausa leadership of the city. However, when Yunfa, a former student of Danfodiyo became the Sultan of Gobir he restricted Danfodiyo's activities, forcing him into exile in Gudu, (Graham, 2012). A large number of peoples left Gobir to join Danfodiyo and as a response on February 21, 1804, Yunfa declared war on Danfodiyo. Despite some early losses at the battle of *tsuntuwa* and elsewhere, the forces of Danfodiyo began taking over some of the key cities starting in 1805.

The war lasted from 1804 to 1808, and the forces of Danfodiyo were able to capture the states of Katsina and Daura, and the important kingdom of Kano in 1807 and Gobir in 1808, (Last, 1977).

After the jihad, the Sokoto Caliphate was an independent Islamic Caliphate in West Africa. It was founded during the Jihad of Usmanu Danfodiyo fought between 1804 and 1809. The Caliphate developed in multiple of independent Hausa kingdoms, at its height the Caliphate linked over 30 different Emirates and over 10 million people in the most powerful state in its region and one of the most significant empires in Africa in the 19th century. The Caliphate was a loose confederation of emirate that recognized the suzerainty of the “commander of the faithful,” (Yola, 2004). The Caliphate was founded in February 1804 at Gudu when Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo was proclaimed *Amir Muminin*, “commander of the faithful.” Usmanu then declared a number of flag bearers among his disciples, creating an early political structure of the Empire known as Islamic theocracy.

For effective and efficient administration of the remote areas, the Caliphate was divided into two: viz, the major administrative division was between the Sokoto Caliphate and Gwandu area. Gwandu Emirate was given to Abdullahi bin Fodiyo (his brother), while Muhammadu Bello (his son) took over the administration of the Sokoto Caliphate. The Emir of Gwandu retained allegiance to the Sokoto Caliphate and spiritual guidance from the Sultan, but the Emir managed the separate Emirates under the supervision independently from the Sultan, (Maishanu, 2014). The political structure of the Caliphate was organized with the Sultan of Sokoto ruling from the city of Sokoto, and a brief period under Muhammadu Bello from Wurno. The leader of each Emirate was appointed by the Sultan as the flag bearer for that city but was given wide independence and autonomy, (Last, 1977).

In the study by Webster, Boahen and Idowu (1978), Bello made a determined effort to win the support of the Hausa people. His first task was to limit the power of the Fulani military chieftains and strengthen his own power, so as to reassert the intellectual, reforming and Islamic character of the movement. In order to achieve this, he emphasised the importance of the scholar in the administration, regardless whether Fulani or Hausa. His first move was the build *ribats* (walled town or fortresses) on the frontiers for defence and to station the army from the peasant settlements. He encouraged the nomadic Fulani to settle around the *ribats*, and both taught the agriculture and educated their children. This policy reduced the dislike between the Hausa peasants and Fulani nomads, removed army

oppression of the peasants by keeping it away from the Hausa settlements, turned nomadic herdsmen into farmers and, through education, began their conversion to Islam, (*Ibid*).

In consolidation of the Sokoto Caliphate, in the peasant areas, Bello gradually replaced the military chiefs in local administration with scholars, who were respected and supported by the people. Since stability of the Caliphate depended largely on Hausa supports and acceptance, he felt it unwise to drive the Hausa into rebellion by enforced conversion to Islam, and therefore relied on education to achieve this. According to normal Islamic practice, Pagan Hausa peasants were allowed to pay taxes, in return for protection against conversion to Islam by force. Even the famous Pagan Choka shrine in Kano was left untouched, (Kani and Gandi: 1990:12).

Since education was the key to efficient administration as well as conversion to Islam, all Emirs were urged to encourage it. Bello himself encouraged the better education of the *scholars*, and provided hospitality for scholars at his courts, so that Sokoto became a widely-respected centre of education and enlightenment. If non-Muslims were to be convinced of the superiority of Islam. With the adoption of Islamic theocracy, Bello checked the courts, and frequently overruled decisions which he believed were unfair. He also encouraged greater links between Fulani and Hausa, and himself married one of Yunfa's wives, entrusting her son with the command of a *ribat* on the northern frontier. Later in time, the Caliphs who came after Muhammad Bello continued to give Hausa positions of trust, and a Muslim Hausa, Dan Halima was encouraged to set up and administer a protective area on the frontier facing Gobir and Maradi, (Bugaje, 1985).

However, in the implementation Islamic legal system, Muhammadu Bello was also concerned with the relationships between Sokoto and the emirates. His policy here held the Caliphate together, for the Emirs had won their thrones with little assistance; as a result they ruled almost independent of Sokoto, which had no standing army, was so busy dealing with internal revolts and external aggression that it was already occupied.

In the analysis by Trimingham (1962), the Sokoto leaders never intended to create an Empire, or tribute area ruled by force. Rather they wished to create a Caliphate, a confederation of states held together by common aims and religious allegiance to the *Amir al-Muminin*. Sokoto's ultimate weapon was to declare a rebellious emir an apostate, which was a powerful weapon as long as the Emirs were devout Muslims and was, in fact, very rarely employed. The Emirate was considered to be self-governing but that were not independent, for the *Amir al-Muminin* had a number of important powers. While each Emirate chose its Emirs, the *Amir al-Muminin* confirmed the appointment, and this gave him considerable

power, especially in Zaria and Nupe where three dynastic lines competed for the throne, for the caliph as arbiter could see that his favourite was chosen. Sokoto also confirmed the appointment of the emir's chief ministers, Idris (2013).

There was a great deal of correspondence from Sokoto to the Emirs dealing with the Hausa administrations which the emirs had inherited and how to convert these to Islamic methods and policies. Regular tours of inspection by Sokoto officials were carried out to advise and oversee the practical application of Islamic legal policy. In addition, a conscious policy was pursued of linking the Sokoto aristocracy with the emirates by marriage. As emphasise by Kani and Gandi (1990), the Emirates sent two kinds of regular tribute to Sokoto. The first was of produce and manufactures, which included an annual tribute, and a percentage of the booty taken in war, as well as gifts at the great Muslim festivals, and from individuals on appointment to office. The second type of tribute consisted of military levies, usually made up of slaves.

In the administration of Islamic theocracy, Hunwick (1965), stress further that an important link in promoting a feeling of Muslim brotherhood was the annual campaign when all the emirs joined their armies with that of Sokoto to extend the frontiers of Islam into Pagan territory. After 1880 the campaigns became less frequent, for religious enthusiasm had declined. There was little desire for war, especially among the peasants and merchants who found trade more profitable and most important of all, there was no serious threat remaining to the Caliphate. Rather than join the campaign, the Emirs preferred to increase their tributes of produce.

Emirs were not compelled to pay the tribute, nor were the amount of the payment laid down. Its size reflected the status of the giver, and if it was withheld this was a sign that the emir had withdrawn from the confederation. Many Emirs, however, as their power and wealth grew, continued to increase the size and magnificence of their tributes to Sokoto; the fact that this was voluntary indicated the strength of the bonds of the confederacy which, though spiritual, were also remarkably practical. In view of the above, by 1903, the British interest in Sokoto Caliphate was the entrenchment of capitalism for profit maximization from export crops. This development prompted the deposition of Attaihiru I and the appointment of Attaihiru II. This was accompanied by some pocket of resistance against colonial domination and interest in the area. For the British ruler to actualise their aspirations they adopted the application of some elements of Common and English law which were ran simultaneously with Islamic theocratic government.

The British Colonial Modernism and Application of Islamic Theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate, c. 1903-1914

The 19th century jihad movement that started in Hausaland subsequently spread to other parts of West Africa. Consequent upon such movement, West Africa witnessed socio-economic and political transformations which include the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The greatest legacy of such movement was the intellectual revolution which spurs the administration of the area. This became possible because the jihad was led by renowned scholars. After the establishment of the Caliphate, the contribution of jihad leaders to scholarship continued with development in literature that guides human existence. (Crowder 1978:76, Afe 2003:25).

As observes by Tukur (1997), by the end of 1899, the consciousness and fear of imminent conquest at the hands of Europeans were widespread in the Caliphate. To entrench modernism, the first day of the 20th century witnessed a decisive change in British policy towards the Sokoto Caliphate. By 1903, the British administration of Northern Nigeria was formally inaugurated at Lokoja by Fredrick Douglas Lugard. The British had thus by implication, abandoned its policy of maintenance of amicable relations as a means of exercising control to the establishment of formal rule either through peaceful negotiation or by force if necessary. This was manifested in the deposition and appointment of *Amir-al Mumini*. Since the earlier peace policy had failed under the Royal Niger Company (RNC), the coming of Lugard as head of administration was tantamount to a tacit expression of British willingness to overthrow the Caliphate by conquest, (Yerima, 2005).

Furthermore, the attempts by the British colonial government to disrupt Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo legacies and the appointment of spiritual headship which his successors retained unimpaired in totality. According to Yerima (2005), even after the loss of their temporal position to the British in 1903, there were still pockets of resistance that culminated into the Sauri revolt of 1906. In retrospect, a campaign was undertaken against the jihadist in the early part of the 1903 in which the British troops were entirely successful. Through this Kano was taken in February 1903, and British forces moved towards Sokoto, with small skirmishes between jihadist troops and the colonial army along the way, they finally reached Sokoto on 13 March 1903, Last (1977). This was the incident that eventually resulted in the decisive war that culminated to the dethronement of Sultan Attahiru I and the appointment of Attahiru II in 1906, (Last, 1970). This syndrome absolutely marked the beginning of the British colonial State modernism that unseated Islamic theocracy to the entrenchment of colonial law, precept and principles. In this direction, the indirect rule

system of governance was embraced through which traditional rulers are allowed to rule their people as well through the supervision of British colonial masters.

As part of the strident effort of the British colonial modernism to disrupt the existing Islamic polity established by Shehu, Adegbite (2000:58), states that the Shari'ah legal system was given recognition by the colonial regime as part of the indirect rule system. Through this, the repugnancy doctrine led to "its progressive subjugation, and English law" eventually declared superior to *Shari'ah*. The regime ignored the *Shari'ah* in full operation and thus restricted to the north, which they designated as "Muslim," while the south was identified as "Christian." Toward the end of British colonial administration, "the application of *Shari'ah* in the north was total, extending to civil and criminal law." This development was overtaken by British new developments on the 1st January, 1914 during the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates. Adegbite (2000) reiterates that certain crimes and penalties known to *Shari'ah* were incorporated into the Penal Code," an arrangement that went with the emergence of 1914 that was meant for the consolidation of Nigeria area administratively.

In addition, as part of the British colonial modernist legacies and ideas for application of *Shari'ah* legal system within the purview of British law in Nigeria were the various drafts of adulterated law. Immediately after all the legal encroachment and effrontery on *Shari'ah*, series of commission and committees were set up by progress to review native courts system administration of justice in Sokoto Caliphate. This was to ensconce to recommends the maintenance of native court on one hand to handle about 95% of civil cases in British laws and constitution, (*Ibid*). However, the issue of establishment the Islamic court were not even applicable for Islamic theocracy(*Shari'ah*) in totality Muslims became a fierce battle between *Shari'ah* protagonists and British antagonists. In a nutshell, the Residents were the provincial law officers for their territories. As such they had access to the records of proceedings and were directed to see that certain punishments like amputation of limbs for theft or stoning to death for adultery etc, (Iliyasu, 2015: 364-365).

Economically, the natives (Sultan and Emir) were subdued and subjected to camouflage rulers, producers of export crops and tax collector under the guise of modernism. This was principally to enrich the economic buoyancy of Britain in raw material and human resources for the growth and development of industrial revolution. To actualise the British colonial State aspirations, the natives were forcefully subjected to planting of export crops (cotton, groundnuts etc) which prices, quality and quantity are determined through the

established marketing board against Islamic theocratic law. This development was at the detriment of food crops which eventually led to famines and starvation in the Caliphate. In inclusiveness, taxes were imposed on the subjects to pay in British colonial State currency (Pound Sterling), this was orchestrated to force the subjects to produce what the colonial need in exchange for the currency in their custody, Bello (2005). It should be noted that the entire gamut of British modernism was exploitative in nature as well as created the cleavages that engendered altercation among the native. Furthermore, the British to exterminate the *Aikin Gaya* system (reciprocity) assistance which was encouraged by Islamic theocracy. When the Native Authority (NA) system was introduced in 1914, the use of force labour by the colonialists principally for the creation of necessary infrastructure such as railways, roads, colonial residences, prisons, barracks, etc, (Bello, 2005: 111). This transformation orchestrated by modernism in the utilization of force labour negated the amiable principles and precepts of Islamic legal system. The members of the labour force were responsible for supplying the necessary tools for the work in question, and also in most cases, for their own sustenance while on the job, (*Ibid*).

Religiously, what often serves as an inhibition to the application of Sharia in Sokoto Caliphate was also in 1914. Traditionally, the *Shari'ah* court judge to sit with the judge of the high court when determining an appeal from Upper Area court in order to avoid wrong application of *Shari'ah*, since the high court judge are not conversant with Islamic law most of them were not even Muslims, (*Ibid*). In consequence, through a legal faith, the noble tradition of safeguarding *Shari'ah* was again abolished by the British. This thus posited serious challenge for its implementation as indeed a large section of the British colonial States officers and personals did not fully understanding the real position of *Shari'ah* to Muslims, (Sa'ad, 1995).

On the socio-cultural perspective, in the tail end of 1914 again, the efforts of the Caliphate for re-application and implementation of Islamic theocracy was also applauded by the Muslims, but was truncated by the First World War of 1914-1918, (Bello, 2005). More so was the inculcation of Western education on the British subjects, a development that had been ushered into Badagry since 1842 (Fafunwa). This culminated in the establishment of ideological dichotomies arising from disputes among Muslims of the Sufists and other Islamic sects. The outcome was as a result of social, political and generational dynamics within the larger field of northern Nigeria radical Islam, (Ramzi, 2011). The British action in this regards continued to nurture religious dichotomies through the introduction of Western

education with the concomitant spread of Christianity to demoralise the application of Islamic theocracy in the Caliphate.

Apart from the above, there was debasing in Islamic cultural system through the application of the admixture of Islamic precepts and English or common law. Through this development ethnic inclination and chauvinism were put into play to oust the existing unity forged by the preaching of Islam as integrated by the jihadists' legacies. In this respect, the indigenous languages such as Arabic, Hausa, Fulbe and Ajami were displaced and invariably replaced by English language. This later become the genre of communication as well as official language of arbitration of justice that was antithetical to Islamic theocracy expunges from the Glorious Qur'an and Hadith during the hey days of the Caliphate, (Bello 2005). In the meantime, the Islamic scholars began to wean away and indirectly derailing from the orthodox practice of Shari'ah legal system.

During the Caliphate system, land ownership were recognised among individuals and community leaders (*Hakimai*), but with the British incursion of modernism it ownership system were modified. For instance, Bello (2005) argue that the colonial policy on land tenure had distinct characteristics, these were to increasingly dispose of the peasants, artisans and pastoralists from the land while, on the other hand, transferring this ownership to the colonial government and through it to the colonial trading companies and their agents.

Conclusion

The paper have examined reconnoitre of the British colonial modernism and Islamic theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate, c. 1903-1914, with particular reference to the transformation inherent from the British colonial subjugation of 1903. The main causes of the jihad revolves around the socio-cultural, economic, political and religious ill-conditions of Hausaland prior the jihad in the 19th century. The Sokoto jihad being a major Islamic movement around the 19th century in West Africa influenced other ones that led to the establishment of Masina and Tukolor Empires. It ushered pristine transformations in the social, political and economic spheres of Hausaland and beyond. Politically, the British modernist ideas was premised on of new ideas as well as the reprisal, rejection of religion and denouncement of the Glorious Qur'an and Hadith as the only guiding precept and law. This transformation led to the resistance that later culminated into the paradigm shift that led to the dethronement of Sultan Attahiru I and the appointment of Attahiru II as the new Sultan of Sokoto in 1903. It is apposite to note that by the end of 1899, modernism was introduced through the British

colonial conquest of 1903. It in consequence unseated the Islamic theocracy that led to Satuni revolt of 1906. The threats of the British scourge of subjugation of the Caliphate led to continue existence of its law and principles, but adulterated with British Common or English law. These developments marked the crestfallen and vilification of Islamic theocracy in Sokoto Caliphate in 1903. In 1914, the British colonial administration amalgamated North and South protectorates as Nigeria. This ushered in modernism that percolated all spheres of governance, and the Islamic theocracy was subdued to the lowest ebb through the adoption of indirect rule system. It was this landmark development and phenomenal changes that converted the *Amir-al Munmini* (Commander of the faithful) and Emirs to mere camouflage rulers and tax collector. Through this, the Islamic education was complemented with Western education, economic system was disrupted, and socio-cultural lives of the natives were subjected to exploitation. Arabic, Fulbe, Ajami and Hausa were replaced with the colonial language for communication and arbitration of justice in Sokoto Caliphate. Forced labour were introduced without adequate compensation, farmers were subjected to intensive production of export crops, while taxes were paid in colonial Pound Sterling. Finally, it is essential to construe that the whole gamut of British colonial modernism is exploitative in nature and has continue up to 1914 to unleash the rejection of Islamic theocracy.

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