

Sullubawa and the Jihad In Kano

Mallam Jamo was the leader of the Sullubawa in Kano during the Jihad campaigns. This was the source of their legitimacy that gave them access to power and made it possible for one of them to ascend to the throne of Sarkin Kano. He was the elder brother of Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo (Emir 1819-1846). He attained high level of scholarship. Waziri Gidado dan Laima mentioned him as one of the scholars of his time. Hence it was natural for him to submit to Shehu Usman Danfodio and participate actively in Islamic reform in Kano. Shehu Usman Danfodio made the Hijra (Emigration) from Degel, which was vulnerable (to attack by Yunfa) on Dhul al'Qa'da 10, 1217 (February 21, 1804) to Gudu. This became necessary because the Sultan of Gobir Yunfa had threatened his life and denied him the right to practice Islam. In the same month the Shehu wrote the *Masa'il Muhimma* in which he stated the necessity of jihad against unbelievers and Hijra (Emigration) from the land of Kufr (unbelief). The Gobir forces attacked the Shehu's community but they were unsuccessful and the Shehu was victorious.

Shehu's Jama'a in Kano

The Sultan of Gobir triggered the Jihad campaigns in Hausaland when he wrote to the Kings of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau to action against the followers and students of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in their domains otherwise they would overthrow them. In Kano prior to this message many of the scholars had respectful relationships with the Kutumbi Ruling House. It has even been reported that Sarkin Kano Alwali (1781-1807) allowed Mallam Ja'e one of his chiefs to send his sons to the Shehu. The message

of Sultan of Gobir and Shehu's *Wathiqat ahl-Sudan* changed the relationship. The Shehu enjoined his followers known as Jama'a to make Hijra to protect themselves and their religion while the Sultan of Gobir warned the Kings of Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zazzau and others against them.

Waziri Gidado dan Laima mentioned the following as the students and followers of Shehu in Kano who pledged allegiance to him before the Hijra and Jihad:

- i. Mallan Abdurrahman Goshi and his brother Mallam Jibiril, they were the first to visit the Shehu when he was proclaimed *Amir al-Muminin*. They belonged to the Ba'awa (Yolawa) Clan who lived in large numbers in northern Kano
- ii. Mallam Muhammadu Dangabuwa and his kinsman Sulaiman Abahama of the Mundubawa Clan they were based in Kofar Naisa in Kano
- iii. Mallam Muhammadu Danzabuwa of the Danejawa Clan who was also living in Kano City but had kinsmen all over

- iv. Kasar Kano
Mallam Bahausha who based in Kano city Hausawa quarters
- v. Mallam Jamo and his brother Ibrahim Dabo of the Sullubawa who were based in Kiru but had kinsmen all over southern Kano
- vi. Mallam Yunusa Dabo and his kinsman Alfa of the Dambazawa Clan based in Ungogo
- vii. Mallam Muhammadu Bakatsine of the Jobawa Clan based in Utai
- viii. Mallam Salihu Dattuwa and his brother Abdullahi al-Kanawy of the Jallubawa Clan (Gyanawa) based in Tsangaya but were among the Muridai of Shehu at Degel and Sifawa
- ix. Mallam Salih of the Yaligawa Clan based in Dutse
- x. Alkali Baringimi of the Torankawa Clan he was living in Soron Dinki in Kano. He was a murid (Sufi student) of Shehu Usman Danfodio but he did not participate in the Jihad.



Madaki Sarki Bai Makama and Sarkin Dawaki Maituta



*Sarkin Shanu Shehu Mohammed
descendent of Mallam Abdurrahman Goshi*



*Sarkin Shanu Shehu Mohammed
descendent of Mallam Jibril*



*Makama Sarki Abdullahi
descendent of Mallam Bakatsine*



*Dokaji Muhammad Aliyu
descendent of Mallam Bakatsine*



*Sarkin Bai Mukhtar descendent of
Mallam Dabo Dambazau*



*Sai Wada Waziri descendent of
Mallam Dabo Dambazau*



*Wali Mahe Bashir
descendent of Salihu Dattuwa*



*Dan Goriba Ado Kurawa
descendent of Salihu Dattuwa*



*Sarki Dawaki Maituta
descendent of Mallam Salihu Dan Lawal*

Mallam Adamu and Mallam Goja brought the Shehu's Wathiqat al-Ahl and it was handed over to Mallam Dangabuwa. The students and followers of the Shehu decided to make the Hijra to a very strategic location under the jurisdiction of Karaye. The Sullubawa and the Danejawa who were the largest Fulani Clans inhabited this area. The Torankawa under Ndoji a kinsman of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio were also based in Karaye and they provided major support. The various clans and groups that followed the Shehu's teachings in the Western part of Kano made Hijra to this location. It is still fertile area with pastures for livestock and abundant water resources close to River Challawa. There were so many economic trees in the area, which were useful to both humans and livestock.



KRU Challawa near Fagoje



River Challawa

The Hijra in the West at Kwazzazabon Yar Kwando

A place in Kwarin Jakada was the first prayer spot and it is still marked (see photo). Some of the Jihadist believed the Shehu appeared in this location. The largest Silk Cotton tree (Rimi) popularly known as Rimi Yar Kwando served as observation post it remained for over two hundred years until it was brought down two years ago (see photo of the marked spot of the three). To the South of the Rimi Yar Kwando are several deep gullies known as Kwazazzabon Yar Kwando or Fagoje in Fulfulde. The area is now known as Fagoje with a Hamlet Head (Mai Unguwa) under the Dagaci (Village Head) of Zuwo in Kiru Local Government. It was under the jurisdiction of Karaye during the Hijra and Jihad period. The Sullubawa were the predominant group in this location but there were also several Danejawa even across the River into the Kabo territory with Dugabau as one of their major bases.





Kwarin jakada



Spot where Jama'a first gathered for prayer at Kwarin Jakada



Kwarin Jakada Field trip

Cattle grazing near Zuwo



KRK Cattle near Kwarin Jakada





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All the followers of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in Western Kano assembled in this location very close to Kwazzabon Yar Kwando in Hausa or Fagoje in Fulfulde. They were in clan contingents. Mallam Muhammadu Dangabuwa who received the Shehu's letter on behalf of others led the Mundubawa contingent from Kano City. Mallam Danzabuwa led the Danejawa contingent one of the largest groups he later became the commander of the Jihadists. Mallam Abdurrahman and his brother Mallam Jibril led the Ba'awa contingent they travelled from Northern Kano to this location. Mallam Dabo Dambazau and his companion led the Dambazawa contingent they also came from northern part of Kano. Mallam Usman Bahausha led group of Hausawa from Kano city. Mallam Jamo and his brother Ibrahim Dabo of the Sullubawa Clan were based in Kiru at that time hence they were closer to Kwazzabon Yar Kwando. They were the first to arrive this location.



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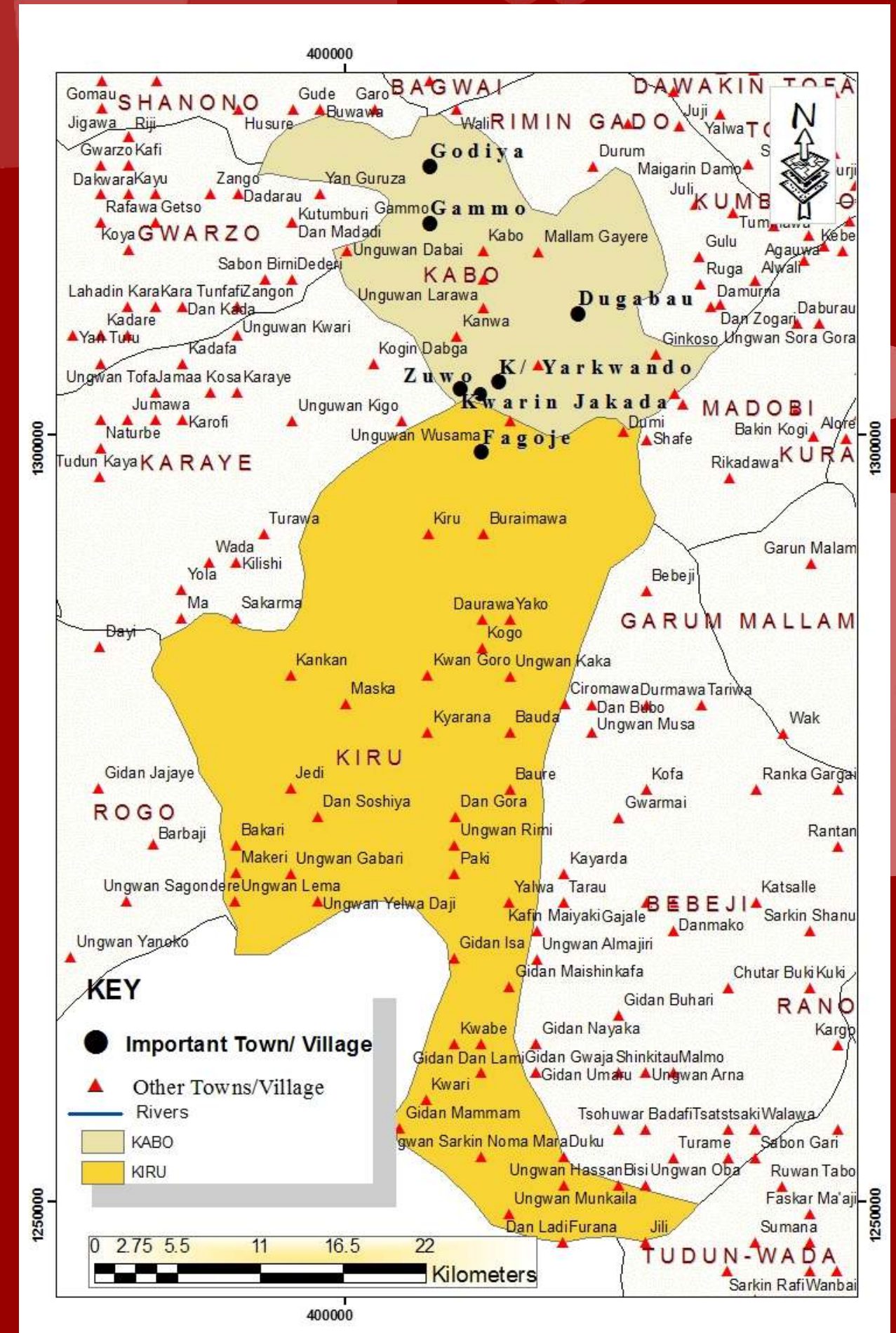
According to one of the sources the followers of the Shehu dispatched a group to the Shehu to collect the flag authorizing the Jihad. This group was made up of Mallam Yusuf Danzabuwa, Mallam Muhammadu Bakatsine, Mallam Abdurrahman Goshi, Mallam Jibir, Mallam Dabo, Mallam Sulaiman Ndoje and Mallam Dattuwa. At Gudu the Shehu gave them flag and asked his cousin Mallam Sulaiman Ndoje whether he wanted another flag for Karaye but he replied: "No, one flag would be sufficient for both Kano and Karaye". The Shehu was pleased and he praised Ndoje for his humility and selfless commitment in Fulfulde language: "Ndoje, a com titi a yomdi duniyar a dali sontobe". This flag was given to them on Monday Rabi Thani 9, 1281 (equivalent of July 25, 1804).

When they returned to Fagoje the leader of the contingent Mallam Bakatsine passed the flag to Mallam Jamo of the Sullubawa. This signified that he was the leader at that time. Since then he became known as Mai Tuta and later he became more prominent as Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta when he entered the residence of Sarkin Dawaki the commander of the Kano Army who was killed during the Jihad. Jamo's leadership during this camping at Fagoje may not be unconnected to the fact that along with Sulaiman Ndoje they were more conversant with the terrain. Rimin Yar Kwando remained the most important landmark in the area and it was from there they observed approaching adversaries. Apparently it was taken over from the people of the area who were loyal Sarkin Kano Alwali as they could not withstand the presence of large contingents.



■ Dan Madamin Kano
Alh. Ibrahim Hamza Bayero
District Head Kiru LGA

The Sullubawa are known for their skill in archery. This was probably because of their large possession of cattle and the fact they needed to protect them against wild animals and rustlers. Throughout the Jihad campaigns under the leadership of Mallam Jamo their arrows were very vital to the success recorded in the so many battles that were fought from Fagoje to the final encounter in Tomar. The Sullubawa who moved from their locations to Fagoje were the first to arrive in August 1804 being close from Kiru and Kanwa (now in Madobi) their main bases. The Ba'awa (Yolawa) were the last to arrive fifteen days later because they first had to assemble at Tattarawa from various locations including their original settlement at Yola in Bichi. Mallam Jamo's earlier arrival made some to consider him leader of the Jihad in Kano probably in addition to the fact that Mallam Bakatsine handed the flag to him.





The First Battle of The Jihad

There were Maguzawa close to the location where the Jihadist camped. They moved around freely taking the wild vegetables probably Zogale (*Moringa oleifera*) which was widespread in the area and favorite food of many herdsmen. Bima one of the Maguzawa attacked the Jihadists for encroaching his area smashing them. This prompted Dan Dayya to shut him with his bow and arrow and Bima was killed. Dan Dayya perhaps belonged to the Sullubawa contingent, who, were good marksmen. The Jihadist historians considered it the first arrow of the Jihad and Dan Dayya was the first to trigger the campaign. The people of the area reported the



incidence to Sarkin Bebeji who was their chief. He wrote to Sarkin Kano Alwali Kutumbi informing him about the insurrection by people who gathered in his domain:

May Allah prolong the reign of our King. Greetings with full respect and loyalty. May Allah prolong the King, the weak that you know, those poor people that we give alms, that learn from our teachers who live in the city, have gathered with the intention of doing what they intended. They have chased away our people who live in the area. After driving them away they decided to take their foodstuffs and other possessions. In this process they killed Bima one of our elders. We are waiting for instructions of the King (Muhammadu Uba Adamu 2007 *Kano Da Ga Kwazazzabon Yar Kwando* p.63).



Jidou Countryside



Sarkin Bebeji Gainaku and his soldiers confronted the Jama'a and they were defeated. This was a big setback for Sarkin Kano Alwali and therefore he decided to leave Takai immediately. He usually stopped at Utai on his return journey to acknowledge the homage and prayers of Mallam Bakatsine and his students but this time he did not he just made a sign and moved. It has been suggested that he was angry with Mallam Bakatsine who did not inform him of the uprising in the West. He stopped for the night at Jidou. When he reached Kano he assembled his council and other influential people. They suggested that Sarkin Bebeji and his troops were defeated because most of them were from the rural areas and were not skilled and that city-based troops would defeat the insurgents. He assembled a large army under the command of Barde Bakore one of his chiefs. This army was also defeated thus putting Sarkin Kano Alwali in a precarious situation. Some of his councilors suggested that a larger army than that of Barde should be drafted. But he said before that it has become imperative to ask the insurgents what were they after.



Alwali's First Message to the Jama'a



Sarkin Kano Alwali's council agreed that a delegation should be sent to the insurgents to dialogue with them on their grievances and demands. Hence he delegated Mallam Baringimi (a student of Shehu Usman Danfodio), Jakadan Kardewa, Mallam Jibu and Mallam Zayan al-Arabi. They met the Jama'a who were fully prepared for battle. After Alwali's message was read. The leaders of the Jama'a responded that Sarkin Kano Alwali should repent and accept Islam, make the Hijra as they did, participate in their Jihad campaigns and after the liberation of all the area in his Kingdom by the Jama'a they would return him to his throne in Kano.

This demand by the Jama'a, sounded preposterous because it meant Sarkin Kano Alwali must abdicate his authority and accept the Jama'a's authority. He sent the emissaries because he felt there was no reason for the Jama'a to revolt and he wanted to know if they had any. However when Alwali's scholars informed his council of the response of the Jama'a there was consensus of all the leaders that he should reject the demands of the Jama'a. The most outspoken Qadi Abdulkadir who

Jidou Countryside



Yakin Daukar Girma

Sarkin Kano Alwali decided to mobilize a large army under the command of Sarkin Dawaki Ali one his best commanders. The news of this preparation spread through out *Kasar Kano*. People were no longer pledging allegiance to the Jama'a because they assumed Sarkin Dawaki Ali would crush the rebellion. The Jama'a despite their weakness had faith in Allah and believed He would favor them. Sarkin Dawaki's army

had so many troops including artisans who were expected to make passages in gullies to bring out the Jama'a from their hiding places. Barde Bakore was also in the contingent. As they passed through the Jama'a, Sarkin Dawaki expressed his surprise that such a group could defeat Barde's troops but the latter cautioned that during battles they had so much determination once their flag was raised it was never brought down.

The Jama'ah were fully prepared. The men stood in alert positions as if they were stones. Sarkin Dawaki ordered the charge and his men moved with all strength. The Jama'ah proclaimed the Kalimah ("There is no god but Allah"). The Sullubawa contingent led by Mallam Jamo gave the first salvo with their arrows that rained on Sarkin Dawaki's troops, which was unexpected like a flash. It was a great surprise that disoriented Sarkin Dawaki's troops. The Yolawa (Ba'awa) led by Mallam Goshi took the opportunity and descended on their adversaries. This greatly weakened Sarkin Dawaki Ali's men. The experienced Hausa fighters from the city led by Mallam Usman Bahausha were quick in their attack on the troops with their spears because of their familiarity with them. The battle became fierce with only sounds of steel, groans of dying soldiers, shouts of takbir (Allah is Great) and Kalimah of dying members of the Jama'ah. The battle started in the afternoon and lasted until sunset. Sarkin Dawaki Ali's men were not conversant with the terrain hence they were pushed into the gullies of Kwazazzabo and many of them lost their lives because they could not get out of the trenches. Sarkin Dawaki lost the battle and the Jama'a targeted him but as a skilled fighter he pushed his way but with injuries. The Jama'a pursued his troops killing them, taking their



After the Subhi (Dawn) prayer the Jama'a buried their martyred warriors. They gathered, praised and expressed gratitude to Allah for granting them victory. They decided to reorganize themselves. Mallam Danzabuwa was appointed *Amir al-Jaish* (Commander of the Army). Three battalions were formed. Mallam Abdurrahman Goshi of the Yolawa was appointed commander of the first. The second battalion of the Sullubawa bowmen was under the leadership of Mallam Jamo. Mallam Usman Bahausha led the battalion of spearmen. This battle was popularly known as Yakin Daukar Girma (in Hausa) and *Jaish Izzatul Islam* (in Arabic). It was after this battle that Dantunku joined the Jama'a. He was based in Dambatta as the representative of Sarkin Kano Alwali. Dantunku collected *jangali* (cattle tax) from the herdsmen for Sarkin Kano.

Jama'a's victory in Yakin Daukar Girma changed the sequence of events. It emboldened them. They came "out of

the closet”and proclaimed alternative authority. They sent emissaries to towns and those that accepted their call became under their jurisdiction and they fought those who refused to accept their authority. Gammo was the first town they attacked and they took it after moving out of their stronghold of Kwazazzabon Yar Kwando. From there they proceeded to Kabo and the Masanawa, which they all subdued. Godiya was next they attacked the town and took it but later Dan Tama it's chief reassembled his troops and drove out the Jama'a disgracefully. The Jama'a regrouped and returned. They destroyed the town and burnt it.



The news of the Jama'a's successes and power spread this made many towns to give voluntarily without any fighting. The first towns to submit peacefully were Garun Mallam and Kofa. The Jama'a promoted Turmi the Sarkin Kofa to the position of Sarkin Bebeji. This was because Sarkin Bebeji Gainaku who was defeated by the Jama'a at Kwazazzabon Yar Kwando had left his town and took refuge in Kura. All these battles

were done between Rajab and Sha'aban there were no engagements in the month of Ramadan. The Jama'a concentrated on acts of worship. However the people of Karaye fought Ardo Sabti one of the heads of the nomadic Fulani and an ally of the Jama'a. Most of the Fulani nomads did not accept the call of Shehu Usman Danfodio except a few like Ardo Sabti.







The Battle of Karaye

After Id al-Fitri the Jama'a decided to attack those who killed Ardo Sabti one of their allies and they marched towards Karaye. They stopped by one of the streams for their animals to quench their thirst. Karaye troops attacked them without notice and there was serious encounter. The Jama'a defeated the Karaye troops and camped outside the town. At night Barden Kano Bakore and Dan Tama who was defeated at Godiya came to the aid of Karaye and they camped near the Jama'a. They signaled their arrival in the area by gunshots to inform Karaye people that they have come to rescue them. This alerted the Jama'a who quickly reassembled. Unknown to Barde and his troops they surrounded by the Jama'a immediately. In ensuing battle, Barde and many of his troops were killed and the Jama'a were victorious.

The Jama'a entered Karaye and found Mallam Musa who was

imprisoned for three days without food and they freed him. They stayed in the town for sometime. It was during this period that Sarkin Zazzau Jatau sent an emissary to them informing them that he has accepted the message of the Shehu and he wanted a scholar to guide him. They were very pleased and they decided that Mallam Danzabuwa should take the responsibility and he took Mallam Musa as his deputy. He later left Mallam Musa in Zazzau and he became the first Emir of Zazzau after the death of Mallam Jatau. Mallam Jamo installed Mallam Sulaiman Ndoje a cousin of Shehu Usman Danfodio as Sarkin Karaye. He came to Karaye from Degel with his uncle who initially settled at Getso.



Dan Tama Sarkin Godiya reported to Sarkin Kano Alwali the encounter with the Jama'a and how Barde Bakure was killed and Karaye was taken. He was very unhappy and therefore decided to change his strategy of fighting the Jama'a who have now taken many towns in the South and most importantly Karaye one of his most strategic territories. Hence he hired the Taureg mercenary Agumbulu who was called and given much money and 4,000 horses with the promise of more wealth if he destroyed the Jama'a and their huts wherever they were. He was very pleased and fully motivated. He went to Fagge where many Taureg reside and recruited them along with others from among the northern tribes that were good fighters and did not accept the call of Shehu Usman Danfodio.

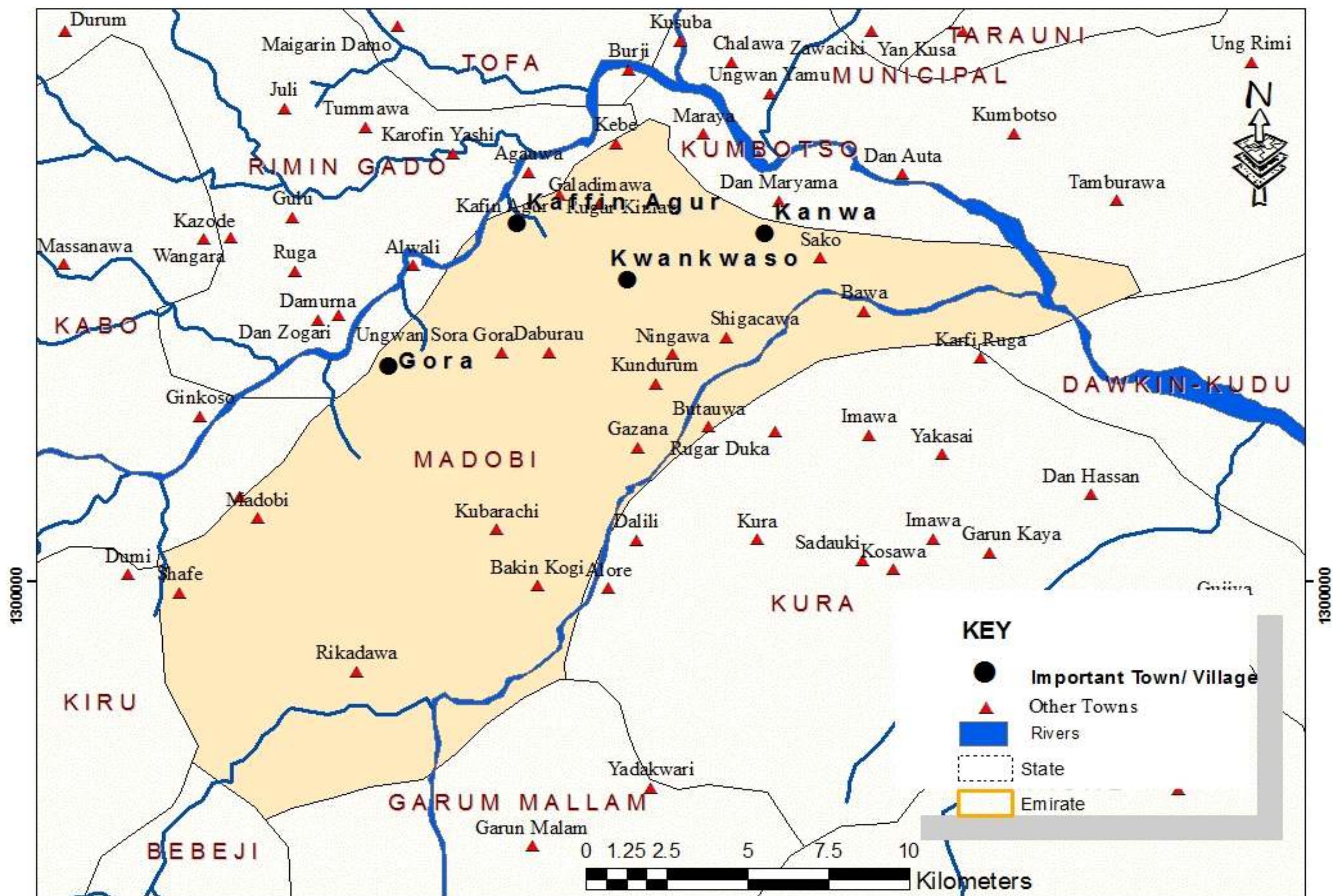


The Jama'a decided to leave Karaye having secured many southern towns. They moved and took Magami from there to Hauwade, which they also took. They decided to stay at Gora and strategize whether to move to Kano for final assault or continue with the peripheral towns. They contemplated these moves because Mallam Bakatsine had informed them of his successes in the East. They met under the leadership of Mallam Abdurrahman Goshi in his camp since Mallam Danzabuwa was in Zazzau. Mallam Goshi suggested that they should move northwards while Mallam Jamo suggested that they should move southwards and join Mallam Bakatsine. Goshi countered that: "if they do that, and leave other areas Sarkin Kano would get the support of Katsina and Daura from the north and thus be able to overcome us". Hence there was disagreement. Goshi and his Yolawa kinsmen as well as Mallam Usman Bahausha's contingent decided to move northwards while the

Sullubawa led by Mallam Jamo decided to move southwards and therefore remained at Hauwade.

The Yolawa and others who moved northwards passed through Farin Tabki and Tofa. They were attacked and there was a battle and they drove their enemies near the Watari gorge, which was very difficult to cross because it was narrow. The Jama'a killed many of their enemies and got a lot of booty. The people of Tattatarawa and Damargu deserted their towns because of fear when they had the news of this battle. The people of Tofa and Bichi came and pledged allegiance to the Jama'a. The Jama'a then moved further north passing through Marke and then Tattatarawa which was deserted. They decided to camp at Tattatarawa.







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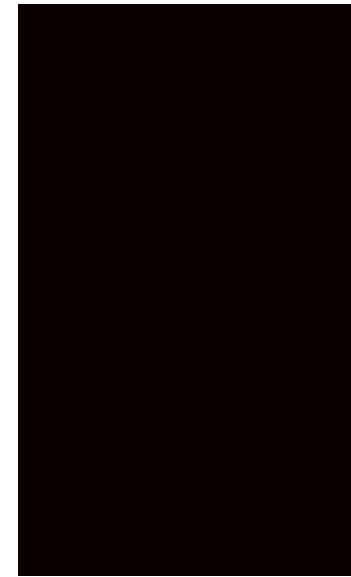


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Agumbulu and the Martyrdom of Mallam Dangabuwa

Agumbulu the Taureg mercenary decided to attack the Jama'a at Tattatarawa. A battle took place. Agumbulu who was a strategist decided to ration his troops and attack the Jama'a piecemeal. The first batch attacked the Jama'a there was serious fight. Agumbulu's men were repealed. He then decided to release those on Camels the Jama'a never experienced this and their horses were frightened. Agumbulu's men took the opportunity and stroke heavily on the Jama'a. Like a flash the Sullubawa forces arrived. Their initial delay at Hauwade was blessing. There were chants of Allahu Akbar (Allah is Great). Agumbulu's men never expected this from the rear. The Sullubawa



archers rained arrows on the adversaries. This frightened them and many fell down. It was a rout. The Camels were disorganized and took heels. The arrows took over the scene. Agumbulu was shot and he fell dead. After the pursuit of Agumbulu's men the Sullubawa returned to their brothers. They embraced each other and shed tears. Mallam Abdurrahman Goshi took Mallam Jamo's hand and said "Allah made your delay a blessing for us". After Mallam Goshi and others had left Hauwade, Mallam Jamo and his men decided to follow them because they concluded that they did not know what was going to happen to their brothers therefore it was better for them, to follow them. And by Allah's Will it was a blessing. After this encounter the Jama'a decided never to separate from each other. They camped at Tomar preventing any support from the Northern Kingdoms to Kano. Sarkin Kano Alwali instructed his forces to camp at Madachi and Jalli from where they continuously raided the Tomar base of the Jama'a.



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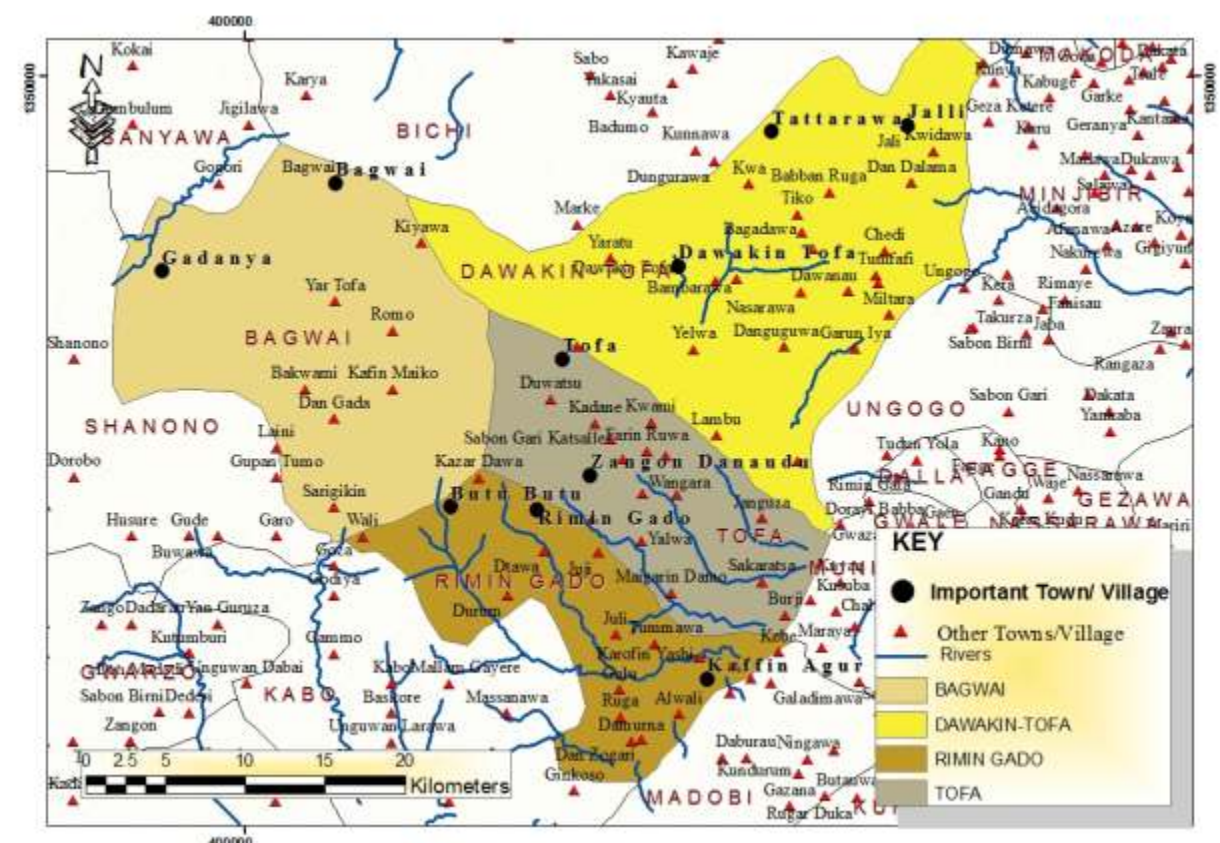


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Sarkin Kano Alwali realized that the best strategy was to continuously engage the Jama'a to prevent them from taking other towns because he lost his major commanders. Therefore his army and the Jama'a remained in state of alert each group ready for confrontation. Alwali's army decided to bring down all the trees in all battle fields hence most of the area became known as "Sabiru" because the vegetation had been destroyed. Both forces met each in a fierce battle. Alwali's army tricked the Jama'a who pursued them and fell into the trap laid for them and the Jama'a were nearly finished them if not for the bravery of Mallam Goshi who was the commander. Both armies fought and the battle continued through out the night and the next morning without any rest or sleep. The next morning after the first charge one of the leaders of the Jama'a Mallam Dangabuwa was martyred. This was a great blow. The confrontation did not stop next morning. Serious fighting continued until late afternoon the Jama'a seized the initiative and drove Alwali's forces. Mallam Goshi became very determined because of the loss of Mallam Dangabuwa. His men pursued Alwali's forces with all ferocity pushing into Madaci and Jalli. The towns fell. And the Jama'a took them and completely demolished Alwali's forces in the area. These victories angered Sarkin Kano Alwali and he decided it was time for him to go out and confront the Jama'a and obliterate them. He came out with full force.



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The Defeat of Alwali at Danyayyah

Sarkin Kano Alwali started his journey to confront the Jama'a on Friday morning. He had mobilized many soldiers from the city. He had seven hundred armored men. They were moving out from morning until sunset. He advanced until he approached the Jama'a and then changed direction to Dawaki. He entered the town and destroyed killing all those who remained in it. The Judge of Dawaki was slaughtered like a ram. Perhaps the people of the town were supporting the Jama'a and he used them as example.

Meanwhile Dantunku who was Sarki Alwali's representative who collected cattle tax from northern Fulani groups joined the Jama'a along with Maiduniya. Dantunku had already pledged allegiance to the Jama'a at Kwazzazabo but returned to his domain in Dambatta. According to one version it was Sarkin Kano Alwali who sought his support but he declined and decided to fully support the Jama'a. They attacked Alwali's men with arrows and as well as with the Calvary. But the soldiers from the city were experienced and they remained as if nothing happened that night. The Jama'a were amazed with the strength of this army therefore they quickly retreated to avoid defeat.

Sarkin Kano Alwali divided his troops into three commands led by his able commanders headed by Dan Tama of *Godiya* assisted by San *Getso* Maguda and Badari. These troops engaged the Jama'a in ninety battles greatly weakening them. The situation became

difficult for the Jama'a with much hunger and lack of supplies more especially as Sarkin Kano Alwali received support from Sarkin Daura.



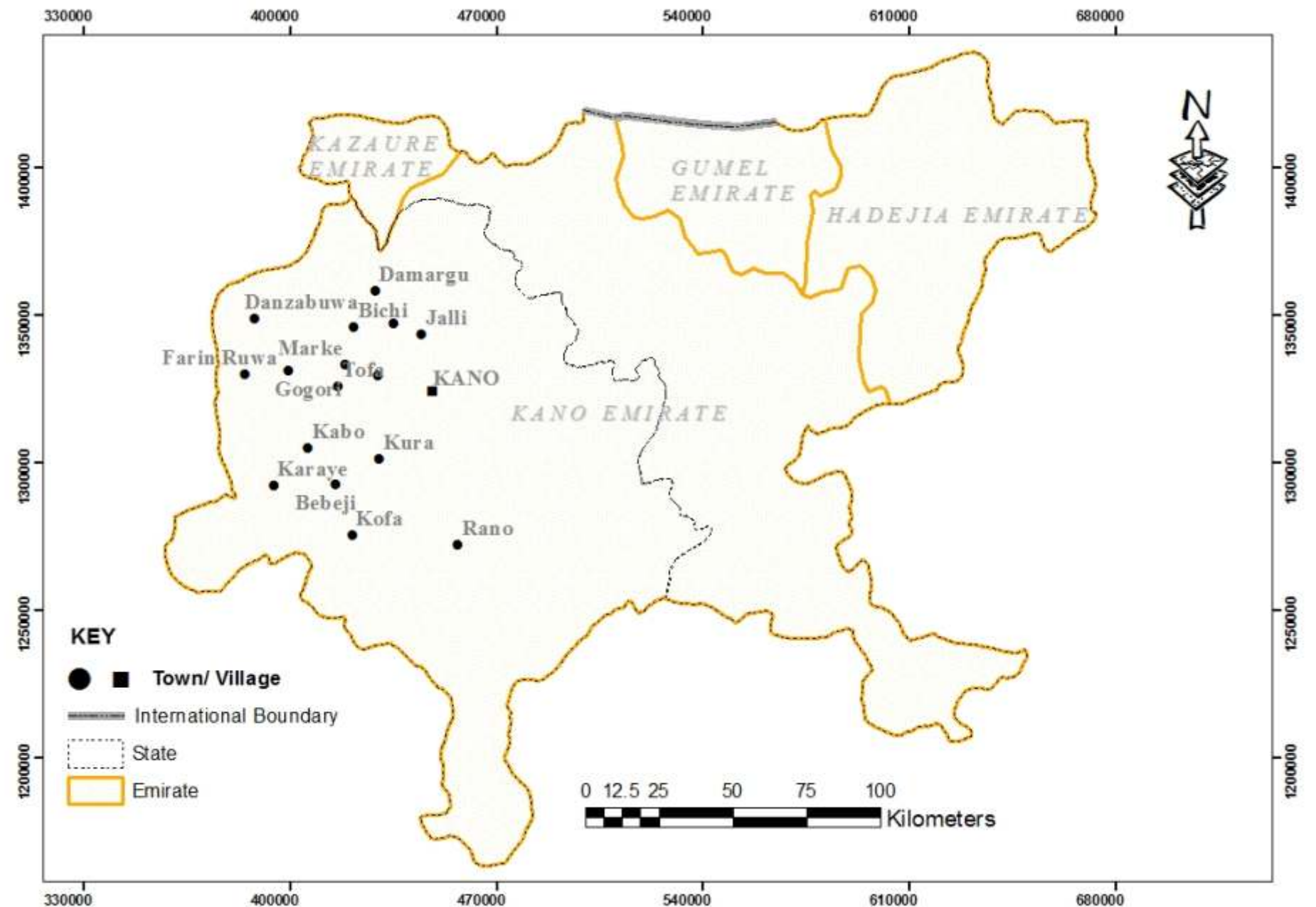


Sarkin Kano Alwali decided to change strategy. He concealed his plans restricting it to few of his confident soldiers. His plan was to surround the Jama'a from all directions compelling them to give up or be annihilated. He ordered his troops at night to prepare for unexpected attack against the Jama'a since no one knew about to reduce the chances of treachery. The descended on the Jama'a at night and destroyed their camps and their huts including those of Mallam Danzabuwa the Commander of the Jama'a. The battle continued from dawn until sunset as the Jama'a could only defend since they could not assault because they were unaware of the attack. Both forces retreated at night after full day of fighting but the Jama'a were alert to avoid what happened the previous day. They took time at night to bury their dead brethren. Sarkin Daura's support for Sarkin Kano Alwali arrived this night and the latter was very pleased as it boosted his morale. There was great battle with many casualties from morning until the coolness of late afternoon. The Jama'a were weakened and devastated. They were surrounded from all directions. They had to decide the next action. Some of the leaders suggested that they should move eastwards and join Mallam Bakatsine who had taken Gaya already, which was one of the most important towns. Mallam Abdurrahman Goshi said it means we have deserted ran away.

The leaders observed that Mallam Jibril has not said anything because of his reserved nature therefore they asked his opinion. He said we should just attack them and fight and “Allah will decide between us and them, if He gives us victory we win and if He gives them, everything would be decided, each group would know its position”. He called this KUNDUBALA. All the leaders accepted this and moved to their huts to bid farewell to their families.

The Jama'a prepared for the last battle after meeting with their families and it was after Maghrib (sunset). They decided to attack Sarki Alwali's forces. It was a good move for them since the adversaries were unaware of the attack it was like swam of ghosts attacking at night. The Jama'a were like wounded lions in their ferocity. Dantunku and Maiduniya took on those from Daura. The Jama'a under the command of Mallam Usman Bahaushe and Mallam Jibir attacked Alwali's forces at Beguwa and Gwarmai. Mallam Jamo and his Sullubawa bowmen attacked those at Danyayyah. The battle was fierce in the darkness of the night. Alwali's men were completely disorientated they could not imagine what was happening. The rain of the arrows was devastating. Many of the arrows were with fire burning which burnt the huts of Alwali's men and those in them. It was unimaginable. The women kept praising the men for their bravery and what awaits the martyrs. The Jama'a spent the whole night killing Alwali's men. There was fire everywhere. They became confused and began to run away. It was a complete rout. All the fighters of Alwali deserted him. Few remained and Alwali stood watching Allah's verdict.

Jama'a's leaders stopped the battle and ordered the men to give way for Sarkin Kano Alwali to pass. He was a defeated King. The Jama'a's leaders said he has seen the great signs of Allah, which was enough and there was no need to kill him. They allowed him to pass and move to Kano. Few of his men remained with him including his sons Madawaki and Ciroma and his slaves Sarkin Shanu and Sarkin Yara. After this victory people from various parts of Kano, Katsina and Daura came to the Jama'a and pledged allegiance. The Jama'a spent some time before they moved northwards to Beguwa then Damargu and Bugai the towns were taken and the people accepted Islam. From there they moved to Gogori, then to Farin Ruwa and then Tabbani, from there, to Tsibiri and then Kurkujam. Some of these towns were under Katsina while others were in Kano territory. They offered support to Mallam Umarun Dallaje flag bearer of Katsina and Mallam Ishaq the flag bearer of Daura. They stayed in the area for four months until they were driven out by hunger and they returned to Kano. They passed through Tabbani, then Farin Ruwa to Gogori from there to Bugai then Bichi and Damargu and finally reached their last camp



Jihad in the East and the Final Camp at Tomar

The group that made the Hijra in the East include, Jobawa led by Mallam Bakatsine, Jallubawa led by Mallam Salihu Dattuwa, Yaligawa led by Mallam Salihu Dan Lawal. They were in contact with the Western Jama'a who had earlier inquired from Mallam Bakatsine and he informed them that he was going to make the Hijra in the East even though it

was his intention to make the Hijra to Kwazzazabon Yar Kwando but it was not possible because his distance and in fact it was more strategic for the two groups to conduct the campaigns separately as they did. The Eastern Jama'a assembled in Wudil for their Hijra and from there they started their campaigns.

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Mallam Bakatsine chose Wudil for Hijra after consultations with his fellow Ulama. They first assembled at Utai before moving to Wudil. The clans that assembled were Jobawa under the leadership of Mallam Bakatsine, Jallubawa (Gyanawa) led Mallam Salihu Dattuwa and Yaligawa led by Salihu Dan Lawal. Wudil also has water resources and gullies for protection. They stayed there for nine months. When Sarkin Kano Alwali heard of this gathering he was not surprised, as he had always expected the Hijra to commence in East because of the presence of Ulama and their camps such as Utai and Tsangaya. He immediately ordered his most important territorial chief in the East Sarkin Dutse Gojabo to mobilize a large army to attack the Jama'a and arrest Bakatsine and his colleagues. Gojabo camped near Wudil and launched his attack. The Jama'a defeated Gojabo and his men after fighting from early morning to late afternoon. Gojabo lost his life and the Jama'a burnt his camp. The Jama'a got many horses, weapons and other materials from the defeated Gaya forces. They used these resources to further their campaigns in the northern and east territories.

After this victory the Jama'a moved to Gaya and took over the town. The places that resisted in the town were burnt. They asserted their authority and lived there for one month. They appointed a new Chief for the town and moved northwards to Aujara, which they also took and asserted their authority. From there they moved to Taura, they surrounded the town. But were later overwhelmed by hunger. It has been suggested that the people Taura deliberately hid their supplies as a strategy against the Jama'a and it worked. Because of this suffering they had to move southwards to Kiyawa another important town where they were successful. From there they moved to Katanga, which they could not take. Hence they moved to Wasadi where they were successful.

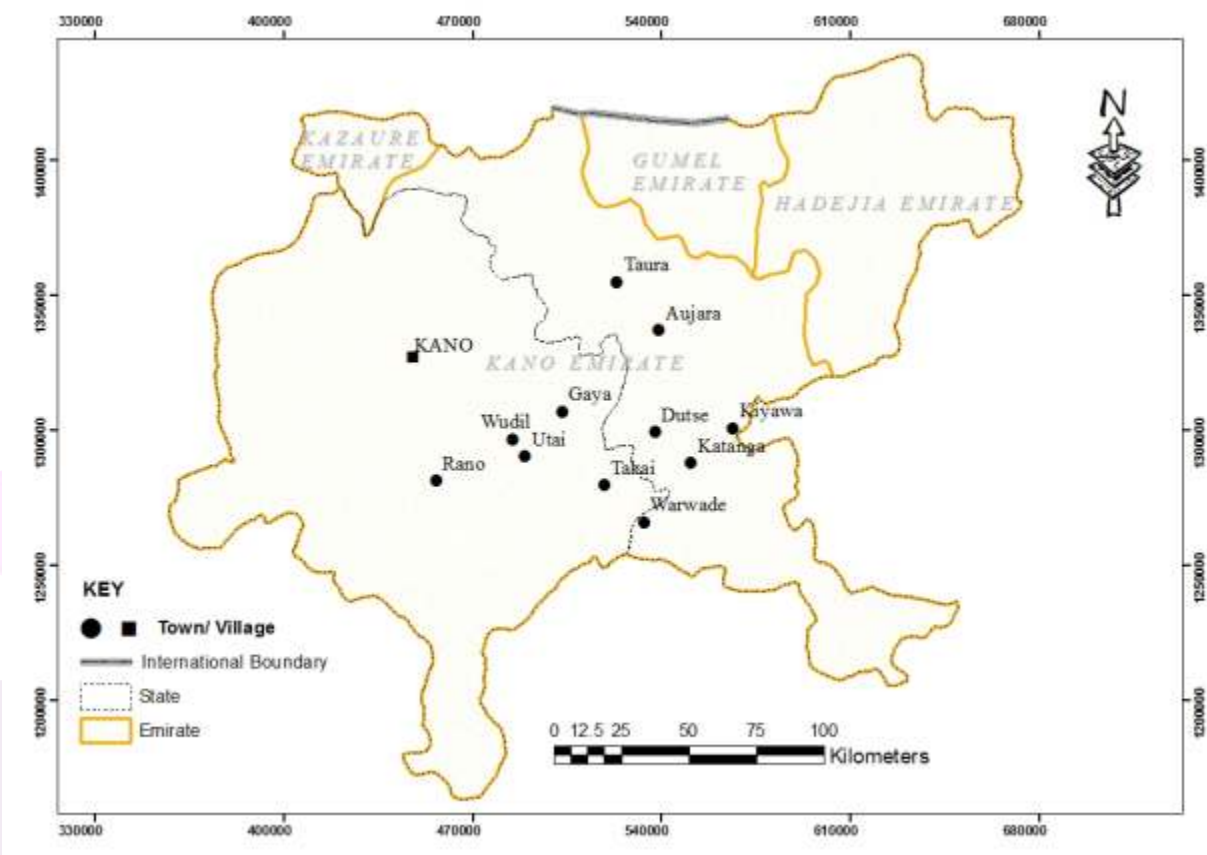




The Jama'a headed for the important town of Takai, which was a major possession of Sarkin Kano Alwali. He was in this town when the outbreak of the Jihad was reported in the West. When they reached Takai it was deserted and they took it. From here they learnt that Western Jama'a who confronted Sarkin Kano Alwali have completed their campaigns. It should be recalled that when the situation was difficult for the Western Jama'a they had contemplated even moving to the East to join with Mallam Bakatsine who was established in Gaya at time. By time the Jama'a in the West finished their campaigns and made Tomar their final station, the Jama'a in the East had also taken most of the territory there. Therefore it became necessary for both to unite and finally take over Kano. The Eastern Jama'a moved from Takai to Tomar to unite with their brothers this was after appointing a Chief to head the town.



After the merging of both Easter and Western Jama'a the leaders decided that they should attack Fagge on the outskirts of Kano City presumably to send warning to Sarkin Kano Alwali and as a punitive expedition because of the town's support for Agumbulu the mercenary who was hired to destroy the Jama'a. It was a strategic to weaken Sarkin Kano Alwali. Mallam Jibir was appointed to lead the Jama'a in Fagge battle. The people of the town deserted it. Some ran into the city and others into the bush. The town was burnt down. Kano City was in state of fear because of the Jama'a forces nearby. Kofar Mata and Kofar Wambai gates were closed as the inhabitants thought the Jama'a would invade the city. Mallam Jibir led the Jumma'a prayer at Kofar Mata Id Ground.



Alwali's Departure and Appointment of Sulaiman as Emir

Sarkin Kano Alwali sent a delegation of Ulama to plead with the Jama'a. These Ulama were Mallam Muhammadu Na Kabara, Mallam Gabdo, Dan Gwouranda Mallam Sumailu and Mallam Jabdo al-Falaty. They delivered Alwali's letter in which "he stated his repentance and willingness to join the Jama'a, obey all their instructions and that he was ready to meet them even if it means travelling." But the Jama'a replied: we had "instructed you to do that at the beginning but you refused and you mobilized your army and sent them to attack us and Allah disgraced you. And now that you have neither movement nor power you have turned to us". The Jama'a rejected his appeal and informed his emissaries that they shall attack Kano on Rabi'u Awwal 12. Alwali's Ulama returned and delivered this message. He was already informed that the Jama'a under Mallam Bakatsine had already taken his important stronghold of Takai in East. Therefore he decided to leave Kano on Sunday night. He stayed briefly in

Rano before moving to Zazzau.

The Jama'a learnt that Sarkin Kano Alwali had left Kano. Therefore they decided to appoint an Imam to be leading the people of the city. The choice fell on Mallam Sulaiman a kinsman of Mallam Dangabuwa of the Mundabawa Clan and student of Mallam Danzabuwa of the Danejawa Clan. He was resident in the city and therefore he was familiar with the people and their way of life. This became an advantage for Sulaiman. According to some sources Shehu Usman Danfodio asked the delegation of the Jama'a who was their Imam and they said Sulaiman. The Shehu, replied: "your Imam is Amir" meaning that Sulaiman is the Emir. While Danejawa sources claimed that it was the will of Mallam Danzabuwa in the letter he wrote to the Shehu that Sulaiman should be appointed Emir.

Opinions ON THE Jihad

There are divergent scholarly opinions of the Jihad. Some scholars regard the Jihad in Kano as unnecessary because Sarkin Kano Alwali Kutumbi had instituted reforms when he stopped the practice of serving the Dirki one of the objects adored by the ruling class in Kano. In addition Sarkin Kano Alwali also repented after his defeat and the imminent take over of Kano City by the Jama'a after their successful Jihad campaign in Fagge town on the outskirts of the city. However these actions were more complicated. This was because the Sultan of Gobir had called on other Hausa Kings to take up arms against the Shehu's Jama'a in their domains otherwise they would take over power from them. The Shehu on the other warned the Jama'a on the necessity of Hijra for their survival as it happened to him in Gobir. This led to the Hijra and Jihad in Kano.

Some writers consider the Jihad as a Fulani uprising against the ruling Hausa dynasties in their domains hence they always designate it as Fulani Jihad. Some of their reasons include the fact that the leaders were mostly Fulani and in Kano it was

organized based on Fulani clans. Some writers influenced by the British colonialists label the Jihad as Fulani insurrection to justify British colonial domination. It is true that most of the Jihad leaders were Fulani. This was because the Fulani had an established tradition of scholarship especially the Torankawa or Tokolor. Many Fulani scholars were serving the Hausa rulers as scribes and clerics. Shehu Usman Danfodio was a product of this tradition of Islamic scholarship and he trained many students. The network of students and followers especially of the Qadiriyya Sufi Brotherhood became the basis of mobilization of the people. The Shehu wrote in Arabic, Hausa and Fulfulde reaching wide range of people but since the Fulani were dominant in the literati it was obvious that more of them became part of the Jama'a.

Gowers one of the British colonial officials was of the opinion that the Jihad in Kano was sporadic disorganized Fulani uprising against Sarkin Kano Alwali. This is not correct. From the narration above the Jihad was well coordinated. The leaders chose Kwazzazabon Yar Kwando because of its strategic location close to water source and several gullies that served as fortification against enemies. This area was also rich in faunal resources, which serve as food for both humans and their livestock. Mallam Bakatsine's group in the East was also strategically placed because Sarkin Kano Alwali could not engage all the groups at the same time. The spread of the clans in Kasar Kano enabled the Jama'a to take towns and villages in the two areas of operations since the Kano army was over stretched. They never had experience of that kind of warfare.

Group cohesion among the Jama'a based on their clans was very critical in mobilization and communication. The Fulani have several means of communicating with each other. They spoke both Hausa and Fulfulde, even the Shehu wrote in both languages whereas the ruling class could only communicate in Hausa. Traditional festivals of the Fulani were also used in mobilization although most of the nomadic Fulani did not participate in the Jihad campaigns.

Shehu was charismatic leader. His message was very clear. He called on people to return to pristine teachings of Islam. He was pious. Reports of his miracles were widespread. Even in Kano he was revered as the Jihad leaders reported spiritual interactions. According Waziri Gidado dan Laima Abdullahi al-Kanawi informed him that during the Jihad in Kano he met enemies:

“Who seized his weapons, removed his clothes and intended to kill. He then called the Shaikh and prayed to Allah to show him the Karamat of the Shaikh. Immediately the enemies said if we kill this man alone it will not be of benefit to us in fighting those people, whether we kill him or leave him, it is all the same it will not make any difference. So they returned his weapons and clothes and allowed him. When Allah liberated the country he came to Shaikh's station at Gudu and informed us of the encounter. He was among those that accompanied the Shaikh and were trained in the knowledge of the Haqaiq and he had blessing in that knowledge”.

Shehu's pious character attracted people. The oppressive system of government was also a liability against the ruling class. Shehu wrote against the excessive taxation, which made the common people to suffer. This also attracted many peasants who suffer from exaction.

The Jihadists were small in number. They had less resources. But they were successful because they removed Alwali from his position of Sarkin Kano. What were the reasons for this success? Halil (2012) has extensively analyzed some of the reasons for the success of the Jihad in Kano. The Jihadists were motivated by their cause, which they believe to be for sake of Allah. Therefore their weakness in number never deterred them because of their faith in Allah. Allah the Exalted says: “How often a small group overcome a mighty host by Allah's Leave”

(Qur'an 2:249). This was in relation to Talut (Saul) of Bani Israel when he set with his army