

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**The Satiru Legacies in the Rural Areas of Bodinga and Dange-
Shuni Communities since 1906**

A Dissertation

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BY

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the men of Satiru and their families who stood up against the British imperial establishment during its apogee days of pacifying the communities of the Sokoto Caliphate.

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Glossary

i.	Basatire	A person of Satiru descent
ii.	Satirawa	Plural, of Basatire
iii.	Satiru	the Village
iv.	Irin Siba of	Referring to a person of satiru in affiliating him to the founder the village
v.	Tsibbo	process of making amulets and concoction
vi.	Kaho	Horn
vii.	Rijiya	Local well
viii.	Waibuwa	defiance
ix.	Budeji	Sorcery
x.	Sawaye	Local wave cloth
xi.	Arkillla	Another model of local wave cloth
xii.	Gwado	Blanket
xiii.	Watse	Another version of local wave cloth
xiv.	Lantarki	Electricity
xv.	Kufur	Unbeliever of the Islamic faith
xvi.	Mahdi	Reviver
xvii.	Ulama	Scholars
xviii.	Rubutu	Spiritual Writing
xix.	Tsime	concoction
xx.	Boko	Western Education
xxi.	Makarantar Allo	Qur'anic school
xxii.	Dagutu	Aposter
xxiii.	Gardi	Adult Qur'anic student (singular)
xxiv.	Gardawa	Adult Qur'anic students (plural)
xxv.	Tungage	Hamlets
xxvi.	Tafsir	Quranic interpretation
xxvii.	Imam	Person that leads Muslims in prayer.
xxviii.	Ramadan	Month of Muslim fast.

xxix.	Sallah	Prayer
xxx.	Bayi	slaves
xxxi.	Ruwan Fomfo	pipe born water
xxxii.	Haram	forbidden
xxxiii.	Yanzundu	the Extenders

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Abstract

This research is on the legacies of the Satiru revolt and its wider impact on the Rural Areas of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni communities. The research utilized the vast primary data in respect of the conflict which was blended with other secondary sources for the work. The legacies of the conflict which are entrenched within the communities are a valuable resource of the Satirawa descendants. The descendants of the survivors successfully preserved their version of the events and forged an identical community with all its features, norms and values which were the key variables of this research. The legacies of the conflict are the cradle of some social crisis that had been identified with some religious and conservative communities in the area. The research has uncovered the hidden impact of the Satiru conflict and its dynamic within the communities more than a hundred years in addition to stress and psychological trauma the men who survived the battle had to endure with during the early days of the crisis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Satiru revolt took place in 1906 in Satiru, a village which was about 20 kilometers south west of Sokoto city.¹ It was a gathering ground of former slaves and peasants that attracted many runaway slaves and clerics with Mahadist ideology² at the end of the 19th century.³ They grouped under the leadership of Mallam Siba, who is believed to be the founder and Imam⁴ of the settlement, and also the leading scholar who was anti-colonial and very hostile to the rulers of the Sokoto Caliphate. His hatred emanated from the despisement of the Caliphate feudal estate system which tolerates slavery and their contentment of the colonialists.⁵ Mallam Siba was a Mahdist believer and advocate, and one of his associate Mallam Mai-kaho the headman⁶ proclaimed himself Mahdi and championed the idea of a reviver (Mahdi) in the Satiru community who would do away with the newly established colonial rule and their collaborators, the rulers of Sokoto Caliphate. Mallam Siba organized and energized a large following from his community into confrontation with the colonial authorities.

¹A.S. Mohammed, "A Social Interpretation of the Satiru Revolt of C. 1894 -1906 in Sokoto Province" M. SC. Dissertation, ABU Zaria, 1983, p.xi. See also J.S. Hogendorn, and E .L.Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Early Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria and Niger, *African Studies Seminar Paper* Presented at University of the Witwatersrand, May 1979, p. 3.

² By the turn of the 19th century, there were assumptions that there will be Mahdi, a prophesized revolutionary who will emerge and wage a Jihad to sanitize the Muslim Ummah from other evil practices that have polarized the Islamic religion. The European penetration into Africa with their dominance prejudices which core-incidentally took place with the 100 years of the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate which is also prophesize to collapse after a century was seen as the appropriate time for the emergence of the Mahdi therefore many hard-line scholars professes the notion that they are the expected Mahdi.

³ A.S. Mohammad "A Social Interpretation of Satiru Revolt..."p. 164.

⁴A.S. Mohammed, "A Social Interpretation Satiru Revolt..." p.161.

⁵ The treaty penned between Sokoto Ulamaahs and its leadership which laid the Blue print of the new relationship between the defeated Sokoto Community and the Victorious British was considered by Satirawa as an act of Apostasy. Therefore the Caliphate leadership and the British share the same faith in the eyes of the Satirawa.

⁶ A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation..." p.160

Satiru revolt became the most destructive resistance against colonial rule in Nigeria.⁷ The Satirawa killed 25 rank and files of the West African Frontier Force in addition to two principal colonial officials and Acting Resident of Sokoto in 1906.⁸ Such carnage had never happened before since the British encroachment into Northern Nigeria.⁹ The suppression of the Satirawa by the colonialists in conjunction with the Sokoto aristocracy is still fresh in the minds of many especially in the rural areas of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni Districts of Sokoto State. After the skirmishes at Satiru, those who survived among the Satirawa were dispersed to different areas of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni and beyond¹⁰ while others were taken to Sokoto on servitude,¹¹ and the surviving leaders were tried by the Sokoto Native Court and executed in the Sokoto Market-Place.¹² The destruction of Satiru village and the subsequent displacement of its inhabitants was the prime factor which later gave ground to their re-emergence in several villages on the borders of Bodinga and Dange- Shuni Local Government areas of Sokoto State. It was also the platform that allowed the Satirawa to develop a kind of

⁷ M. T. Usman, *Muslim scholars of Sokoto Emirate under British Rule, 1903-1960: A History of Reaction and Compromise in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University press, 2013, p. 42.

⁸ 1905-6, Annual colonial Reports for Northern Nigeria, p19. See also A.S. Mohammed, "A Social Interpretation..." p195, J.S. Hogendorn and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Early Colonial Rule ...", p.4. , Alkasisum Abba, (ed) "Muhammadu Attahiru Ibn Aliyu Babba , 1903-1915", in Sultans of Sokoto, Kadua, Arewa House, 2016, p.273, Idris Yahaya, 'Bijirewa a Wakokin Siyasa; Bincike kan Wakokin 1903-2015', Phd. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2012 p.84, S. W Junaidu, 'Resistance to Western Culture in the Sakkwato Caliphate: A Lesson to Generations Yet Unborn' in A. M. Kani and K. A. Gandi, (ed) *'State and society in Sokoto caliphate'* Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Gaskiya Corporation Limited, Zaria, 199, P. 240. And R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in northern Nigeria 1804-1906*, London, Longman, 1977, p. 323.

⁹ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Early Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria and Niger, African Studies Seminar paper presented at University of the Witwatersrand, 1979, p.4.

¹⁰ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, Gidadawa area, aged 83, interviewed at his residence, on 01/02/2020, Malam Ummaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019, Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020 and Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

¹¹ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p.5.

¹² H. M. Maishanu, *Five Centuries of Historical Writing in Hausaland and Bornu 1500-2000*, Lagos, Macmillan Publishers, 2007 p.259. See also H.M. Maishanu, and A.A., Sifawa, "Satiru Factor in the Socio-Political History of Colonial and Post-Colonial Sokoto, *Lafiya Journal of Arts*, A Publication of Faculty of Arts, Federal University Lafia, 2018, p.163. And J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p.5.

relationship which was instrumental in the process of disseminating the Satiru ideology that survived the decades in the communities of the area.¹³

The Satirawa can still be found in large numbers in the areas where Bodinga and Dange-Shuni local Governments of Sokoto state met in several villages.¹⁴ They have successfully established themselves, engaged in occupations such as blacksmithing, subsistence agriculture, traditional medicine, ritual charms, and Qur`anic scholarship.¹⁵ In these villages the Satiru legacies can easily be traced.

This research examined the legacies of the Satiru revolt, the Satirawa ideology and the long lasting impact of the suppression of their revolt by the colonial authorities in 1906. Furthermore the research is to investigate and explain how the Satirawa emerged as a community despite not being confined to a single village rather to multiplicity of villages and hamlets in the areas of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni Local Governments. The weight of their presence is also felt in the region with their identical features that are recognizable in the area which make them a distinct people from other members of the communities. The vulnerability of the area to host fanatics that can be a security threat to the state as well as how and why the legacies of the Satiru survive to the present time are also studied by this research.

¹³ The Satirawa were believed to have forged a kind of relationship that was defined by their history, they are of the notion that the rest of the larger society have branded them descendants of rebels and they therefore consent the notion and it became a part of the area's social structure (Basatire) confirmed by most of my informants.

¹⁴ These are: Tudun Sharubutu, Dabagin gidan Giwa, Gidan Gabas, Runjin Bature, Kunkumi, Gidan Abba, Belahi, Bunazawa, Zangalawa, Gugari, Kulalo, Bodinga Town, Gwarko, Hurumi, Sabara, Illelar Gardawa, Tsomau, Danchadi, Dutsin Sarkin Ruwa, Maikataro, Rumbuki, Ruggar Gado, Unguwar Buzaye, Bangi Dutsi, Dabaga, Dogon Dajin Dabaga, , Butuku, Fomfo, Gidan Giwa, Dabagin Mazan Gari, Hausawar Bage/Tudun Nufawa, Lulu Hausawa, Dabagin Dan Alhamdu, 'Yangidaje, in Bodinga Local Government. And Mai kunchi, gidan Daji, Kwarago, Kwanar Kimba, Bodai Kunkundu, Jaraurawa, Katsalle, Dan kilo, Kalasa Riggyare, Battar runji, Battar Hausawa, Runjin Malga, Hausawar maiwa, Budai Tsamaye, Budai Marke, Dilingo, in Dange Shuni local Government.

¹⁵ Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the destruction of Satiru village and the dispersion of its inhabitants by the combined forces of Colonialists and Sokoto levies, Satirawa had regrouped in villages approximate to their former village. This effort was believed¹⁶ to have begun immediately after the trial and execution of Mallam Dan Makaho, one of the leading architects of the revolt at the Sokoto Native Court.¹⁷ Initially, the surviving Satirawa began their life in a concealed manner trying as much as possible to hide their true identity at least from any unfamiliar person they come across.¹⁸ With the passage of time, the Satirawa began to disseminate their ideology amongst their host communities.

The Satirawa ideologies become entrenched not only amongst them but to some extent to the larger society in the areas because of the fact that, Islamic scholars of Satiru descent constitute the majority of marabouts in the rural areas of Dange-Shuni and Bodinga local Governments.¹⁹ It is an identified phenomenon in these rural communities to find people both elderly and young who are rigid in conformity to the Satirawa ideology. They despised any traditional ruler and constituted authority.²⁰ The presence of Satirawa and the saturation of their ideology have created a radically volatile society and conservative people who despised anything of western origins.

The Satiru Phenomena has received a wide coverage by many scholars but the legacies of the revolt that were as a result of the conflict and became the permanent features of the Satirawa

¹⁶ In the villages approximate to the former settlement of Satiru, the story of the surviving Satirawa and their re settlement in villages bordering the Bodinga and Dange Shuni Districts is widely believed.

¹⁷ H. M. Maishanu, *Five Centuries of Historical Writing in Hausaland and Borno 1500-2000*, Lagos, Macmillan Publishers, 2007 p. 259.

¹⁸ Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

¹⁹ Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

²⁰ Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo (Zarumman Fomfo), aged 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

to the present time is not given the attention that it deserves in the existing historical scholarship. There is not a specific literature written in respect to the legacies of the conflict despite its role as an element that have become an integral part of their identity

Therefore, this research indulged in an examination of the surviving ideology, its impact on the non-Satirawa community and the consequences for the area. In this course, the research questions applied for this dissertation are as follows:-

- i. Who were the Satirawa?
- ii. What makes them different from the rest of the larger communities in the area of the study and Sokoto as a whole?
- iii. What constitute the Satiru legacies?
- iv. What roles had the legacies played, and are still playing in the Socio-Political, Economic and Intellectual undertaking in our area of study?

1.3 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this work is to examine the Satiru legacies in the rural areas of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni communities since 1906. Specifically, the research hoped to achieve the following objectives:

1. To find out why Satirawa still exist in the rural areas of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni
2. To identify the Satirawa ideologies still persisting in our area of study
3. To find out the relationship between Satirawa and non-Satirawa communities in our area of study
4. To investigate the impact of the Legacies of the Satiru uprising on the area of study.

1.4 Research Sources and Method

The Qualitative method of data collection and analytic was adopted for this research to enable the researcher gather as much data as possible for the research report. This included the careful use of both primary and secondary sources through narrative, analytic and interpretation. The primary source of data collection was through oral interviews and archival materials, the oral interview was carried out in vernacular form as Hausa is the lingua Franca of both the Satirawa descendants and their host communities; and the data obtained was transcribed. The interviewers were selected from diverse communities and descendants of Satirawa, their deceased scholars' family members, traditional rulers and some other prominent persons in the host communities of the Satirawa descendants.

In addition, secondary data was sourced, utilized, and interpreted. Secondary data was obtained through consultation of both published and un-published materials such as books, journals, articles, seminar papers, theses, dissertations and magazines. The research also utilized the existing write-ups on the Satiru episode from other disciplines. Both primary and secondary materials were accessed from libraries and archives such as Abdullahi Fodiyo Library at Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Sokoto State University Library, Sokoto State Library Complex, Sokoto, Waziri Junaidu Library at Shehu Shagari College of Education Sokoto, Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto, Mahdi Adamu History Department Library Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Centre for Islamic Studies Usmanu Danfodiyo University City Campus, Sokoto, the National Archives and Arewa House both in Kaduna.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The areas covered by this research are the areas that are currently between Bodinga and Dange-Shuni Local Governments of Sokoto State. These are a cluster of villages and hamlets that extend from central Bodinga Local Government to middle Dange-Shuni Local Government Area. This is because the villages and hamlets are populated by people of Satiru descent and other host communities. The research began from 1906 to present time; and 1906 is chosen as the beginning period of the study because that was the year when the Satiru revolt took place.

The terminal period of this research was extended to the present (2021). The reason is the strategic relevance of the Satiru forest which after the destruction of the village in 1906 a curse was proclaimed on the forest by the Sultan of Sokoto which shielded the forest for the entire 20th century. However in recent times the very status of the forest had become a contesting issue for both the descendants of Satirawa and their host communities, as several attempts to utilize the forest reserve for Agricultural purposes had caused physical clashes that resulted in loss of lives and political tension for the traditional rulers of the areas. The almost annual occurrence of the clashes are re-igniting and refreshing the Satiru episode in the area of study. Therefore, this strategic variable (forest reserve, where the original village was once situated) on the Satiru episode is now a major player in resurging the Satiru episode in Sokoto History.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of this research is the study of long lasting impact of the military suppression of the Satiru revolt and how the defeat reshaped the surviving Satirawa, and how it later

became the prime factor that made it necessary for the emergence of their ideology and how it made the present Satiru community a distinct society identified from the others with its special aggressive features.

The importance of the research also includes how the state policy on the defeated Satiru community allowed and nursed their re-emergence. The report will therefore be a vital material for policy makers and implementers with regards to fanatic fundamental ideas, terrorism and early signs of religious disorder in the Muslim community of Sokoto state.

1.7 Definition of Concepts:

i. Legacy: The word legacy is used in reference to actions and factors that stem from a past event or their leftovers. The legacy of Satiru in reference to this research simply means the indelible marks left by the conflict between the Satiru community and the British colonialists in conjunction with the Sokoto aristocracy in 1906 that are still visible.

ii. Ideology: The word Ideology means an adopted idea or belief of a person or group of people which is an integral part of their identity. The Ideology in the context of Satiru legacies are the principles of the Satirawa which made them a radical community during the conflict period and continued to be part of their features to the present time.

iii. Fanaticism: Is the behavior of buying into rigid principles on ideas, philosophy and beliefs. Fanatics ideally rested their reasons on the fact that others are too liberal on principles therefore theirs is the perfect interpretation of events. Fanaticism in reference to our area of research is the rigid and uncompromising orientation of the

Satirawa community in every aspect of life especially with regards to religious injunctions.

iv. Résistance: Is the act of opposing anything not pleasing physically or mentally. The resistance in the Satiru episode refers to the active struggle deployed by the Satirawa in their skirmishes with the colonial administration and the Sokoto aristocracy.

v. Western: The word western used in this research is specifically referring to anything that stems or originated from the white man that is European. The word is associated with all physical and non physical material of European origin that is alien to the African communities.

vi. Aristocracy: Is a noun meaning the occupants of the highest ladder in the feudal social structure of the society. Aristocracy in the context of Satiru is referring to the leaders of Sokoto Caliphate and fief holders in rural Sokoto Caliphate.

1.8 Literature Review

There are many literatures written on the aspects of resistances to colonial rule, Mahdism and organized violence against a recognized authority that left an indelible mark in Northern Nigerian history. However the Satiru revolt was recognized as the first active anti-colonial resistance that was inspired by the Mahadist ideology²¹ that took place after the establishment of formal colonial rule in Nigeria. The Satiru episode makes a head line in the academia of Northern Nigeria with lots of literature written on the entire evolution and the actual events of

²¹ By the turn of the 19th century, there were assumptions that there will be Mahdi, a prophesized Revolutionary who will emerge and wage a Jihad to sanitize the Muslim Ummah from other evil practices that have polarized the Islamic religion. The European penetration into Africa with their dominance prejudices which core-incidentally took place with the 100 years of the Establishment of the Sokoto caliphate which is also prophesize to collapse after a century was seen as the appropriate time for the emergence of the Mahdi. Therefore many hard-line scholars profess the notion that they are the expected Mahdi.

Satiru history. Therefore all literature that is written in these aspects that are within reach will be identified and reviewed. The periodic approach was used in reviewing literatures relevant in connection to the Satiru episode. The methods will simplify the various stages and subsequent researches with regards to how Satiru conflict is reported by academics and administrators.

The 1905-6 colonial Report²² dispatched to the Colonial Secretary by Lord Lugard was the first written documents which provided a detailed explanation from the colonial perspective of the entire Satiru episode. It discussed how the skirmishes evolved from a local tussle to an entire fatal engagement with the Colonialists. The literature provided a detailed outcome of the final battle with the Satirawa and what measures were adopted by the Colonialists in ensuring such events never happened again and how the Satiru chapter sealed the bond between Sokoto aristocracy and the British colonialists. A policy that added to the later attitudes of the surviving Satirawa and their host communities which became parts of the legacies of the episode. The suppression of the Satirawa which laid the foundation of our research topic is briefly discussed in the report.

Geary's work²³ is of significance in the sense that it gave a detailed analysis of how events unfolded for the West African Frontier Force during its deployment to face the Satirawa during the first encounter with the rebels. The author discussed how the WAFF men accidentally failed to form their strategic square correctly and in time which gave the Satirawa the green light to launch their surprise and quick attack which became the most lethal suffered by WAFF and sealed the fate of the Satirawa. The author further discussed how during the

²² 1905-6, Annual colonial Reports for Northern Nigeria.

²³ W.N.M. Geary, *Nigeria under British Rule* London, Frank Cass &Co. Ltd, 1965,

first days of the encounter the fear of the Rebellion to advance towards Sokoto or mobilize local support became entrenched in the minds of the Colonialists and the Sokoto aristocracy. It further analyzed the factor that if the Sultan had thrown his support to the rebels then any possibility might have occurred. It ended the Satiru discussion on how the Satiru episode provided the conducive atmosphere that sealed the special Bond between the Sokoto aristocracy and the British colonial establishment that was maintained for decades and continued even after the formal attainment of Independence from colonial rule. It also became part of the Satiru legacies that were to manifest in different patterns and make profound impact on the society of our area of study and the larger Sokoto emirate.

Adeleye²⁴ discussed the Satiru rebellion and the various efforts made by the Satirawa to carry everybody along in their anticipated showdown with the Colonialists. The author discussed the nature of the early pre-conquest Sokoto society in relation to the new authorities, and the calm before the storm of the atmosphere in the Sokoto suburb including the Satiru community that was to be the focus of attention for the imperial authorities. The author explained the Satiru leadership correspondence with some traditional rulers and to the extent upon which they convinced some of the traditional rulers to at least spiritually sympathize with the rebellious Satirawa before their final battle with the British colonial forces.

The literature further discussed how the Satiru incidence reinforced the total submission of the traditional rulers to the colonial rule. The colonialists and Sokoto aristocracy were pleased with the suppression of the Satirawa as it have sent a clear message across the British territory that, any descent will surely be suppressed vehemently. The Satiru battle further consolidated British colonial rule and served as deterrent to any future uprising in the British colonial

²⁴ R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in northern Nigeria 1804-1906*, London, Longman, 1977

Nigeria. Another literature is that of Crowder²⁵ who discussed how military technology became the prime advantage of the European invading armies against traditional African army. The author further discussed the military factor in consolidating colonial conquest and rule in Northern Nigeria. He illustrated the factor of the Satiru revolt and suppression as part of the last action by the British imperialists in suppressing uprisings in the former Sokoto caliphate territory. This sealed the bond of relationship between the British colonialists and the Sokoto caliphate aristocracy. The legacies of the revolt were not discussed

Another relevant literature to our study is that of Hogendorn and Paul.²⁶ They discussed the nature of Satiru revolt, how the whole incidence evolved from a wider Mahdist a phenomenon that was widespread at the turn of the 19th century West Africa. How the Satirawa succeeded in disseminating their Mahdist ideology to a large following, the reconciliation attempt of the British colonialist under the Acting Resident Hillary. And the earlier skirmishes between the troops of the West African Frontier Force which led to the killing of Acting Resident Hillary. As well as the Sokoto expedition in attempt to subdue the revolt by the Sokoto aristocracy under the leadership of Marafa Maiturare, a Sokoto official in charge of the Sarkin Muslim's levies. And the final destruction of Satiru village by a joint expedition of Sokoto levies and WAFF troops, the subsequent event that warrant the clash that saw their defeat. They also discussed how some of the survivors were taken to Sokoto including Mallam Dan Makaho who was tried and executed for being part of the revolt organizers. The literature is found to be very important to this research because it gave an in-depth analysis of how the Mahdist doctrine became the basis of such a very catastrophic event in the early days of British

²⁵ Micheal Crowther, ed, *West African Resistance ,The Military Response to Colonial Occupation*, London, Hutchison and co. Publishers Ltd, 1978

²⁶ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Early Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria and Niger, African Studies Seminar paper presented at University of the Witwatersrand, 1979.

colonial rule in Nigeria. Furthermore it detailed how the ideals of Islamic intellectualism were used to radicalize an entire society behind the watchdog of the new authorities. It is a detailed history of the event of Satiru but failed short of giving its legacies which this research is all about.

The fall of Nigeria by Ikime²⁷ is a literature discussing the piece meal conquering of Nigeria by the British imperialists. The author discussed the Satiru revolt as a manifestation of the conquered people last stand against imperial domination by the British. The people's firm attachment to their independence was a prime factor behind the early uprisings in Northern Nigeria including that of Satiru which became the most destructive of the early resistance movements. The literature is relevant to this research as it is a detailed analysis of the British superior weapon factor in the conquest and consolidation of colonial rule in the early 20th century Nigeria. But the literature failed to give the legacies of the revolt which this research is all about.

Another literature relevant to this study is the "Social interpretation of Satiru revolt....." by Abubakar Mohammed Sokoto.²⁸ The author discussed the state of the caliphate in relation to the newly established order (Colonial Administration) which was attained by a simple compromise and acceptance of allegiance by the Sokoto aristocracy to the British colonial rule after the defeat at Giginya battle ground and the dimension of the new economic policies of the new administration which is contrary to the tribute receiving position of Sokoto and its environs. These are all social and economic changes that added fuel to the Satiru event²⁹. He further discussed the demography of the Satiru community, their status and the impetus of the

²⁷ Obaro Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books, 1982.

²⁸ A. S. Mohammed, "A social Interpretation of the Satiru Revolt of C. 1894-1906 in Sokoto Province" M. SC. Dissertation, ABU Zaria, 1983.

²⁹ A.S. Mohammad, "A social Interpretation of the Satiru Revolt..."p. 73

Mahdist ideology which was rampant in Africa during this period due to the conquest and subsequent colonial rule by European colonial powers.³⁰ The author further discussed the utilization of the Mahdist ideology to mobilize popular support in confronting both the colonial government and their Sokoto caliphate allies whom the Satirawa branded as infidels and companions of the Gog and Magog.³¹ This analysis gave us a clear picture of how many sudden changes in the History of 19th century Sokoto caliphate changed the demography of the area of our study that facilitated a community so hostile and ready to face the new order despite its weapon superiority. The literature in addition gave us the nature of the conflict and how it impacted the host communities in the area with its social and demographic legacies as the event became a permanent feature of the entire area called Satiru and its neighboring communities that are in the present Dange-Shuni and Bodinga districts of Sokoto state.

Isichei³² literature is a brief history of the Mahdist Phenomena during the consolidation era of British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, what occurred at Satiru, the moral and material support the ruling aristocracy provide for the colonialists and the manner by which the Satiru uprising was suppressed. The literature failed to give the legacies of revolt.

Another literature is that of Junaidu,³³ which discussed the mode of resistance to western culture after the colonial conquest of Sokoto and the establishment of formal colonial rule. The author discussed the method adopted by Sokoto society in resisting and despising western culture and values that were introduced by the colonialists. The literature provided a firsthand effort by Sokoto society in resisting western culture and Education, the Satirawa were

³⁰ A.S.Mohammad, 'A Social Interpretation of Satiru Revolt...'pp.183-184

³¹ A.S. Mohammad, 'A Social Interpretation of Satiru Revolt...'

³² Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, Singapore, Longman Group, 1983

³³ S. W Junaidu, 'Resistance to Western Culture in the Sakkwato Caliphate: A Lesson to Generations Yet Unborn' in A. M. Kani and K. A. Gandi, (ed) '*State and society in Sokoto caliphate*' Usmanu Danfodiyo Sokoto, Gaskiya Corporation Limited, Zaria, 1990.

believed to be the first community to adopt such scorn tactics against colonialist and their supporters in Sokoto society. The Satirawa even before their final skirmishes with the colonialist were observed to be a community who despise anything that stem from the colonialist. This attitude contributed in shaping the Satirawa in becoming aggressive and active fighters against the colonial establishment and its Sokoto allies.

Another literature worthy of review is that of Kuna³⁴ the author discussed the mechanism of deploying violence in the formation and consolidation of state authority in Northern Nigeria. He further illustrated that, the Satiru uprising and suppression was as a result of the colonial states' mechanism of Governance which prompted the peasantry to resist through the pretext of the Mahdist phenomena. The suppression of the revolt by the colonial state using force is part of the nature of using violence to control subjects and protect and maintain the state authority, its structure upon the peasantry, who were always the foot soldiers of active resistance similar to what occurred at Satiru.

Another literature is that of A.A Gwandu,³⁵ which briefly discussed the pattern of the Sokoto/British peace negotiation after the defeat at Giginya battle ground and how the whole event was interpreted from different directions with support and counter support on the legitimacy of the treaty with the British. The author in addition discussed how the episode (treaty) became one of the principal motives used by the Satirawa to justify their revolt against both the British colonialists and the Sokoto aristocracy. The literature provided the early signs of unrests during the critical period of the flight of Sultan Attahiru the 1st, the

³⁴ M. J. Kuna, 'Violence and State formation the case of Northern Nigeria 1900-1960', PhD, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2001

³⁵ A.A. Gwandu, et al, 'The Sokoto Caliphate: A Legacy of Scholarship and good governance, proceedings of the 'Ulama' organized to commemorate the 200 years of the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate' Fahimta Global print, Sokoto, 2005.

turbaning of Attahiru the II and the final outbreak of the Satiru revolt which was an outcome of the growing discontent of the colonial rule, its legitimacy and radical Mahdist ideology. But the legacies of revolt were not discussed.

Another literature is that of Abdulmalik Mani³⁶, the literature is a brief history of the colonial conquest of Hausaland, how the British conquered the area in piece meal and its early impact in what became Northern Nigeria. It discussed the early resistance to colonial rule which was inspired by Islamic clerics and Mahadist ideologies, in Bauchi for instance a cleric inspired and led an early attempt to resist colonial rule which was stopped by the colonialists at an early stage. The literature further discussed the Satiru resistance and the nature of the British suppression of the revolt, how the organizers were tried and executed and how the episode impacted on the early colonial Sokoto society. Therefore the aspect of the Satiru legacies were not discussed in the literature but it gave an early perspective of the event in the first decade of colonial Sokoto and how the seal of trust was stamped between the Sokoto aristocracy and the colonial establishment by the Satiru episode.

Another literature worthy of reviewing is that of Maishanu³⁷ which discussed the Satiru episode as presented by colonial Historiographers who solely branded the event as a “recurring phenomena” which is a reference to several Mahdist claim in the West African savanna region including the Sokoto caliphate territory during the turn of the 19th century. The literature debunked the colonial scholars’ interpretation of the Satiru uprising which deliberately skipped the key factor of colonialism and its caricatures as the principal pretext that brought about the Satiru episode. The author further discussed the colonial scholars’

³⁶ Abdulmalik Mani, *Zuwan Turawa Nigeria ta Arewa*, Northern Nigerian Publishing Company Ltd Zaria, 2007.

³⁷ H. M. Maishanu, *Five Centuries of Historical Writing in Hausaland and Borno 1500-2000*, Lagos, Macmillan Publishers, 2007

emphasis on the role of marabouts on the emergence of the uprising neglecting the role of the imposed colonial institutions of governance and taxation that were alien to the natives and part of the problem.

Abubakar's³⁸ literature is a brief History of the village known as "Satiru," its leadership structure, its relation with neighboring villages and the ruling class. The author discussed the fragile relationship that existed between the Satirawa, their neighbors, the Sokoto aristocracy and the pretext that brought about their first engagement with the British colonialists. The literature was a brief and precise discussion of various factors that instigated and nursed the Satiru episode. And how the Satirawa in a piece meal either directly or indirectly were fixing finishing touches to what was to become the most destructive uprising against colonial rule in Northern Nigerian territory.

Abubakar³⁹ literature is an analysis of the weakness and merits of the numerous write-ups on the subject of the Satiru revolt and its suppression. The author discussed many weaknesses identified in the interpretation of the revolt by various scholars. He illustrated how some of the scholars who have written about the incidence subscribed to either colonial literature and its interpretation of the event or the Sokoto aristocracy interpretation of the whole episode. He detailed the short-comings of some of the write-ups and clearly suggested that, there are weaknesses in their methodology of data collection which as a result neglected other aspects of the factors that brought about the whole event. The author specifically identified the Satiru story as an event that evolved from the ashes of two major, principle factors: the class struggle between the peasantry, Scholars and the aristocracy which predated the colonial conquest and

³⁸ A.M. Sokoto, 'The Satiru Revolt of 1906: A Reaction to Feudalism and Imperialism', History Department Seminar Series, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Vol.3, 2011

³⁹ A. M. Sokoto, 'The Satiru revolt of 1906: Problems of Interpretation and Methodology', History Department Seminar Series, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Vol.3, 2011

the Mahadist factor which the imposition of colonial rule helped to rejuvenate and made the advocacy of the ideology to become rampant at that particular time.

Another literature is that of Yahaya⁴⁰ which discussed the Satiru episode as an outcome of an effort by a Peasant/Slave class to resist colonial conquest not only in Sokoto caliphate but throughout West Africa. The author re-emphasized the role of knowledge acquired by the Satirawa as the driving factor behind their effort that led them to confrontation with the colonialists and their new friends, the Sokoto aristocracy. The Satirawa were identified as the leading scholars in the area of our study before the 1906 clash, therefore become head clerics of most of the Madarasat in the area. The author further discussed their strict adherence to Islamic political sanctions that was instrumental in the rationale behind the incidence with the colonialists. The literature is therefore a record of how intellectual poems are expressing resistance to colonial rule, its sympathizers and the use of the method in opposition politics. It further gave example of the use of the same poem in the radicalization of the Tijjaniya brotherhood therefore the issues of colonial legacies were not much discussed.

Another literature is that of Usman⁴¹ which is a history of Sokoto intellectual community under British colonial Rule, it discussed the reaction and impact of the conquest of the Caliphate headquarters. It further discussed the intellectual arguments between the aristocrats and some leading scholars of the city. The thesis and counter thesis on the legality of the official truce that came into being after the conquest and Satiru revolt was an offshoot of the debate on the legality of a Muslim Ummah to live under the authority of a non Muslim establishment. The literature further explained the Satiru episode and how their uprising was

⁴⁰ Idris Yahaya, 'Bijirewa a Wakokin Siyasa; Bincike kan Wakokin 1903-2015', Phd. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2012

⁴¹ M. T Usman, *Muslim scholars of Sokoto Emirate under British Rule, 1903-2015: A History of Reaction and Compromise in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 2013

viewed from the native perspective, how the Satirawa were successful in establishing themselves as an aggressive community even before the final showdown with the colonial government. The author in addition discussed the natives' use of poems as an instrument of resistance to express their disregard to the new order despite not taking the fight to a physical combat. However elements of Satiru legacies were noticed in the literature it therefore provided a brief legacy of the first impact of Satiru episode.

Another literature worthy of review is that of Daniya⁴², who discussed the era of Sultan Abdurrahman popularly known as (Danyen Kasko) who's caliphate ship was to deal with series of diplomatic and Military engagement both within and outside that culminated with the defeat of the Caliphate. The literature is an insight to the diplomatic maneuvering between first the Royal Niger Company, the French, and German and later the British Government which finally resort to occupy the Sokoto Caliphate. It exposed the vibrant stands of Caliph Abdurrahman who diplomatically and militarily reminded the European imperialists of the Caliphate's Independence and its resort to maintain that independence. The author further discussed the various factors at work which enabled the British imperialist to breach the long term treaties with the Caliphate and used force to conquer and established the colonial administration which was the very institution that annihilated the Satirawa in 1906.

The literature is significant in the fact that it provided the detailed analysis of the various variables that necessitated the conquest of the Caliphate and the subsequent bondage of the relationship between the Caliphate aristocracy and the British colonial administration which were the two forces that faced the Satiru uprising and plant the seeds of its legacies.

⁴²A.U.Daniya, 'Caliph Abdurrahman's Response to European Imperialism and the British Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate', Department of History Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, *Sokoto Journal of History*, Vol. 3, 2014.

Another literature is that of Mukhtar⁴³ which discussed the challenges faced by the colonialist during the early days of British administration in delivering justice. Sequence to the Satiru uprising the principal culprits were tried and executed by the native courts but not until the judge was convinced that the Satirawa have killed Muslims as well during the skirmishes with the British colonial forces in conjunction with the Sokoto cavalry. The episode despite connecting what happened at Satiru to the complexity of delivering justice to whom so ever disobeyed the law, the native judges are still adhering to the provisions of the Islamic justice system.⁴⁴

Another literature is that of Alkasum Abba⁴⁵ which also discussed the Satiru episode and how the conflict influenced a changing policy by the British colonialists on the aspects of traditional fief holders of the caliphate who are now ordered to reside in their fiefs so as to carefully oversee the affairs of their people which is an intend to extend surveillance of the citizens in order to avoid a secret nursing of fanatics of Satiru replica which could be a threat to colonial Government. The shifting policy and the reward and punishment were discussed with the first British colonial Establishment honorary medals awarded to the Sultan for his support during the revolt and how some fiefs were readjusted and lost their autonomy to others due to their either indirect support to the rebels or not assisting the colonialist in due course of the fight against Satirawa. However despite the literature have laid a foundation of the legacies of the Satiru revolt it was short of discussing the grassroots legacies, how the episode changed the life of the host communities and the prospect for the defeated Satirawa which this research is to examine.

⁴³T. M, Mukhtar "Colonialism and Mazalim Court system in Sokoto Province, 1903-1960" Department of History Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* Volume 20, Issue 9, Ver.II 2015, PP59-63.

⁴⁴ The native judge argument rests in the provision of the Islamic system of Justice that forbid the killing of a Muslim for Killing a non Muslim or A free born for killing a slave.

⁴⁵ Alkasum Abba, (ed) " Muhammadu Attahiru Ibn Aliyu Babba , 1903-1915..." pp. 271-279.

Another literature is that of Maishanu and Sifawa⁴⁶ which discussed the impact of the Satiru revolt and how it facilitated a radical spiritual sentiment of the Tijjaniya Brotherhood against colonialists and the aristocracy in Sokoto province. And how the Satiru factor played a role in despise of the aristocracy due to its support and respect to the colonialist and how it influence the later radical philosophies of NEPU political movement during the second Republic. The literature discussed the wider scope of the Satiru influence which covers many parts of the former Sokoto state and the intellectual resistance of the Satiru ideology followers in these areas. However aspects of the Satiru legacies were not discussed such as issues of socio-economic relation between the Satirawa and their hosts communities despite the literature have thrown light in some leftovers of the Satiru episode that reshaped the Satirawa view of the legitimacy of the Sultanate council of Sokoto which they objected to observing the Ramadan fasting by the Sultan`s announcement of the moon sighting. But other legacies of the Satiru factor were not addressed and they were the feature that made the surviving Satirawa of the Dange-Shuni and Bodinga local Government areas of Sokoto state distinct from other local communities in their areas which this research intend to investigate.

The reviews covered wide range of issues regarding the Satiru revolt; however aspect of the legacies of the conflict were not digested to properly address factors behind the strict adherence to the ideology by survivors of the revolt and later generations of the community that followed. Therefore this work intends to bridge this gap, discussed the legacies of the revolt and how they reshape the descendants communities politically, socially and economically.

⁴⁶H.M. Maishanu and A. A. Sifawa, 'Satiru Factor in the Socio-Political History of Colonial and Post-Colonial Sokoto', in *Lafiya Journal of Arts*, A Publication of Faculty of Arts, Federal University Lafia, 2018.

CHAPTER TWO

Background to the Satiru Revolt

2.0 Introduction

This chapter shall discuss the events leading to the Satiru revolt. The discussion began with the evolution of the early Satiru community and the subsequent defeat of Sokoto by the British imperial forces. The chaos after the defeat, and the intellectual basis and counter argument with regards to the Sokoto-British treaty which was not pleased to some of the Caliphate subjects.

The defeat and treaty hammered by the Caliphate custodian with the British was not pleased to many these include the Satirawa who took the issue to a level no other have taken the matter.

2.1 The Satiru Village

The fringes of Sokoto city consisted of numerous clusters of villages and hamlets that evolved by the factor of the 19th century Jihad while others were existing before the Jihad itself. But the creation of Darul Islam with its headquarters at Sokoto was instrumental in the expansion of villages and hamlets within the fringes of Sokoto city. The feudal economic system of the Caliphate played a role in the settlement of people within areas that were observed to be fertile for agriculture and animal husbandry around the city and craft industry.⁴⁷ The villages and hamlets around Sokoto city are classified into Plantations and independent hamlets, plantations are slave estates owned by scholars and other principal aristocrats as well as other wealthy persons in Sokoto city, while hamlets (*Tungage*) are occupied by free born citizens who are mostly subsistent farmers, craftsmen, pastoralists and traders.⁴⁸ The Satiru community

⁴⁷Thomas W.Dunck, "Slavery in Hausa Land", M.A, Anthropology, McGill University Montreal, 1983, P.103

⁴⁸M.I. Jumare, "Slavery in Sokoto City, C, 1804-1936" M.A. Dissertation, A.B.U Zaria, 1988, p. 62.

is a setting widely believed to have evolved from all of the situations mentioned with the exception of wealthy merchant class amongst the Satirawa.

The Satiru village is believed to be a new settlement by the turn of the 19th century, but the community is believed to have evolved into a force to be reckoned with the factor of its ideological belief that was a driving force which attracted many who were uncomfortable with the events that proceeded the fall of Sokoto Caliphate. The Satiru village located between Bodinga and Dange-Shuni district of Sokoto State, which happened to be under Danchadi fief, was to make headlines in the early period of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria with the famous Satiru revolt against colonial rule. The incidence which scholars have attributed to many factors was to become the most deadly anti-colonial struggle in British West Africa.

The Satirawa consisting of poor peasants and scholars who rest their fact on the illegality of the defeated Sokoto Caliphate leadership treaty with the colonialist as apostasy and show of weakness on the part of the Sokoto leadership. Therefore the Concorde Treaty was used by the Satirawa as a pretext to further expand their fundamental ideas and resistance to both the Sokoto aristocracy and the British colonial authority. The Satirawa leadership was able to mobilize large following to their cause and galvanized them to face the colonial government and the Sokoto aristocracy in a showdown in the early days of colonial rule. The incidence was to leave a lasting legacy in our area of study and the historiography of colonial rule in Sokoto province.

2.2 The Emergence of Satiru Community

From all available records the Satiru hamlet which is situated 12.49 degree north and 15.36 degree east⁴⁹ was first settled by Mallam Siba Waihi around circa 1894/95 who was believed to be of Nupe origin and a citizen of Gindi village of Gwandu Emirate.⁵⁰ The reasons behind his exile to the very spot Satiru village was curved by him is still obscure, but the idea that Mallam Siba was a renowned Islamic scholar and magician is well believed by many people.⁵¹ After the initial setting of the hamlet by Mallam Siba it was believed he was joined by many other scholars and their followers⁵², but the most interesting and yet to established fact is as to why Satiru attracted die hard scholars like Siba and his contemporaries at the very early period of colonial rule. The early Satiru community is composed of scholars, peasants, artisans, and magicians (*gardawa*). But the Satiru community by the social stratification of the Caliphate society is believed to have a large composition of slaves mostly fugitives who found refuge in the new settlement.⁵³ Scholars of Satiru episode are on the notion that Satiru was an attracting join-point for slaves because the founders and head village of the community have renounced slavery⁵⁴ and are providing sanctuary to fugitive slaves.

Therefore the village must have made headlines for people of slave descent and others that were still in bondage at the turn of the century. A free no-man's-land at the very edge of

⁴⁹Google Earth Digital Map.

⁵⁰A.S. Mohammed," A Social Interpretation of the Satiru Revolt of C. 1894 -1906 in Sokoto Province" M. SC. Dissertation, ABU Zaria, 1983 p.161.

⁵¹ Of all our informers about him narrated his mastery of the Quran and expertise in charm making

⁵²A.S. Mohammad reported that after the founding of the village by Mallam Siba, he was later joined by scholars like Malam Bawa from Bakura and Malam Maikaho from Gobir.

⁵³ S. U. Lawal "The Challenges of the Subject-Peasantry to the Colonial State: The case of Satiru revolt of 1906", [eds] Jumare I. M. and Yandaki A. I. in *An Icon of Scholarship and Public Services*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press Ltd, Sokoto,2007.p.66. See also J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p.18.

⁵⁴ According to J. S Hogendorn and Paul E Lovejoy "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Early Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria and Niger, *African Studies Seminar Paper* Presented at University of the Witwatersrand, May 1979 the leaders of Satiru abolished slavery and this attracted many Slaves to flock to Satiru in pursuit of that sense of freedom.

Sokoto the headquarters of the Caliphate which was on the forefront of receiving slaves as tributes from the Emirates. This must have been a very joyful development for slaves and other low profile citizens of the Sokoto emirate. This very variable (an oasis of freedom) might have been a prime factor for the arrival of Mallam Shuaibu Dan Makaho who travelled from the French Niger to Satiru through Gwandu with his followers around the very time the skirmishes were to begin. It is pertinent to know that understanding the very political condition with regards to the Caliphate authority and the emirates at the turn of the century is vital in analyzing various factors that might have played roles in the emergence and the subsequent conflict between the Colonialist and the Satiru community.

The belief in the notion of “freedom” by every member of the Satiru community is to have attracted other people of servile background to the village, thereby creating an implosion of people discontent with the Caliphate authority and later with the Colonialists. The community is believed to be in rebellion against the Caliphate authority even before the final conquest of the Caliphate in 1903, due to several factors but the most important were the differences in religious interpretations and servile background of most of the Community. The reasons were discussed widely by many scholars of Sokoto Caliphate. Part of the grievances of the Satiru scholars was the Caliphate attitude of not negotiating or listening to Satiru scholars facts with regards to complex Islamic injunctions.⁵⁵ But the interesting point for this research is the factor slavery played which is believed by most scholars to be part of the immediate cause of the aggressive nature of the community up-to its final destruction in 1906.

⁵⁵Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019 and Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020. Reported that Satirawa were perceived as slaves or descendants of slaves, therefore, they have no point of being listened to.

From available evidences the Satiru village was established in the year 1894 and the early and late Satiru community was settled by a multiple ethnic communities of the Caliphate with the exception of only the *Fulbe* tribe who were despised by the Satirawa having being brothers in ethnicity to the Sokoto aristocracy.⁵⁶ In addition, the community was initiated by the ideology of its scholars men like Siba and others to become so hostile and aggressive to any affiliation of the community with the wider Caliphate authority. Therefore the Satiru village from the perspective of its inhabitants is an independent and free community from the Sokoto authority and later the British colonial authority as well.⁵⁷ The village is believed to be a hub of experts' spiritualists and magicians. There are impressions that the sight of the village possesses invisible powers before and after its destruction some of the potency includes:

- i. People occasionally got missing on trespassing the sight of the village especially on the direction of the Satiru mountain (the Mountain is commonly known as *Dan Jakin Diga*⁵⁸) which is believed to have such spiritual powers.
- ii. During the night if one looks on the direction of the village sight hurricane lantern could be seen. But if someone comes closer, the scene disappears.
- iii. If someone approaches the sight of the village he could hear enchantment similar to a former position of an abandoned bush track. Such happenings at times led to psychological and mental disorder on people who went through such experiences. Market scene, but on the approach of the village the echoing voices seized to exist.
- iv. A times people trespassing the village were obstructed and fallen but to their dismay they see nobody around them.
- v. Many a times people trespassing the village come across hamlets with inhabitants going about their daily life, but after reaching some points in their journey the scene disappears back to its normal shape.

⁵⁶ As reported by J.S. Hogendorn and Paul E. Lovejoy on examining the corpuses after the battle of Satiru it was identified that tribal marks of the dead were of Gobir, Kebbi, Zamfara, Katsina and others but there is no single Fulani identified among them.

⁵⁷ S. U .Lawal "The Challenges of the Subject-Peasantry to the Colonial State: The case of Satiru revolt of 1906..." p.66. See also A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." pp. 183-184, and J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance....." p.18.

⁵⁸ Interview with Dahiru Usman, Rudu Gero, aged 35, interviewed at his residence, on 17/12/2019.

- vi. There were three locally dug wells, one of concoction (*tsime*) another of script concoction (*Rubutu*) and one which was free of any concoction which the local inhabitants used as fresh water source.
- vii. The site is not safe for hunting despite the presence of gazelles and rabbits. If someone hunts a gazelles he will be shot with an arrow by unknown force. If he hunts a rabbit using dog, he receives same bite from a dog, and if the meat of the rabbit is cooked for meal everyone who consumes the meat will die.⁵⁹ Therefore hunters in the past skipped the site for the fear of the issues mentioned above.

Such notions of supernatural powers of the Satiru village before and after its destruction are popularly believed by many people. The early inhabitants and the leading scholars were a generation of people who wholeheartedly believed in the powers of supernatural beings. This factor was instrumental in boosting their morale during the skirmishes with both their neighbors and the authorities.

2.3 The Defeat of Sokoto and the Intellectual basis of the Sokoto-British Treaty

The Sokoto Jihad which culminated in the establishment of the Caliphate was launched in 1804; however Sokoto became headquarters of the Caliphate in 1809⁶⁰ after Alkalawa the Gobir capital was sacked in October 1808.⁶¹ From then on Sokoto continued to receive scholars and other supporters of the Jihad which made the city famous across West Africa. The revolution which produced the Caliphate was spearheaded by an educated class of scholars from diverse communities in Hausaland that became the largest theocratic polity in 19th century West Africa.⁶² The century existence of the Caliphate was to have a profound impact on communities in the entire West African sub-region. The drastic transformation of

⁵⁹AlhassanHabibu, "Rashin jituwa tsakanin Malaman Satiru da Turawan mulkin mallaka [1906] " *Chibiyar nazarin Addinin Musulunci Ofishin fassara bangaren aikin Jakadiyar Unesco* Takardar da aka gabatar a taron karawa juna ilmi na kasa a kan tasirin mulkin mallaka a kan ilmi da cibiyar Addinin musulunci daga shekarar 1903-1960, p.3

⁶⁰ Dennis Murry Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London, Longmans, 1967, pg41

⁶¹Dennis Murry Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate...* pg 39

⁶²Sulaiman Ibrahim, "A Revolution in History, the jihad of Usmanu Danfodiyo", London, Mansell publishing limited, p.127.

both economic and technological advancement in Europe coupled with the competitive nature of the new economic order (capitalism) was to initialize a new relationship⁶³ between the Caliphate and European powers which was to graduate by the late 19th century into a struggle between a conquering army and a defender of its territory.

The Sokoto Caliphate and the British trading firms relationship was not cordial during the last decade of the 19th century. The aggressive nature of the Royal Niger Company towards the Caliphate Emirates was to change the attitudes of the Caliphate authorities and that was to generate a titanic struggle between the Caliph and the company leadership.

By 1897 the emirates of Ilorin and Bida were forcefully taken by the company in pretexts of promoting slavery and hindering the free flow of trade by the emirs of these emirates. Therefore By 1st January 1900 when the Royal Niger Company Charter was revoked and the British Government assumed direct control of the companies trading territories the unilateral decision by the British imperial establishment to conquer Northern Nigeria was already sealed.⁶⁴ Therefore the fate of the Sokoto Caliphate was hanging in balance to British imperial interests in what was to become Northern Nigeria.

The Caliph Sultan Abdurrahman who on sensing danger with regards to the ambition of the British sent a written letter on May, 1902⁶⁵ notifying the British of the Caliphate stands, and what was to become the official state policy of defense against the British encroachment towards occupying the Caliphate cities in piece meal. The Caliph in his letter informed the

⁶³U.A.Daniya, 'Caliph Abdurrahman's Response to European Imperialism and the British Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate', Department of History Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, *Sokoto Journal of History*, Vol. 3, 2014.p.43.

⁶⁴ U.A.Daniya, 'Caliph Abdurrahman's Response to European Imperialism and the British Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate..'.p.49

⁶⁵ U.A.Daniya, 'Caliph Abdurrahman's Response to European Imperialism and the British Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate..'.p52

British that, henceforth there is no other relation with them but that of “War”. The Caliph letter which is a response for an earlier letter by the Lugard to him was added as a pretext by the British in pursuit of their objective of occupying the Caliphate territory for colonial rule. Sultan Abdullrahman formal declaration of war towards the British was to have pleased many in the Caliphate territory who felt the presence and encroachment of the Christians is a breach of the Muslim community sanctity and freedom.⁶⁶

The dislike of Christians by the Caliphate citizens was to receive an impetus with the hostile nature of the relationship between the Caliphate and the Royal Niger Company which was curved during the last decade of the 19th century. The unpleasing nature of the situation created an atmosphere of fear and forced many to re-affirm their loyalty to the Caliph as the situation is expected to generate into a full scale war between the White Man and the Muslim Ummah led by the Caliph. There are notions that, the Muslim community were of the belief that at the event of defeat by the Christians their right to practice Islamic faith will eventually seized to exist, therefore the idea of migration towards the east was to have evolved from the expected scenario in addition to the already existing beliefs by many that the Mahdi is about to appear before the turn of Islamic calendar. With all the delaying and time buying tactics of the British towards the Caliphate leadership in preparation for war another calamity unfolded in Sokoto with the death of Caliph Abdullrahman and his replacement with Attahiru the 1st in 1902. The new Sultan continued with and did not expunge any of his predecessor’s policy towards the British. Therefore the official stand against the British remained as declared by late Sultan Abdullrahman and it was adhered to by the new administration of Attahiru 1st. With the fast development of events the British formally on March 17th 1903 launched their

⁶⁶ Al-Qadi Abdullahi, ‘Risah Ila’ l-Mu’ Asirin’, Bello.O [eds], *Ulama’ and Colonialism in Nigeria: Risalah Ila’l mu’asirin*, Sokoto, Islamic Academy,[nd] pg5.

attack on Sokoto city which is the headquarters of the Caliphate. The Caliphate contingent which stood for the final defense of the Muslim Caliphate were led by the Sultan Attahiru I who together with the Waziri commanded the centre wing of the troops, while Abubakar of Rabah was commanding the right flank and Maiturare commanding the left flank at the Atiku gate of south western Sokoto.

The ensuing battle which concluded with a British victory was to finally trigger the idea of mass migration to the east as part of measures earlier discussed within the Caliphate in the event of a defeat. The defeated Sokoto community became divided into two camps those with the idea of migration and others with the idea of wait and see the eventuality of the day (what will the British do about Islam). The Satiru community of the early days of Sokoto defeat is believed not to take any of the two camps rather because the basics of Satirawa principles with regards to the migration or submission is that the Muslims should stay and continue fighting the infidels who have taken control of their land.⁶⁷ Therefore the Satirawa can be categorized as a third group despite being a very minority with this idea in and within the fringes of Sokoto city.⁶⁸

After the defeat of Sokoto and flight of Sultan Attahiru I, who initially embarked on the Hijra with the intention of travelling to the Islamic holy land of Mecca for pilgrimage and eventual permanent settlement in the Holy land was pursued by the British. The British observed with concern that a substantial number of Sokoto and other parts of the Caliphate citizens are on daily basis joining the Sultan in the flight towards the east very fast as the news of his flight continued to reach many distant areas of the Caliphate. With the confusing situation during

⁶⁷Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁶⁸Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019

the early days of Sokoto defeat the Satirawa and their adjacent communities were watching every stage of the chaos. The Satiru community at that particular time was not celebrating the defeat of Sokoto despite having an unpleasant relation with Sokoto before the British attack.⁶⁹ The Satiru community waited just as the others who did not join the Sultan in the flight to Mecca. However the Satirawa notion of resistance which is neither to embark on the Hijra nor submit to the British (stay and continue fighting the unbelievers) was now to be put to test as the consolidation of British rule in Sokoto province continued to take shape.

On the part of Sokoto aristocracy, the Wazir was to lead an intellectual endeavor of legitimizing the surrender to the British and submitting to colonial Government.⁷⁰ The Satiru scholarly community was of the idea that submitting to the British and desisting from fighting is apostasy.⁷¹

Waziri Bukhari made consultations with many scholars amongst is Qadi Ahmad of Gwandu whose emirate was in a similar situation before Sokoto.⁷² The Qadi re-affirmed Waziri's idea of truce with the British, he further gave examples with Bagdad and the Muslim Holy city of Mecca whom were once captured by non Muslims and the community never emigrated.⁷³ Qadi also concluded his point of support to the Waziri that; if the Hijra is embarked on as proposed by many in the Muslim community, the Caliphate land is a Muslim land therefore if

⁶⁹Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019

⁷⁰ R.A. Adeleye, The Dilemma of the wazir: 'The place of the Risalat Al-Wazir-Ila Ahl-Ilm'Wal-Tadabbur in the History of the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol IV. No. 2, June, 1968.

⁷¹Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa area, on 01/02/2020. See also S.U. Lawal "The Challenges of the Subject-Peasantry to the Colonial State: The case of Satiru revolt of 1906..." p. 66.

⁷² Gwandu emirate was captured before Sokoto, but the idea of Emigration was not discussed or considered then.

⁷³ Al-Qadi Abdullahi, 'Risah Ila' l-Mu' Asirin', Bello.O [eds], *Ulama' and Colonialism in Nigeria: Risalah Ila' l-mu'asirin*, Sokoto, Islamic Academy,[nd], pg7.

the Muslim community left it to the Christian it becomes a Christian land. He also added that; “...the best thing for you is to negotiate a truce...since negotiation is permissible to the Imam and his Deputy when Muslims are too weak to fight”⁷⁴ and another supporter of his point with regards to objection of abandoning the Muslim land in favor of emigration; “this deed of yours is definitely the right thing, and Allah knows best because this our land is a land of Islam and if we emigrate from it, it becomes a land of unbelievers.”⁷⁵ Qadi Ahmad support to the Waziri’s Risalah further encouraged the Waziri and the document became the justification policy of the defeated Caliphate. The Waziri rested his points on the idea that Muslims can interact with none believers as long as the mutual relationship is not whole heartedly planted in their minds as he clearly stated in his Risalah: “this is our particular kind of friendship with them at present. We show regard to them with the tongue and have intercourse with them in affairs of the world but never to love them in our hearts and adopt their religion”⁷⁶ the Waziri was pleased to have such references to make in this very volatile period the Sokoto community found themselves. However the treaty was hammered by the British it became the rationale behind the submission of the Sokoto Caliphate Muslim community to the British. But the legitimacy of the treaty was open for debate for the rest of the century.

2.4 The Counter Arguments of the Sokoto-British Treaty

The counter argument of the treaty was led by Al Qadi Abdullahi who wrote a counter thesis to the Risalah of the Waziri titled “*Risalah` ILa-L- Mu`Asirin*” although his Risalah is believed by some scholars to have out dated the Wazir Bukhari’s Risalah.⁷⁷ The rationale

⁷⁴ Al-Qadi Abdullahi, “Risah Ila’ l-Mu’ Asirin...”, pg7

⁷⁵ Al-Qadi Abdullahi, “Risah Ila’ l-Mu’ Asirin...”, pg7

⁷⁶ R.A. Adeleye, The Dilemma of the wazir: ‘The place of the Risalat Al-Wazir-Ila Ahl-Ilm’Wal-Tadabbur in the History of the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate’, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol IV. No. 2, June, 1968, p298

⁷⁷ Al-Qadi Abdullahi, “Risah Ila’ l-Mu’ Asirin...”, pg5

behind his draft is obscure and out of the scope of this research, however it constitutes a valid argument that went contrary to the wazir's Risalah. Qadi Abdullahi's points are on the long term impact of a Muslim community subjecting themselves to Christian rule; on the sway that Muslims living under such authority will in the long term depreciate Muslim values and ethics which will certainly in the future deplete the Muslim community to a certain number that one day their existence will be seized to exist.⁷⁸

Qadi's Risalah emphasizes the idea of Hijra in the event Muslims found themselves in a weak position against non Muslims as stated in his Risalah;

“If you reflect on this, you understand that our Hijra is obligatory, now for our war with the British (immediately after defeat) will not cause them harm and truce is not lawful for what we have mentioned. Hence fleeing and Hijrah become obligatory for protecting and preserving Islam. This is because remaining in this condition of incapacity to defend ourselves will lead to the elimination of Islam and Muslims.”⁷⁹

Furthermore Qadi Abdullah re emphasizes the imperfection of the treaty to a Muslim community especially with regards to a long term relationship with non Muslims. He further argued that;

“This truce [with British] will decrease the strength and number of Muslims because it will necessarily lead to interference by Christians in the affairs of Muslims, which in turn will result in Muslims being influenced by the bad character, perverted customs and forbidden ways of the Christians. Weak-hearted people will become accustomed to their corrupt manners, children will grow up in their religion, and women and youth will be tempted to dress in their garments. Thus will the esteemed tradition of the prophet Muhammad [al-sunna al-gharra] die, and dark innovations survive; their religion will gain ascendancy and spread, and Muslims will become degraded by being under the rule of Christians”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Al-Qadi Abdullahi, “Risah Ila’ l-Mu’ Asirin...”, pg5

⁷⁹. Al-Qadi Abdullahi, “Risah Ila’ l-Mu’ Asirin...”, pg6.

⁸⁰ M. T. Usman, *Muslim scholars of Sokoto Emirate under British Rule, 1903-1960: A History of Reaction and Compromise in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University press, 2013, pg 31-32

The Risalah by Qadi was also a reference material for many in and surrounding Sokoto who were not totally pleased with the treaty and did not embark on the Hijra. The Risalah was to suite the idea propagated by Ulamas who advanced the model of a coming Mahadist who would revive the Islamic faith during the crisis that unfold on the Muslim communities at the turn of the century.⁸¹ The Mahadist ideology which gained momentum and wide support across the Muslim belt from Mesina to eastern Sudan was to regenerate into a full scale conflict between the newly established British colonial authority and the Mahadist Satiru community.⁸² The Satirawa were part of the group that emphasized the notion of staying to protect the Muslim land and never to succumb to the British administration. Although the idea was not made officially by the Satiru community⁸³ but the developing events were to prove the Satirawa position on this complex issue.⁸⁴ There are many descendants of the Satiru community who uphold the idea that none of their great grandfathers joined the Hijra with Sultan Attahiru I during the early days of the conquest. The zeal to stay and continue the resistance from the Satiru perspective requires additional impetus due to the fact that before the British occupation of Sokoto, the community was already not in good term with the Caliphate authority. With the new truce between the British and the custodian of the Caliphate the Satirawa have an additional new muscular enemy to take on (British colonial State). The community was mindful that the ensuring struggle to come will both require intellectual and physical inputs in order to defeat the curve edifice (colonial States).

⁸¹J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Early Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria and Niger, African Studies Seminar paper presented at University of the Witwatersrand, 1979 . p9.

⁸²J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p.34.

⁸³ There wasn't any official statement by the Satiru community with regards to situation or any of their scholar as confirmed to me by several interviewers during my field work in the research area.

⁸⁴Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo),aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019

2.5 The early signs of active resistance in Sokoto area by the Satirawa community

After the defeat of Sokoto and the final skirmishes at Burmi with the fleeing of Sultan Attahiru I, it became clear that embarking on the Hijra under the flag of the Sultan was no longer a wise idea because of his death and other intricacies surrounding the effort such as lack of food and water which are essential for sustaining such a trip. Therefore it was either an individual goes on, on his own or stays to await fate. From this period on the obsessive idea of resisting the European occupation continued to gain momentum. The Wazir's Risalah which was his basis for accepting to stay and submit to the British Colonialists did not please all. There were traces of people who continued to follow the route of the Sultan even after his death.⁸⁵

The Sokoto defeated community now became divided into three camps:

- i. those who buy into the idea of embarking for the Hijra
- ii. those who submit to stay in order to preserve the community under British rule, who are the majority
- iii. and the minority are against the two options, they professed that the Muslims should stay and never submit and continue to resist.⁸⁶

The third category of people were fewer in numbers, but for the Satiru community the idea was to become their unanimous resolution on the entire crisis⁸⁷ as the unfolding events that

⁸⁵ S.U. Lawal 'The Challenges of the Subject-Peasantry to the Colonial State: The case of Satiru revolt of 1906...' pp 63-64.

⁸⁶ Interviews with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020, Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019 and Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019 from the oral sources of these interviewers and Going by the complexity of the situation the defeated Sokoto community find itself after the Giginya battle, people in and around Sokoto city were frog jumping between the idea of joining the Hijra or staying to await faith. The later camp also consist of people who felt confronting the invaders is the only legal and pleased idea for the Muslim, they therefore constitute the third group during the chaos.

followed after was to demonstrate. The idea to stay and continue fighting the British was not pleased to many by the superior weapons in possession of the British who had displayed their military might during the previous battles with the Caliphate emirates⁸⁸ and what transpired at the Giginya battle in Sokoto. The Satiru community was believed to form part of the minority group who submitted to the idea of staying to continue the struggle. Therefore their hostile attitude towards Sokoto increased after the treaty between Sokoto and the British. The Satirawa who even before the colonial subjugation of Sokoto were not in good term with Sokoto increased their aggressive attitude towards Sokoto because of its new friendship with Christian unbelievers who in addition were also invaders.

With the new colonial administration taking shape the community in Satiru foresaw the affairs as a new pretext to justify their recalcitrant behavior to the Sokoto aristocracy.⁸⁹ Therefore the Satirawa were the first community in and around Sokoto to mobilize an active resistance to the presence of the British in Sokoto. Their repugnance behavior towards the Sokoto aristocracy now backed by the British Pax-Britannica⁹⁰ was to take new shape. In the autumn of Circa 1904/05 the Satiru community resolved to attack Sokoto city⁹¹ out of the pretext that, the Sokoto aristocracy, despite its former shortcomings, which were reasons for the Satiru hostilities towards the Sokoto aristocracy is now a good friend of the Christian invaders.⁹²

⁸⁷ The major feature of people subscribing to the Mahadist idea which also differentiate them from other two is the idea of staying and continue fighting the invaders, see Hogendum...pg27

⁸⁸ R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in northern Nigeria 1804-1906*, London, Longman, 1977, p188

⁸⁹ The Satirawa were able to learn that, the administration is now rejuvenating the existing tradition institution for colonial administration and the two have sealed a friendship bond.

⁹⁰ The Colonial policy that ensures continuity for the pre-colonial Caliphate aristocracy through which the new friendship between the Caliphate leadership and colonial establishment was sealed.

⁹¹ AlhassanHabibu, Rashin jituwa tsakanin Malaman Satiru da Turawan mulkin mallaka..." p.14.

⁹² Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

The Satirawa were well aware that attacking the Sokoto aristocracy will no doubt invite a British response in kind, because the Caliphate is now part of a larger British imperial possession but the Mahadist doctrine which is the principal idea behind the Satirawa ideology has already been entrenched into their philosophy, therefore attacking Sokoto or delaying such an attack would not change the faith of the Sokoto aristocracy.⁹³ The Satirawa did not carry out their wish to attack Sokoto but resort to finish a fight much closer at home before carrying out their mission on the Caliphate capital.

Before their first grave attack on their neighbors, the Satiru community recruited spies from their women traders⁹⁴ who venture into villages and towns from Danchadi to Dange who were the fief holders in the area and other villages who were looked upon by the Satirawa as their immediate enemies. The women who traded snacks and other household utensils to married women spied on those towns and villages on behalf of their men. The Satirawa vigilance was so strict it was reported that a woman of the neighboring village of Tsomau was brutally murdered by the Satiru community because she asked for a piece of meat from the Satirawa butchers.⁹⁵ They initially gave her but later one of them followed the victim to her village of Tsomau where he murdered her by butchering her womb which happens to contain a fetus on the reason that he objected the gift right from the initial stage. Such heinous behavior is reported to have been part of the Satiru community reservation which added to their branding as not only a rebellious community but an evil society.

⁹³ Under the Mahadist doctrine the Christian invaders, their collaborators and followers will in the end be defeated by the revival of the Islamic faith by Imam Mahdi and his followers no longer how it takes. This is the standard belief on the idea of a coming Mahdi.

⁹⁴ A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." pp190-191

⁹⁵ The authenticity of the story is obscure but historical narratives by both Abubakar Muhammad Sokoto in his MSc dissertation and a recent oral interview confirmed that a woman was actually a victim of the community before the beginning of their direct confrontation with the authorities.

On 13th February, 1906 second day after Id al-kabir (*Ranar rabon naman layya*) the Satiru community attacked the neighboring hamlet of Mallam Yahaya called Tsomau who was once part of the community but left them because of their radical Mahadist ideology. Mallam Yahaya was believed to have affiliated himself with that of the larger Sokoto community, he prayed with them and console to their interpretations.⁹⁶ The attack on Tsomau was the beginning of the end of the Satiru revolt. The event was reported to Sokoto and the Sultan channeled the information to the British authority.⁹⁷

The then British Resident, Burdon, who was on leave, was represented by the Acting Resident, Hillary who went to Satiru village to mediate on the unfolding event. Hillary was aware that Satiru was a Mahadist resort with thousands of followers who despised the British presence. Hillary's attempt ended in a disaster. He was killed by the Satirawa who ambushed and captured him. The event was to advance a quick and stiff British response which saw the destruction of the village, proclamation of a curse on the site by the then Sultan Attahiru II and the concealment of the Satiru ideology for some time.⁹⁸

The aggressive attitude of the Satiru community brand named them a hostile community not only to the Sokoto aristocracy but to districts and fief holders who were answerable to Sokoto.⁹⁹ Likewise the adjacent community in the area living under the shadow of a very belligerent and undisciplined community who literarily have established themselves over the rest of the communities living in the bordering areas of Dange-Shuni and Bodinga local

⁹⁶ Mallam yahaya stopped subscribing to interpretations of Satiru scholars, and console to Sokoto scholars interpretations of injunctions in addition he prayed the five daily prayers with Sokoto timing.

⁹⁷ A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." pp193-194

⁹⁸ Interviews with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

⁹⁹ A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." p. 205

government.¹⁰⁰ Their aggressive behavior gave them an advantage over other communities in the area as they struggled to avoid any confrontation with the Satiru community whose reputation of being vigilant and aggressive is well known to many even before the village was sacked by the British and Sokoto forces

The Satirawa were discerning of their profile and their actions were seen as legitimate as the only option left for a faithful believers to adhere to in prelude to the coming of the Mahdi who will lead the faithful to the right path.¹⁰¹

2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion the stage that set the Satiru revolt was already in motion even before the defeat of Sokoto by the British imperial forces, however it was the magnitude of the aftershock of the defeat that accelerated the intellectual debate which indirectly advance the Satirawa opinion on that debate with their radical version of confronting the invaders these includes all their collaborators especially their long time enemies the Caliphate authorities. Their action was justified by their Ulamas as the only rightful alternative for a faithful Muslim, therefore they (Satirawa) have done theirs and are not regretful of their action as it is in conformity with the pace that awaits the emergence of Imam Mahdi.

¹⁰⁰ The Satiru community composes several songs in which they slur their neighbors enchanting insults and downgrading them as scared men who can't fight. See M. T. Usman, *Muslim scholars of Sokoto Emirate under British Rule, 1903-1960: A History of Reaction and Compromise in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University press, 2013, Pp.46-48.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

CHAPTER THREE

The Satiru Revolt and the Re- Emergence of Satirawa Community in the study Area

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter we shall discuss the factors of Satiru leading scholars in the mutation and subsequent Satiru revolt, the survivors of the revolt, how they resettled, and the pattern of their resettlement and how the ideology evolved and became entrenched in the psychology of the survivors which became the driving force of the Satiru.

3.1 The Satiru Clerics

The Satiru conflict was an event which was premeditated by the pursuance of the three prominent figures of the community. The community was led by prolific scholars of the generation (Mallam Siba, Mallam Maikaho and later Shuiaibu Danmakaho) and it was the intellectual tussle¹ which manifested into a crisis that was nursed and eventually graduated into physical conflict between the Satiru community and the authorities. The misunderstanding between the community and Sokoto was upheld by the intellectuals of the Satiru community. Therefore the struggle which culminated into a series of battles was nothing but for an average *Basatire* defending a conception of his Ulama's. The common outcry of the Satirawa is *Mu, Ba Bayi bane* (We are not slaves).²

¹ The leading scholars of the community, Malam Siba and Maikaho were intellectually confronting the Sokoto aristocracy with regards to issues of enslavement and nepotism even before the advent of colonial conquest. With the capture of Sokoto by the British and the PAX-Britanica which emerged the Satiru scholars became convinced that their position is the faithful idea as the Caliphate with the consent of its Ulamas have joined in a Brotherhood with the Christian invaders thus they constitute a pair, enemies of Islam and the Muslim community.

² Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

The prominence of such issues as slavery and force labor in the Satiru point of contention with Sokoto aristocracy is taking too much fame, the Scholars of Satiru are challenging the Caliphate authority and it's Ulama's on the legality of enslaving some people un-lawfully. The championing of the fight against continued enslavement by the Sokoto aristocracy is to have incited many feudal slaves to join the Satiru community, as it confronted the authorities on the legalization of their enslavement.³ Therefore the prestige of Mallam Siba, Mallam Maikaho and later Mallam Shuaibu Dan makaho for an average *Basatire* is indispensable. Infact the Satiru Triumvirates are the initiators of the community ideology and the effort to defend their philosophy was the factors that took the struggle to the battle ground.

Mallam Siba Waibi: - Is a respected figure in the Satiru community he is credited for founding the Satiru village a reputed scholar of the community who became the Imam of the village.⁴ His influence in the Satiru conflict was part of the driving force that enabled the Satirawa to establish themselves as a community that defy the authority and crusade its ideas through to the battle ground.⁵

Mallam Siba is believed by scholars to be an indigene of Gindi⁶ village which is situated close to Jega in present Kebbi state.⁷ He is of Nupe descent⁸ who studied to become a reputable scholar during his time. His migration from Gindi to the forest reserve where Satiru village was curved

³ In many literature and oral interview conducted for this research, the Satiru community is addressed as a Hub of fugitive slaves from various Slave estates across the region.

⁴ Mallam Siba is believed to be the spiritual head of the community; he is the official chief imam of the Satiru community.

⁵ Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019. According to him Mallam Siba Played an indispensable role in the conflict, his ideas and interpretations of events were part of the exigencies that advanced the crisis into physical combat between Satirawa and the authorities.

⁶ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p17 and A.S. Mohammad, A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." p161.

⁷ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p17 and A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." p161

⁸ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p17 and A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." p161

was not yet affirmed but his reputation as a scholar was well established not only in the community but to the wider area in the region.⁹ One area where he excels was in the spare of spirituality with regards to traditional concoction and amulets¹⁰ Malam Siba was also a professional scribe and Qur'anic interpreter (*tafsir*).

The Satiru community as part of their reservation, was their expertise in making traditional spiritual charms¹¹, their lodge received many in the quest for these ornaments. Mallam Siba is believed to be part of the community's scholars who are experts on these endeavor.¹² After establishing the village the leadership falls to Mallam Abdulqadir Maikaho.¹³ Mallam Siba despite not holding the administrative function of the village but was able to continue cultivating an enormous respect from the community.¹⁴ Mallam Siba is the only senior counsel of Satiru that have survived the war and lived up till the 1920s.¹⁵ The Satiru conflict is a historical event that changed the lives of many people and Mallam Siba is believed to have architected the whole conflict from an indirect position.¹⁶

⁹A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." p161.

¹⁰A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." pp161-162.

¹¹Interviews with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

¹² A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..."p161

¹³A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..."p160.

¹⁴ Many of my informants lamented that Mallam Siba is a well respected figure of the Satiru community. His reputation as an expert occultist cultivated the respect been endured to him by the community. People fear to offend Mallam Siba and respect his commands with all their efforts. Nobody is powerful enough to breach his command.

¹⁵ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020, According to him, Mallam Siba was arrested in Kamba district of present Kebbi state, the story went on that Siba sent a copy of his hand written Quran to be sold at the Kamba market a tradition that began in west Africa since the emergence of Islam in the area. Qurans written by Mallam Siba are well recognized due to his expertise in calligraphy and precision. Thus when a student brought the quran from the Book dealer and took it to Birnin Kebbi someone quickly recognized the written quran to be of Mallam Siba's draft. It was echoed that only mallam Siba can write in such fashion, therefore one way or the other the Book is connected to him.

When the news reached the Emir of Gwandu and Argungu they sent their senior Palace Guards to trace Siba and arrest him. Mallam Siba was arrested through the Book dealer who took the Guards to the middle man who brought the Book to him from a remote village of Kamba where Mallam Siba took refuge.

¹⁶ The community's reputation of hostility towards the Caliphate aristocracy and later the British is believed to have been given legal interpretation by the efforts of Mallam Siba and his friends. He is the

His highly respected profile and contributions in the concoctions believed to have been used by the Satiru fighters in their skirmishes with the British became part of the contagions that resulted in a large fatality sustained by the Satirawa.¹⁷ He was highly believed to have possessed special powers to influence the course of events. Even during the last battle with the British Satiru fighters were encouraged in the believe that Mallam Siba is still in his home and whatever transpired at the Battle field the final outcome will be in their favor as soon he comes out and join the fight.¹⁸ Mallam Siba`s legacy left a profound impact on the Satiru communities both past and immediate generation, as part of the present community emblem “Siba” in reference to mallam Siba Waibi is still affiliated to the community by the term “*Irin Siba*” Meaning a person of Satiru descent.

Mallam Abdulqadir Maikaho: was the village head of Satiru¹⁹ who was also a renowned scholar and respected figure of the community. He is believed by some scholars to be of Hausa descent of Arewa dialect²⁰ while others claimed he is of Gobir descent.²¹ He mastered sorcery as reported during an encounter with a spirit who gave him the trumpet he uses from which the name “Maikaho” was curved.²² Mallam Abdulqadir Maikaho gained his popularity and respect from his expertise in sorcery it wasacknowledged that he is capable of removing his head and placing it on the floor, can stretched part of his body and extends it to a mile. His

leading scholar of the community and his judicial Islamic interpretations of injunctions are properly adhered to by all the community members.

¹⁷Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

¹⁸ Many references were made to a popular story that, during the battle Satiru fighters were encouraged not to flee the battle ground because malllam Siba`s Horse could be seen tied on the his Home entrance which translate that he is still in the House and as soon he join the battle the tied will turn in their favor. Unknown to them Mallam Siba has escaped the village.

¹⁹A.S. Mohammad, “A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt...”p160.

²⁰Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin...”p4.

²¹J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, “Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance...”p17.

²²Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin...”p4.

trumpet (*Kaho*) is his masterpiece of sorcery which has spiritual powers to enable him performs many shocking performances such as:-

- i. The trumpet has the power whenever he blew it on Id-kabir eve every household in Satiru will receive a Ram from the spirit for *Sallah* celebrations.
- ii. He distribute woven plates (*sawaye*) to every community member who request for it by blowing the trumpet and asking the person to hold the edge end of the trumpet which turns into cloth and pulled it until he is pleased.
- iii. He can parade thousands of soldiers by blowing the trumpet and an invisible army of soldiers will appear from nowhere. With this sorcery tactic he convinced the Satirawa to join a fight in addition with this statement. *Kunga runduna in baku fada su, suyi*
- iv. He (Mallam Abdulqadir) can release his armpit by simply shaking his hand with somebody who has bad intention towards him (Maikaho).
- v. It is believed Mallam Maikaho was the builder and custodian of the three wells in Satiru which became the only source of water for the community. Wells which were also littered with special concoction for the community's reputation as warriors.²³

Mallam Abdulkadir was a principle player in the Satiru crisis, he declared himself the expected Imam Mahdi in 1904²⁴ a proclamation that increased the Satirawa belligerence and hostility to Sokoto aristocracy. However in 1905 he was summoned by the Sultan of Sokoto

²³Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..."pp4-5.

²⁴ Idris Yahaya, 'Bijirewa a Wakokin Siyasa; Bincike kan Wakokin 1903-2015', Phd. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2012, 84. see also S.U. Lawal: An Icon of Scholars and public service..."p67

Attahiru II²⁵ where he denounced his proclamation instead professed he is the expected Mahdi of Cassava²⁶, not the spiritual Mahdi.

Mallam Abdulkadir maikaho died in Sokoto city in the summer of 1905, but his will and legacy were to make a profound impact of the whole Satiru crisis.²⁷ He died as the most respected leader of the community and his expertise in sorcery contributed to the moral of Satiru fighters during their battle with the British. Satiru fighters charge the battle ground with the belief that they have his blessings and support even though he was deceased.

Mallam Shuaibu Danmakaho, Meaning the blind man, fled from the French Niger, after unsuccessfully leading a revolt against the French colonial forces in the Djerma region of Dosso in December of 1905. Danmakaho was a guest at Satiru with an immense importance to the community “Sorcery”. He was an expert on this field²⁸ and despite his short lives before the last battle with the authorities he managed to contribute to the Satirawa effort in building themselves into a formidable fighting force.²⁹

Mallam Shuaibu Danmakaho was later to take over the leadership role of the Satiru community after the death of Isa Danmaikaho³⁰ who was the village head of Satiru since the death of his father Maikaho in 1905. He led the final plans and execution of the battle to

²⁵ There are two stories with regards to the visit of Mallam Abdulkadir Maikaho to Sokoto. The first, it was the effort of the Satiru emissary who became the envoy between Sokoto and Satiru that convinced Mallam Maikaho to visit Sokoto and resolved some conflicting interpretations the Satiru community is accused of. The second was that, he was arrested on the orders of the Sultan and taken to Sokoto. but the first idea is much convincing because the second notion could have been a difficult task to undertake going by the hostile reputation of the satirawa, the arrest of their chief would have resulted in the death of many.

²⁶ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

²⁷ His will of re-emerging after death were the sequels to the main Satiru battles.

²⁸ Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin...”p12, narrated that Danmakaho can produce many types of holy water of different applications ranging on the need and duty. He is also believed to have possesses spiritual powers to rally an invisible army from nowhere and can provide drinking water by simple making prayers and instructing his men to each dug in front of their heels with their bare hands water will purple out.

²⁹ He drilled many Satiru men on the tactics of warfare and resilience, his experience in confronting the French must have gave him an added advantage on warfare then the Satiru men.

³⁰ Northern Nigeria colonial report, 1905-06 Report, p18.

capture Acting Resident Hillary and the main battle with the combined British and Sokoto aristocracy Cavalry. The Satiru community was pleased with the coming of Shuaibu Danmakaho because he further accelerated the course of their struggle with the authorities which began during the time of Abdulkadir Maikaho who professed of being the Mahdi. The Satirawa composed poems in solidarity with his coming;

Hausa version,

*Shuaibu ya Darkako,
Zabarma tayo ciri,
Yana tafe da tutar,
Shehu Abdulqadir,*³¹

English Translation,

Shuaibu has risen,
Djerma nation have risen,
With him the standard of,
Shehu Abdulqadir.

After the Battle on the morning of 10th March 1906, Mallam Shuaibu Danmakaho fled to Dange which laid east from Satiru. However he was arrested during the mop up and searching conducted by the Sultan cavalry and British WAFF forces. He was the only prominent of the Satiru community leaders to have been tried and executed by a conviction from a court of justice in Sokoto.³²

The three prominent figure heads of Satiru community discussed were of immense relevance with regards to the evolution, consolidation of the Satiru village and the misunderstanding that developed into a confrontation with both Sokoto aristocracy and the newly established British colonial administration. From analysis of our entire informant imputes on this research

³¹Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..." p12.

³² Mallam Shuaibu was trial at Sokoto native court where he was find Guilty of his crime and executed in front of crowds on Friday the market day at Sokoto.

the Triumvirate of Satiru (Mallam Siba, Mallam Abdulkadir Maikaho and Mallam Shuaibu Danmakaho) were the key variables without which the conflict would not have happened.

The current generation of Satirawa is indisposing the ideas and legacies that could be traced to the ideology that was disseminated by one or the other of these three leaders. Therefore they are what could be constituted as the factors behind the Satiru conflict from the Satirawa perspective and protégé of the crisis from the Caliphate and Colonialist perspective.

3.2 The Satirawa antagonism towards their neighboring villages

The event that unfolded on 10th March 1906³³ at Satiru, a hamlet 20 kilometers south west of Sokoto city³⁴ was the climax of a series of ideological struggle and conflict of interest between a minority community with a radical philosophy and a liberal majority society on the verge of transit from a hundred year old theocratic system of administration to a new imperialist established edifice.³⁵ The revolt from the Satirawa perspective began much earlier than believed by many. The village was a hub of poor peasants and scholars who felt they had ample reason to challenge the Caliphate authority with regards to certain principles and economic levers of the Caliphate but are not listen to. Their grievances was to attract hostile attitude by their neighbors who were first to level them as a community of rebels. The most important variable which played a key role on the revolt is “Mahdism,”³⁶ but for the Satiru

³³ The attack on Satiru was widely believed to have occurred on 10th March 1906. See, H. M. Maishanu, *Five Centuries of Historical Writing in Hausaland and Borno 1500-2000*, Lagos, Macmillan Publishers, 2007, p.259

³⁴ Abdulmalik Mani, *Zuwan Turawa Nigeria ta Arewa*, Northern Nigerian Publishing Company Ltd Zaria, 2007. p141.

³⁵ Formal British colonial administration began in Sokoto province after the defeat of Sokoto on February...

³⁶ By the turn of the 19th century, there were assumptions that there will be Mahdi, a prophesized Revolutionary who will emerge and wage a Jihad to sanitize the Muslim Ummah from other evil practices that have polarized the Islamic religion. The European penetration into Africa with their dominance prejudices which core-incidentally took place with the 100 years of the Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate which is also prophesize to collapse after a century was seen as the appropriate time for the

community the concept contrast the official version of the idea from what was popularly believed by both the British and Sokoto aristocracy.³⁷ Satiru village was a creation of people believed to be learned and radical on their belief, the community scholars were not in good term with both the Sokoto aristocracy and intellectual community which was highly respected far and wide within the borders of Sokoto Caliphate.

After the village was established the inhabitants consist of many diverse ethnic groups³⁸ who came to settled in the village with different push and pull factors. The widely believed factors on the settlement of people in Satiru are:

1. Literacy, the early community of the village is composed of many learned men which include the core-founders of the village men like Mallam Siba, Mallam Bawa and Mallam Abdulqadir mai Kaho.
2. Slavery, the servile profile of many lay men in the village is analyzed by many scholars to address the village as a safe haven for fugitive slaves.³⁹ The Satirawa themselves usually re-assert that they are not slaves. *Mu Ba bayin kowa bane*, the official commotion which may have attracted many fugitive slaves to the village. It was reported that Satirawa attacked slaves' plantations and hamlets in order to free slaves, a status they denounced. In addition, it was reported that, the Satiru leadership abolished slavery as a result many fugitive slaves flocked to the village.⁴⁰

emergence of the Mahdi. Therefore many hard-line scholars professed the notion that they are the expected Mahdi.

³⁷S.U.Lawal "The Challenges of the Subject-Peasantry to the Colonial State: The case of Satiru revolt of 1906..." p65

³⁸J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance....." P. Furthermore my recent field work had come across a village called *Anguwar Buzaye* which is widely believed by all rural communities in the area to be a Tuareg village and the inhabitants are part of the larger community of Satirawa descendants in the area.

³⁹J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." P18.

⁴⁰J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..."pg29

3. Proficient in charm and traditional concoction; many scholars in the village are believed to have maintained a certain level of skills in producing locally made spiritual charms which is widely believed up till today.⁴¹

Before the village came to make headlines in the areas around Sokoto, the Satirawa around circa 1903-05, were already in a cat and mouse' ship with their neighboring villages. It is widely believed by many of my informants that the community had already turn the village of Satiru into a military style fortress, with spies and scouts who usually rustle goats and other cattle of their immediate neighboring villages⁴² which became booty for the Satirawa. In addition to spying for any information, about what the authorities were planning to take against the village.⁴³ The recalcitrant nature of the Satirawa during this period has obliterated trust and harmony between the community and several villages. It was reported that only the village of Dabaga was in some amicable relation with the Satiru village⁴⁴ though a times they also became victim of the Satirawa cattle rustling.⁴⁵ Satiru men, especially the youth, were the vanguard of such homific behavior. The villages around the Satiru forest were accustomed to the Satirawa unpleasant attitudes towards them, the social phenomena is widely known not

⁴¹ Interview with Abu ga Hannu Kindiru, age 60, interviewed at Sokoto State House of Assembly on 01/03/2022.

⁴² Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020. The factor behind such un usual behavior is not certain, but many scholars and our informants rest the idea that the villages are still under either the Danchadi fief or Dange town which are still answerable districts of the Sokoto aristocracy. Therefore the rude attitudes towards these villages are to send a message to the Caliph that they (Satiru) are not his subjects.

⁴³ A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." PP 190-191. it was also reported by the scholar that the village of Danchadi was their primary target on spying missions having been the fief under which the village falls in the territorial setting of districts adjacent to Sokoto city and the base of Dan Madoma the most hated local aristocrats by the Satirawa.

⁴⁴ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020, Mallam Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020 and Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁴⁵ There are stories that goats and sheep of Dabaga villages were also part of the Satiru scouts booty but the Satirawa a times return such captures to their Dabaga villages owners on gesture to the cordial relationship that existed between them.

only in the area but to many villages in Sokoto belt.⁴⁶ During this period the Caliphate leadership was occasionally informed of the Satirawa behavior and has appointed an emissary amongst the Satirawa who is believed to be busy corresponding between Satiru and Sokoto.⁴⁷ It was believed his effort was the secret behind the visit by Mallam Abdulkadir mai Kaho to Sokoto where he visited and announced his allegiance to Sokoto in addition to refuting an earlier report that he had declared himself the awaiting Imam Mahdi.⁴⁸

It was believed by many of my informants that before he died, after taking an oath before Sultan Attahiru II, in his sick bed at Sokoto, he left a will to his family that he will die but resurrect on Friday morning riding a white bull.⁴⁹ As the story went on, Mallam Mai Kaho died that day at Sokoto. A core incidence at Satiru at a later time was to become a pretext that later turn out to be a fateful decision. In a Friday morning a white bull belonging to Danchadi community went lose and arrived at Satiru village hours later in a Mosque. The Satirawa rejoice seeing the Bull and claimed that a link to their scholar and late father Mallam Mai Kaho had began the white Bull as professed by him had arrived. They are now waiting for his formal arrival.⁵⁰

The Bull story was to graduate into a full conflict with Danchadi community, when owners of the Bull reached Satiru for their animal the Satirawa informed them that, the animal is part of

⁴⁶ M. T. Usman, *Muslim scholars of Sokoto Emirate under British Rule, 1903-1960: A History of Reaction and Compromise in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University press, 2013pg.

⁴⁷ Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁴⁸ The notion that mallam mai Kaho was arrested and taken to Sokoto is not believed by my informants. Likewise many literatures report that he was summoned not arrested. See, Northern Nigeria colonial report, 1905-06 Report, p18. See also Abdulmalik Mani, *Zuwan turawa Najeriya ta Arewa*, p143..." see also Habibu Alhassan, *Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin Mallaka*, seminar on colonial administration in Nigeria, June 1988.p10.

⁴⁹ Habibu Alhassan, *Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman Satiru da Turawan Muklkin...*, and also Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

⁵⁰ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

a sacred prophecy by their father.⁵¹ Therefore the Bull was not returned to its Danchadi resident owner. The episode generate into a full conflict between Satiru and Danchadi further invigorating their already hostile behavior with neighboring villages.

A very intriguing story which is part of the prelude to the conflict was the butchering of a pregnant woman of Tsomau village. The story goes on that the woman, whose name was not disclosed by all our informants on the story, visited Satiru while some men were butchering a newly caught goat.⁵² The men gave her some part of the fresh meat as gift to the objection of one of them. The man later followed the pregnant woman trail to the village of Tsomau where he killed the woman. The incidence demonstrates the level at which the Satiru men can exert brutality against other community members at that particular time. Tsomau village was believed to have been curved by people from Satiru community who fled and set up the new village to escape the radical and Mahadist believes of the majority Satirawa.⁵³ It therefore became the closets community to Satiru and received much of the aggressive behavior of the Satirawa for being a seceded people from the larger Satirawa community.

⁵¹ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/202, According to him the incidence was to become the immediate factor behind the Satiru/Danchadi conflict which resulted into the sacking of Danchadi and some satellite villages in alliance with Danchadi.

⁵² From our interviews the story with regards to the faith of the woman is obscure and had been a missing link in the satiru history. However for some of our informants the woman was suspected to be a spy in Satiru and the men who gave her a piece of the goat meat were part of the rustlers tormenting the bushes between Satiru and other communities in the area. Therefore one of them felt it is a duty to follow and killed the women because she lied being a beggar she was infact a spy.

⁵³ In many write-ups the village is believed to be an extension of the Mahadist community of satiru but the present descendants of Satirawa were of the notion that the village was curved in protest of the radicalist Mahadist nature of Satiru therefore the more liberal seceded to form Tsomau. However another story was that, Mallam Yahaya was not part of the Satiru community. He moved to Satiru on the idea that the newly established village (Satiru) was a citadel of learned men who excel in scholarship therefore his interest in pursuance of learning was what motivate him to join the community. After Mallam Yahaya had discovered their radical nature and believes in spiritual charms he decides to leave and form his own village which he called Tsomawa

The homicide that took place at Tsomau was followed by another fateful event which launched the Satirawa into conflict with authorities. The village head of Tsomau, Mallam Yahaya was a person who greatly attached his allegiance and respect to the larger Sokoto followings. Mallam yahaya observed all religious and spiritual ceremonies in conjunction with the Sokoto authorities and he refused to hold the id kabir of 1906 with the Satiru community. Before he was killed Mallam Yahaya is reported to have called his followers and convey a meeting, top of the agenda was the issue of either his community (Tsomau) to stay and confront the Satirawa for a fight or emigrate and vacate the area for them.⁵⁴ His followers unanimously resolved to face the Satirawa for a fight.⁵⁵ The stage for a fight was set in, and it was believed the Satiru community became aware of Mallam`s Yahaya resolution on the very date the decision was taken.⁵⁶

Satiru community launch an attack towards the village of Tsomau on 13 February, 1906, the skirmishes led to the killing of Mallam Yahaya along with his 70 followers while his family who narrowly escaped the inferno was taken to Sokoto when the news was reported to the Sultan he informed the resident of the events.⁵⁷ The resident (Burdon) instructed his Deputy Acting Resident Hillary to visit Satiru in order to ascertain the reason for the skirmishes. The killing of Mallam Yahaya was considered by the wider Satiru community as a moral

⁵⁴Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

⁵⁵Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

⁵⁶ The Satirawa spies network are believed to have convey the message at the very time the meeting was concluded.

⁵⁷ The Satirawa attack on Tsomau was reported by many scholars and our informants. But the exact date of the attack is not ascertain by our informants it remains varied, Abubakar S. Mohammad, reported that it occurs on 13th February 1906 but he is also not certain on the exact date as he reported that “the account of the first battle and the cause had varied with the sources”. However the event is widely reported and believed to be the immediate launching of the Satiru conflict. Mallam sambo wali reported that, the attack on Tsomau and the killing of Mallam Yahaya took place at the same date and time.

obligation to deal with a renegade who was once part of the community.⁵⁸ The violence once reported to Sokoto was received with grieve, the newly colonial administration was shocked, the event was hastened the authorities towards effort to resolve it before it spread to the other areas of the Protectorate.⁵⁹ The acting Resident, Hillary, who commanded the expedition to Satiru to meet the Satirawa and attend to their grievances, was to receive an un welcome reception.

3.3 Satirawa Conflict with the British and Sokoto Cavalry

The Satiru community that became more adamant and aggressive following the development of attacking Tsomau felt the visit to their village headed by acting Resident Hillary was a final declaration of war on the community.⁶⁰ The tactical move by the acting Resident Hillary to move forward and convince the Satiru movers that, the British administration was ready and willing to receive and address their grievances was looked upon by the Satiru fighters as a window of opportunity to launch an attack on a much light unit of the WAFF forces which also included the Acting Resident Hillary who headed the troops.⁶¹ The attack launched on the

⁵⁸ Interview with Ummaru Maigoro Kwarago (Sandan na Tsefe), age 80, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

⁵⁹ Mahdism is an observed phenomenon during the colonial conquest in West Africa. Both the French and British colonial establishment was keen to prevent the diffusion of the idea therefore any decent was ruthlessly dealt with. Colonial administration passion peace, without which the objective cannot be realize (Exploitation) of the subjects.

⁶⁰ In an interview with Malam Ummaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019. Informed me that, when the Satiru fighters saw Hillary with his mounted infantry and other WAFF troops they became convinced that their most hated enemy (White Man) has come to attack and obliterate them. Therefore the gear for heroism amongst the Satiru fighters began.

⁶¹ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance....." P4, also narrated that acting resident Hillary moved forward with 27 infantry men leaving the bulk of the fighting forces behind as a move to avoid giving an impression of an attempt attack to the Satiru fighters. However the Satiru men for saw the move as a chance to attack the forces avoiding the bulk of the fighting forces.

Resident unit was led by the most energetic of the fighting men who were earnest to shed the infidel blood and teach his collaborators a lesson (Sokoto aristocracy).⁶²

The encounter between the West African Frontier mounted infantry forces and the Satiru diehards was to make history in the art of warfare in western Sudan.⁶³ The WAFF was to suffer yet its most disastrous defeat since its raising at Satiru on the words of Governor General Lugard that, “This defeat was the first serious reverse suffered by the West African Frontier Force since it was raised (1898)”.⁶⁴ The successful ambush set by the Satiru community resulted in the killing of 27 WAFF mounted infantry men and the acting Resident Hillary was also taken as a prisoner and the British losses included the maxim gun. The Satiru losses were much between 30-40,⁶⁵ but their success in the killing of large British forces and the capture of the Maxim gun was to be a fateful development. Acting Resident Hillary was tortured and butchered.⁶⁶ His corpse was decapitated⁶⁷ and some of his body parts taken by the victorious men at Satiru.⁶⁸ The event further raised the spirit of Satiru movers. The Maxim gun taken by the Satiru men was to become a mechanism of building moral on the

⁶²Interviews with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

⁶³ The traditional tactics of the WAFF, of setting a square which always attract their adversaries for annihilation due to its small size did not work on the first encounter with the Satiru fighters. The light square formed by Hillary's units was ambushed by the Satiru men the Maxim Gun which always ensured victory for WAFF was not used because the confusing had forced some men of the unit to blocked line of fire towards the Satiru men. As a result the maxim was not use and eventually it became part of the booty for the victorious Satiru fighters such carnage had never happen before and in the history of war of conquest by the WAFF will never happen again.

⁶⁴ Northern Nigeria colonial report, 1905-06

⁶⁵Hogendorn J. S. and Paul E. L, 'Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to early Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria and Niger'. *African Studies Seminar Paper* Presented in RW at the University of the Witwatersrand, 1979, P4.

⁶⁶Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

⁶⁷Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020. who was reported that Hillary's leg was taken by Satiru followers residing at a village called Dilingo close to Amanawa where the center for infectious disease is located presently.

⁶⁸ Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

Satirawa.⁶⁹ The Satiru men were believed to have interpreted the features of the maxim to their disadvantage.⁷⁰ The water cooling Jacket of the maxim was interpreted by Satiru occultist that in their contingency plan for future conflict with the British they have initiated the Maxim gun bullets henceforth to become water whenever fired towards the Satiru men.

3.4 The Inter-war period in Satiru

The 24 days period between the first encounter between Satiru men and acting Resident Hillary contingent with the last attack on the village were earnest days for the community.⁷¹ All contingency plans for an eventual attack on the community were made. The occultist (*Budeje*) became busy in preparing their concoction and amulets for the fighting men. These preparations and the community's trust on their supernatural power was to become a fateful endeavor.

The ensuing days after the skirmishes were celebrated in Satiru.⁷² The community in addition composed poems to celebrate the killing of Hillary. One of such poems is:

Hausa version.

“Satirawa!

Arnan fako madauka Magana,

*Ko an kashe ku, kun kashe Illiri.*⁷³”

English version.

⁶⁹ The Maxim gun is provided with a water cooling system as the firing pin is locked, the barrel of the Gun is cooled by the water which in cases of rapid fire the water can reach boiling point.

⁷⁰ Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020 Who narrated that, the bullets discharged by the maxim gun will turn into drops of water which are not harmful; *tunda ruwa aka sa mata mallamam Satiru sunka yi aiki da cewa dagga yanzu duk harsashen da anka halba musu zai koma ruwa.*

⁷¹ The first encounter between resident Hillary and Satiru men occurred on 14th February 1906 and the main attack on the village by WAFF took place on 10th march 1906.

⁷² Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020

⁷³ A S. Mohammad p.227.

Satiru men,
Masters of hardened ground and strife,
Regardless of your killing, you have executed Hillary.⁷⁴

The British Authorities were quick to commence a response to the Satiru attack, the Marafa Maiturare of Gwadabawa, a senior figure in charge of the Sokoto levies who was also to become Sultan in 1915, was dispatched to look after the Satiru community in order to ensure they did not run away from the area.⁷⁵ The Satiru community at this juncture was busy composing poems in Takkai dances Drum by their chief musician Jibo⁷⁶ who led the musicians and dancers. The poems were part of the effort to build morale among the Satirawa and to pageant their heroism some of which are:

Hausa Version

*“Yakin Nasara, Yakin Banza,
Yakin da Ba Kwari ba Kibiya”⁷⁷*

English Version

“War with the white, a nuisance endeavor,
a war without Bow and Arrow,⁷⁸

Hausa version

“In Sabara tanason lihidi,

⁷⁴ The caption is heralding the aggressiveness and courage of the Satirawa in killing resident Hillary.

⁷⁵ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020, according to his report Marafa maiturare camped at Kwannawa from where he occasional mounted his cavalry patrol to the fringes of Satiru village to ensure they did not flee the area.

⁷⁶ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020, according to him Jibo is said to be the chief musician and drummer of the Satiru community, he is believed to have possesses spiritual powers that whenever he is performing the spectators present will never fear or flee battle ground. Jibo survived the final attack on Satiru he fled to a village called Angamba in Rabah district where he hides until his death.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020

⁷⁸ In contrast to the Technological development in Europe which necessitated the production of rapid firing arms and change the art of warfare for Europe since the 15th Century, the African Traditional method of warfare was still dominated by the use of Bow and Arrow, Spade and cavalry charge. Therefore for the Satiru men fighting without the popular African traditional weapons is seen as weakness.

*Marafa ya Dade bai zaka ba,
dadai gida fadamunka sani,
Bamusan Guduba saidai Mumutu* ⁷⁹

English version.

“If the Guiera Senegalensis requires safeguard,
the Marafa had delayed for a fight,
War is our identical norm, our home value is pacifism,
we detest fleeing battle ground prefer to die instead.”⁸⁰

While Satiru community were busy preparing for an impending attack, it came when Marafa Maiturare advanced on Satiru with 3000 horse men on 17th February⁸¹ in order to check their reprisal attacks on neighboring villages and put a siege before the British WAFF forces arrived to finish the job themselves. But the event which transpired between the Satirawa and the Marafa`s troops was to have a dual interpretation. The story goes on that the Marafa`s troops were routed by the Satiru men⁸² while in a more convincing version it was reported that, when the Marafa men arrived at the buffer zone his men shouted Allahu Akbar, God Is Great and the Satiru men responded in same word, Allahu Akbar, God Is Great.

The Marafa`s Men in a loud vocal read the Quran chapter 17 verse 81,

Arabic transliteration. “ Waqul Jaa alhaqu wazahaqu albatilu’

English “And say; Truth has (now) arrived, and falsehood perished:

⁷⁹Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

⁸⁰ The Poems composed by the community were numerous, at that particular time the set for a major conflict is set, and the exact number of songs and poems remained obscure because these final days it was only the Satirawa who remained in the village (Satiru). Visits by other communities were cut short since the annihilation of Hillary and some WAFF troops. Furthermore the adjacent communities were on an evacuation notice for an impending British attack.

⁸¹ S.U. Lawal: An Icon of Scholars and public service...”P69

⁸²Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

The Satiru fighters completed the verse with:

Arabic transliteration “innal albatila kana zahooqan”

English “Falsehood is (by its nature) bound to perish.”

The response is to have convinced some of Marafa`s troops that fighting the Satiru men is going contrary to the principle directive that desist Muslims from fighting their fellow brothers as commanded by God in Qur`an; Chapter 4 verse 93

*“Many-yaqtulmu’-minam-muta-‘ammidan-
fa-jazaaa-‘uhuu Jahannamu khaalidan-fiihaa
wa gazibal-laahu ‘alayhi wa la-anahuu
wa ‘a-‘adda lahuu ‘azaaban ‘aziimaa”*

“If a man kills a Believer intentionally,
his recompense is Hell, to abide therein (for ever):
and the wrath and the curse of Allah are upon him,
and a dreadful chastisement is prepared for him”

The later version is much prominent in our area of study, the bulk of the Satiru descendants subscribe to this version of the story and it further justified their action to face the Sokoto troops just as legal it is to face the British. The incidence was to demoralize the Marafa`s contingent<sup>83</sup> and the limited engagement that followed between the Satiru men and Marafa`s troops had resulted into the routing of his men (Marafa Maiturare) with the Marafa himself narrowly escaping. This second victory further energized the Satiru fighters⁸⁴ and the

⁸³ J. Ibrahim, Sultans of Sokoto..., pp 274, see also Habib Alhassan p19, “*Rashin Jituwa Tsakanin Malaman Satiru da Turawan Mulkin Mallaka (1906)*”, The Rabah contingent is reported to have also left the battle scene when the Satiru fighters shouted “*Allahu Akbar*” God is great, Ibrahim (district Head of Rabah) led his men to desert the scene.

⁸⁴ Interview with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

marabouts became convinced of the effect of amulets and concoctions.⁸⁵ The fighting men further sealed their fate on the believes that their inconclusive struggle with the combined Sokoto and British forces will definitely be concluded in their victory.⁸⁶

The Satiru community in addition to fighting light skirmishes (attacking surrounding villages) they were also preparing concoctions and amulets examples of which are:

- i. Concoction for protection from metal attack; seeds of a folded Baobab tree back and melon seed, they will be grounded into powder form and use in food and drinks for seven days.
- ii. Concoction for protection from arrow attack; seeds of *Tsira-fako* which will be turn into powder and cooked as food for at least seven days.
- iii. Concoction used to have powers to chew metal by bear teeth; root of *Hankufa* which will be grinded by using stone and red potassium which will be chew but not swallow.
- iv. Concoction for breaking sticks; back of *gwabsa* which will be grinded with wood powder and stone, the resulting powder will be use in drinking puff or water for as long as possible.
- v. Amulet for special shield (*Kago*); a fiber of *Bije* and grass that germinates from top of *Aduwa* which was drawn by typhoon, they will be sew into amulet.
- vi. Concoction for protection from Jaws attack either of Lion, Hyena and any other predator, a piece of *Goriba* and back of calabash which will be grinded and used as drink for three days or a week at least.⁸⁷

⁸⁵Interview with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

⁸⁶ Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo (Zarumman Fomfo), aged 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020. the moral amongst Satiru men was high the mystical believe of a divine power to manipulate the outcome of the ensuing is rest assured.

These amulets and concoctions were only a few discovered from amongst hundreds known and used by the Satiru men. An average Satiru fighter ventured into battle with not less than one of these charms. The spiritual amulets and concoctions were believed to be an added advantage upon any enemy encountered. Even the captured Maxim gun was spiritualized by the Satiru marabouts and declared henceforth the bullets to be fired by the gun will turn to water; they foresaw the water system of the gun as a factor that can be manipulated by their initiation into an advantageous link to turn its bullet into water.⁸⁸ The Satiru community after routing Marafa's troops resorted to attacking neighboring villages under the pretext that they (adjacent villages) are subjects of the larger Sokoto aristocracy⁸⁹ and the bulk of the levies under the command of Marafa Maiturare were men from districts flanking to Sokoto city⁹⁰ an action that widens the borders of Satiru enemies. The Satirawa at this juncture label most of the adjacent villages as front line forces of the combined colonial Government and Sokoto aristocracy therefore attacking them was felt a justifiable act against an impending enemy. Meanwhile the colonial establishment was busy mobilizing troops to attack Satiru from garrisons deports of Lagos, Zungeru, Zaria, Kano, Lokoja, Kontagora and Argungu the Colonialist were reported to have mobilized about 573⁹¹ troops, a 75 millimeter field gun and several number of maxim guns. At Satiru an impending attack was expected and it was a period in which the Satirawa prepared themselves for Mallam Siba is believed to have used

⁸⁷ Interview with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020., Garba Nabal (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019 and Malam Ummaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019 reported to me that as a tradition for the Satiru fighting men pupations for amulets became part of the war gears, therefore fighting a formidable force like the British must have ginger much preparations see also for the concoctions Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman Satiru da Turawan Muklkin..."

⁸⁸ Interview with Garba Nabal (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

⁸⁹ The inter war period from the first attack on Hillary's troops to the second attack on the village, the Satirawa launched attacks and burnt; Dange, Danchadi, Runji kwarai, Runjin Gawo, Zangalawa, Rudu makera Jaredi, Dandin Mahe, Bunazawa and Kindiru. These villages are levies under the auspicious of Sokoto province.

⁹⁰ J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..."

⁹¹ H. M. Maishanu, *Five Centuries of Historical Writing in Hausaland and Borno...* P259.

his spiritual powers and predicted the outcome of the up-coming battle.⁹² His conclusions were that, the Satiru community will be defeated on several occasions he repeated the rites but all gave same results⁹³ but Siba never disclosed his result to the community. Instead Mallam Siba on the earlier hours of the morning of 10th March 1906 gear up his only horse and tight it at the entrance of his residence.⁹⁴ The action is believed to have convinced the Satirawa fighters to face the battle ground in high spirit knowing that the invisible Mallam Siba is still with them in his house. However, unknown to the Satirawa their citadel (Mallam Siba) has left for an unknown destination.

The British gathered at Satiru men with the abhorrence and willing to re-establish the prestige of the British Imperial military machine in tropical Africa.⁹⁵ 1906 was a busy year for British colonial establishment in Africa fatal punitive missions are conducted by British colonial forces, with devastating results Pax-Britannica had become a Bumpy ride for the colonial subjects.⁹⁶ The square formation was not what is needed at Satiru because the mission is to obliterate and make the message clear to those who would be influenced by the Satiru community action. The skirmishes began in the morning hours, the Satirawa were aware of the

⁹²Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

⁹³Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

⁹⁴Mallam Siba's action of positioning his Horse at the entrance of his home and fled in an amazing way in all write ups and oral interview conducted it was unanimously believed that Mallam Siba fled by using his skin mat which turn into a flying craft and left the Satiru community to face the combine colonialist and Sokoto Troops without him.

⁹⁵ In his 1906 colonial report to the Colonial secretary in London Lugard justified his action at Satiru "The military situation demanded a signal and overwhelming victory for the restoration of our prestige, and the prevention of any such rising in the future, entailing further loss of life "

⁹⁶ In 1906 British colonial Forces attack Namdi a community in Kenya which resulted in the killing of more than one thousand natives and hundreds of cattle lost to the British. It was so brutal that, Winston Churchill an MP in the house of common said on hearing about the attack, " it looks like a Butchery and if the House of Commons get hold of it, all our plans in the East African Protectorate will be under a cloud. Surely it cannot be necessary to go on killing these defenseless people in such a enormous scale"

concentration of troops to the east and north east of their buffer zone.⁹⁷ The West African Frontier Force sent a strike unit from the Marafa's troops⁹⁸ and the Satiru fighters commenced a pursuit of the attacking group towards the position of troops. When the pursued forces approached the troop's formation they splitted into two and the WAFF formation appeared at the centre from then on the engagement began. The battle that followed from the Satirawa perspective was a merciless massacre. The troops opened rapid fire on the charging Satiru fighters who were armed with bows, arrows, hoes, axes and sword.

The 75 millimeter Gun which failed to fire during the first Satirawa charge on the troops was made to use in the seventh attempt.⁹⁹ From the stories prominent in our area of study is that, the 75 millimeter field Gun single shot was responsible for the death of 3600 Satiru fighters¹⁰⁰ the gun must have been fired several times creating chaos with its sound and impact of the shell¹⁰¹ the Vickers 75milimetre field Gun was adopted by the British in 1898, it has a time fused shrapnel, a firing rate of 3-4 rounds per minute and a velocity of 500 meters per second (1.600 ft, per second) and can cover 12000 yards on maximum range¹⁰² the battle was

⁹⁷ The open plain that constitutes the valley between Satiru and the direction of approaching WAFF troops was known to the Satiru spies. The open plain, ditches that connect Satiru to Katsalle to east, Jurga and Tsomau to the north are demarcated un-officially as buffer zone due to the hostile behavior of the Satirawa and the attack on Hillary took place within this zone. In addition Marafa Maiturare also camped his troops at Kwannawa to the north east of Satiru.

⁹⁸ The Sokoto troops under the command of Marafa Maiturare were ordered to harassed the Satirawa into a chase towards the formation of troops which they did.

⁹⁹ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020 and also the field Gun as reported by many of our informants that in six subsequent attempts to fire the Gun were all not successful. Until one *Basharu Dan Jakian* NCO of WAFF of Hausa descent who shouted at the firing officer to pie on the Gun "*Yi Mata Hitsari*". The action is believed in Hausaland to have spiritual powers to dislodge any counter spiritual force that is hindering an effort.

¹⁰⁰ The story is not convincing because the 75 millimeter Gun is using a shrapnel shell which is not capable of obliterating a fighting force scattered on a wide field at a single shot. For the features of the Gun See, George Henry Dern, Secretary of war, *The field Artillery Journal*, Volume XXIII, March-April, 1933. Number, 2, p146

¹⁰¹ Northern Nigeria colonial report, 1905-06, p18

¹⁰² [Http.www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com) see George Henry Dern..."p147 see also, David Stevenson, *The field Artillery revolution and the European military balance, 1890-1914*, *international History Review*, London school of Economics, may 2018, p2

awful even the British acknowledged their use of excessive force as reported by Resident Burdon to lord Lugard

“All Sokoto went out yesterday (march 11th) to inspect battle field and raise Satiru to ground. No wall or tree left standing. Sarkin Muslim (Musulmi) has pronounced curse on any one building or farming on site”.¹⁰³

Paul and Hogendorn have this analysis of the event at the Satiru battle field:

“On March 10, a combine expedition of the Sokoto levies and WAFF troops marched on Satiru. Though they met fierce resistance, the ensuing slaughter was difficult to justify, even from an imperialist perspective. As has often been the case in history, religious fanaticism was no march for modern technology, in this case represented by the Maxim Machine gun and the breach-loading magazine rifle.”

The Satiru fighters were pursued by the combined forces of mounted cavalry and Sokoto.¹⁰⁴ They fled in all directions with the exception of the direction of Sokoto city.¹⁰⁵ Majority of them fleeing towards the south on the direction of the village of Dabaga.¹⁰⁶ The chase continued for hours after the battle. Every *Basatire* identified was killed on the spot.¹⁰⁷ It reached an extent that, the surrounding villages became worried as some of their men were wrongly killed by WAFF and Marafa's troops in a hot pursuit.¹⁰⁸ The pursuit was so violent that, the fief holder of Danchadi issued a statement which was channeled to the

¹⁰³Northern Nigeria colonial report, 1905-06, p18.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020.

¹⁰⁵Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

¹⁰⁶Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020., Muhammad Dandi Dabaga and Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020. they reported to me that at Dabaga which happens to be the most friendly village of the Satiru community, on that faithful day Satirawa who managed to reach the village were hidden in food silos while some sneak out of the village and proceeded to Bangi mountain [*Bangi Dutsi*].

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020.

¹⁰⁸Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

WAFF commanding officer at the battle field that the Satiru men are finished and our people are been killed wrongly as Satirawa.¹⁰⁹

The Satiru battle resulted in the death of some 3600 people both men and women¹¹⁰ while some 3000 women and children¹¹¹ were herded to Sokoto and probably to a servile life.¹¹² After the revolt Satiru village was raised to ground, any wall or tree standing was obliterated. The Sultan pronounced a curse on the site for any attempt by someone to erect a farm or house on the site of the former Satiru village. The surviving Satirawa who managed to escaped the carnage and the later hot pursuit went into hiding as much as it can be.

3.5 The Surviving Satirawa and their Resettlement

After the last battle at Satiru, members of the surviving Satiru community scattered all over the regions that made up northern Nigeria and beyond. The first area where Satiru survivors took refuge was the neighboring village of Dabaga.¹¹³ Before the final attack, it was gathered that, the inhabitants of Dabaga secretly informed the Satiru men that, there is an impending attack towards them; therefore they (Dabaga inhabitants) will be leaving on the approach of the attack date. Therefore their food Silos should be used by the fleeing Satirawa and hide themselves.¹¹⁴ Therefore the village became the first point of call for the fleeing Satiru community members. Some of the surviving Satiru community members were on their annual

¹⁰⁹Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi...”

¹¹⁰Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin...”p23.

¹¹¹ J. Ibrahim, Sultans of Sokoto, p276

¹¹² Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo (Zarumman Fomfo), aged 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

¹¹³ Dabaga village is situated south west of Satiru village, before the battle it was the only village the Satirawa speared during their carnage towards their neighboring village.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020., Bello Dangero Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020 and Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020..

dry seasonal trade trips when the attack took place.¹¹⁵ Some of the returnees who came back were instructed by the villagers not to affiliate themselves to the destroyed Satiru community, because they will be arrested.

The first high profile Satiru community member to be arrested was Shuaibu DanMakaho and his guides¹¹⁶ and they were executed after their trial at Sokoto native court.¹¹⁷ Some survivors headed back to their former villages and were hidden by their relatives.¹¹⁸ By 1906 the village Satiru is estimated to be only ten years old, therefore tracing back their former villages by the survivors is not a complex exploit. It was further announced that everyone who come across a *Basatire* should immediately arrest him and take him to his village head who in turn will present him to Sokoto city for further trial.¹¹⁹ The hunt for Satiru survivors continued by estimate to 1920¹²⁰ while the surviving Satirawa continue to hide as much as they could from the authorities.

The fears by the survivors took many to far distance land. It was gathered that one survivor trek from Satiru village to Ndjamena Chad Republic.¹²¹ After his return the survivor re settled in a village called Takarin Kadi near present Koko in Kebbi state.¹²²

¹¹⁵ Interview With Umbaru Maigoro, Kwarago, age 80, interviewed at his residence, on 14/12/2019 reported that in Satiru village there exist a substantial number of artisans, which consists of Blacksmiths, wood carvers and *Gardi* Traditional herbal trade.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Alhaji Usman Bagaya, Rudu Gero, aged 80, interviewed at his residence on 17/12/2019. see also J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p5

¹¹⁷ H. M. Maishanu, *Five Centuries of Historical Writing in Hausaland and Borno...* p259

¹¹⁸ Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..." p23

¹¹⁹ Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..."

¹²⁰ Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..."

¹²¹ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020 who narrated that the survivor out of fear head eastward trekking all day, he usually wakes-up from his sleep on dreams of the sound of the Maxim and Vickers field Gun and continued the trek which took him to the capital of Chad Republic.

¹²² Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020, who narrated that, the survivor was traced in 1951 leaving a peaceful life as an Imam in the village.

Some survivors of the battle left in numbers and found settlements far away from their former village some were believed to have established a settlement called “Satiru” in Isa district of Sokoto state.¹²³ It was the only village which carried the former name of Satiru village came across by this research. Furthermore in Kalambaina district of Wamakko in Sokoto State there is an area called Satiru because of the settlement by some of the Satiru survivors. The obliteration of the village had rendered a whole community on disarray survival became the challenge for those who luckily escaped the carnage. The authorities were eager to eradicate not only the village (Satiru) but also any physical evidence of what happened at the site. The curse by the Sultan is one such measure deployed to deprive not only the fleeing survivors a comeback but also to anyone who wishes to settled in the former spot of Satiru.

The first villages to receive some substantial number of Satiru survivors who secretly came back were *Hausawar Maiwa*¹²⁴ later on *Budai Kundudu*¹²⁵ both in Dange Shuni district. The villages became the probationary site of the returning survivors and where they noted that, regards to their faith on what transpired at their former village of Satiru was as long as they avoided going back to the exact site of the former village (Satiru) the chances of starting anew life are rest assured.¹²⁶ The modes of their return vary. Many returned disguising themselves as relatives of their host villages¹²⁷ while some identify themselves as new comers to the

¹²³ Phone interview with Kabiru Umar, Sabon Birni, aged, 46, on 01/01/2023, and Malam Mamman, village head of Kwarago, age 50, interviewed at his residence, on 09/12/2019.

¹²⁴ Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi [Head Master Rumbuki Primary School], aged 50, interviewed at Rumbuki Primary School on 16/03/2020.

¹²⁵ Interview with Malam Ummaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019

¹²⁶ Many of the survivors notice from the early days of the incidence that if as long as they have avoided any attempt to re-elect their burn down Houses at their former village disguising themselves as none Satirawa is rest assured unless exposed by their host communities.

¹²⁷ Interview with Mallam Bawa Kaurar Mallam, Sabara, aged 50, interviewed at his residence on 16/12/2019.

area.¹²⁸ But for most indigenous settlers of their host communities the true identity of the new comers is known, just concealed for sympathy.¹²⁹ With the passage of time the awaiting Satirawa in hiding joined their brothers in resettling across the cluster villages that extended from south western Sokoto to northern Banks of River Niger around Kainji¹³⁰ areas extending to fringes of Niger State.¹³¹ However the large proportion of the Satiru survivors who managed to escape and returned, settled in a number of villages between Dange Shuni and Bodinga local Governments area of Sokoto State. These villages identified with the large concentration of them after the aforementioned above (*Hasawar maiwa and Budai Kunkundu*) are: Rumbuki, Sabara, Bangi Dutsi, Dabaga, Gugari, Butuku in Bodinga Local Government and Dilingo, Dankilo, Battar Hausawa, Maikunchi and Kwanar kimba¹³² in Dange Shuni local Government.¹³³ These villages received the largest Satiru returnees and became the first areas to mutate the Satiru legacies.

3.6 The Pattern of Re-settlement of the Satirawa

The endeavor by the survivors of Satiru to start a new life became an outmost challenge to many. The fear is still ensnared in the mind of an average *Basatire*. The extent at which the new colonial administration used excessive force to destroy their hub surprised many, not only members of the community. The story became a fable saturated with many false fabrications with stories narrated with concocted false tales that the entire village and

¹²⁸Interview with Ibrahim Umar Bodinga (Alkali Gandi, Muhutasibun Bodinga), aged, 53, interviewed at his residence on 07/12/2019.

¹²⁹ Interview with Ibrahim Umar Bodinga (Alkali Gandi, Muhutasibun Bodinga)...

¹³⁰ Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi [Head Master Rumbuki Primary School], aged 50, interviewed at Rumbuki Primary School on 16/03/2020., narrated descendants of Satiru survivors are found in these areas.

¹³¹Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

¹³²Reported by almost all my informants.

¹³³ For more details on other villages see footnote, 14, chapter one.

community were destroyed beyond resurrection. The environment is annihilated to the extent it can never be utilized forever.

However despite all odds the survivors began a fresh life trying as much to re-integrate into the new fabric of the colonial society. In villages with substantial number of the Satiru survivors, such as Sabara, Rumbuki, Bangi Dutsi, Dabaga, Gugari and Butuku in Bodinga local Government. While Hausawar Maiwa, Bodai Kunkundu, Dilingo, Dankilo, Battar Hausawa, mai kunchi and Kwanar Kimba in Dange Shuni local Government to mention key sites areas.

The mode into which the survivors were successfully able to settle in these villages varies but two tactics prove more effective and common in this adventure, the female pull factor and the male factor. The female pull implies a situation whereby a surviving female alongside her children or relatives will take shelter in one of the key villages and was lucky to have received a kind of hospitality from her host, later on she will be searching for any news about her husband or his relatives who might have survive the carnage. In the event of a successful reunion the husband or her male relatives may decide to join her in the village she settled having been satisfied with the testimony she gave of her hosts of their generosity and sympathy to her situation.¹³⁴

While the male pull factor has two form, men who survive the attack on Satiru are of two types, those who were present during the attack either combatant or none, and those who were away on trade or other vacations. Therefore the male pull factor pattern depends on the circumstances an average Basatire survived the attack. Majority of the men who were away

¹³⁴ Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo (Zarumman Fomfo), aged 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

on vocations or trade after successfully searching for their family decide to move into exile those became the vanguard of many communities living in other far areas from Satiru who claimed to be of Satiru descent. While others after locating their love ones decide to move with their families to villages they felt pleased with and began life a fresh.¹³⁵ Those who were present during the attack and manage to survive became the majority of the survivors who settled in the villages that covered the two borders of Bodinga and Dange Shuni local Governments.¹³⁶ After re-settling the means of sustaining a life became the next challenge. The old trades and economic ventures were now to be re-introduced not as it was before. Before the obliteration of Satiru village the predominant economic activities of the Satirawa after agriculture were blacksmithing, wood carving and concoction trade (*Gardi*). These economic activities as a startup were re-introduced but later class boundary in the area was to influence a reformation crusade by the Satirawa descendants to outcast these professions because of their low class background in some parts of the former Caliphate areas.

The precedent of their new life takes into some nutrients of the former. In villages they settled the Satirawa were given either plots of land to erect huts of their own or given already constructed houses by their hosts to settled for a while.¹³⁷ The means of sustaining new life began with the revive of their trades and agricultural activities. The Satiru *Gardi* was highly respected for his expertise on magic and spiritual concoction in the area, therefore re-consultation for his services were fully integrated.¹³⁸ *Gardi* was complimented with

¹³⁵ Interview With Umbaru Maigoro, Kwarago, age 80, interviewed at his residence, on 14/12/2019

¹³⁶ Interview with Muhammadu Harande (Magajin Madorawa), aged, 87, interviewed at his palace on 7/01/2023.

¹³⁷ Interview with Aliyu Barade [Baraden Rudu Gero], aged 52, interviewed at his palace, on 17/12/2019.

¹³⁸ Even before the destruction of Satiru village the inhabitants were renowned experts on the popular Hausa tradition of *Gardi*, it is an ancient tradition which consist of magical performances to convinced viewers on the spiritual powers of the performer thereby uplifting his status amongst his peers. In addition such powers guarantee the quality and power of his concoction.

agricultural activities at subsistence level, the activities are conducted with caution and sincerity as much to avoid affiliating themselves with the former sanctuary destroyed (Satiru).¹³⁹

With the continued expansion of the returnees into the areas, the news must have reached some still hiding themselves in towns and villages across Sokoto province.¹⁴⁰ Therefore many embarked on a journey to establish new life in the cluster of villages in the area. The camouflage to avoid attracting the authorities was another pressure to bear with, every survivor has that psychological trauma entrenched in his mind and it became a malady to carry for a life time.

In communities that hosted the surviving Satirawa it became a burden for many who tried as much to hide the true identity of the survivors as news often reached the area that persons of Satiru fugitives are being identified and arrested.¹⁴¹ Such incidence further surge the already fear in the communities and the effort to continue hiding or flee was further adhered to. For those who were comfortable with their resettlement, life began to progress steadily and their hosts were the only community members who knew the exact identity of the new comers.

The Satiru survivors who resettled in the various villages became an internally displaced people who had to abide by the laws of their host communities and try as much to avoid any tussle with their host so as not to expose their true identity. Therefore life under forced exile became the only alternative for a Satiru survivor.

¹³⁹Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019

¹⁴⁰Interview with Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

¹⁴¹Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019. Narrated that they are still withholding the identity of Satiru descent, on the fear that despite more than a hundred years have passed after the event the hunt for Satiru survivors is still on cause.

3.7 The Satiru Ideology

With a substantial number of Satiru survivors the psychological burden of hiding a person's identity became an integral part of the human stress the survivors had to bear with. With the gradual progressing of life under such difficulty the search for spiritual remedy was ignited. For an average *Basatire* withholding his true identity was part of everyday challenge, life under such condition will eventually have to encounter a problem. The new demography forged among the communities in the area was not to last for long without a social upheaval to emerge. Such social discontents in the new community were to ignite an identical struggle between the re-settled Satirawa and their host community. The problem is none other than the re-emergence of the Satiru comportment now coined as an ideology.¹⁴²

The re-emergence of Satiru ideology was to fragment the cordial relationship that was attempted between the host and the hosted (Satiru survivors and the communities that hosted them) the integration by the Satiru survivors was not much appreciated to a certain level.¹⁴³ The new development was the beginning of the end for the effort to hide the new comers as they (Satirawa) forged for themselves a new identity recognizable by their ideology.

The social setting of a Muslim community requires a member to adhere to certain divine laws that were injunctioned by the teachings and principles of the Islamic faith. The Satirawa began to detest themselves from what the larger community are adhering to, i.e. religious injunctions respected by their hosts were not regarded as long as the learned amongst them had other interpretation other than the popularly known version.¹⁴⁴ Their affiliation to Tijjaniya sect must have influenced some of the reasons their version of interpretation goes contrary to the

¹⁴² Interview with Shehu Magaji Tsefe, age 51, interviewed at his residence on 17/12/2019.

¹⁴³ Interview with Ibrahim Umar Bodinga (Alkali Gandhi, Muhutasibun Bodinga), aged, 53, interviewed at his residence on 07/12/2019.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Ibrahim Umar Bodinga (Alkali Gandhi, Muhutasibun Bodinga)...'

much familiar version because Sokoto and its adjacent communities are mostly Qadiriyya followers. On the aspect of intergroup relation the Satirawa began to parade themselves as a people so aggressive and vigilant when it comes to the normal life relation with other community members.¹⁴⁵ They have an obsession that, they can't condole simple nuisance.

Furthermore the respect and affiliation to the fief holders of Bodinga and Dange Shuni as adhered to by their host was not pleasant to the Satiru survivors.¹⁴⁶ The destruction of their village and the much earlier discontent with the rulers of these fiefs was re-introduced in a radical pattern as the survivors looked upon the ruling aristocrats as accomplices during the destruction of their former village an event where most of their relatives lost their lives.

The surviving settled Satirawa in the rural communities of Bodinga and Dange Shuni became a generation whose power of reasoning was diluted with the following radical tune:

- i. Not observing the annual Ramadan fasting and Eids celebration with the moon sighting announced by the Sultan of Sokoto (the Caliph).
- ii. On complex Islamic injunctions they only subscribe to their Ulama's interpretations.
- iii. They monopolized the expertise of spiritual charm making and trade (Satiru marabouts constitute the large proportion of active commercial charmants in the host communities).
- iv. They became pleased and affiliate with any sign of disloyalty to the authority (the colonialist and the aristocracy).
- v. They were soon identified with an aggressive and vigilant behavior that distinguished them from the rest of the community.¹⁴⁷

These new identical features of a *Basatire* in the communities made them a class of new generation of Satiru descent.¹⁴⁸ They are now to uphold the challenge of continuing a life with an exposed identity. Their hosts never regretted hosting the Satiru survivors but the challenge

¹⁴⁵Reported by almost all my informants.

¹⁴⁶Interview with Muhammadu Harande (Magajin Madorawa), aged, 87, interviewed at his palace on 7/01/2023.

¹⁴⁷ These were social emblems of a *Basatire* that had become integrated into their identity in our research area. The rest of the communities living with them used such terms to refer to Satiru identity on a person.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Malam Bawa Kaurar Mallam, Sabara, aged 50, Interviewed at his residence on 16/12/2019.

to continue with a people with a bizarre pattern of life was also a stressful burden to bear with. The communities hosting the survivors were also hiding some active participants of the skirmishes with the British, the brotherhood of ethnic descent¹⁴⁹ and Islam extended the gesture for decades to come. Satiru returnees were still received in the area, while integrating into their brother's pattern was made easier as the hate and despisement of the authorities had become entrenched in their minds forever.¹⁵⁰

With the authorities keeping a watchful eye on the very site of the village the returnees were keen to avoid any attempt on going back to their village.¹⁵¹ The curse by the Sultan was not a factor that shields the former site of Satiru village but the fear of the Colonialist military might had also built its reputation among the survivors.¹⁵² The Satiru ideology gave birth by the survivors living as refugees was to become the first laying foundation of reviving the Satiru factor in the history of rural communities of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni local Governments.

3.8 Conclusion

The Satiru community conflict with the authorities on the turn of the 20th century laid a foundation stone of a radical phenomenon that was to become entrenched in the north western Nigeria and to survive through to the post independence period. The ideological struggle that culminated into physical combat led to the defeat of the Satirawa but indirectly it also laid the groundwork of their ideology. The Satirawa success during the first encounter with the West

¹⁴⁹Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi [Head Master Rumbuki Primary School], aged 50, interviewed at Rumbuki Primary School on 16/03/2020.

¹⁵⁰Interview with Buba Magini Madorawa, (Buba Magini), aged, 75, at his residence on 07/01/2023.

¹⁵¹Interview with Buba Magini Madorawa, (Buba Magini), aged, 75, at his residence on 07/01/2023.

¹⁵²Interview with Muhammadu Harande (Magajin Madorawa), aged, 87, interviewed at his palace on 7/01/2023.

African frontier forces gave impetus to the Satirawa moral and energized their radical wings to proceed with the struggle to its logical conclusion.

The Satirawa were able to emerge and coined a much powerful identity that was to have a regional impact beyond their former settlement at Satiru. For the authorities the obsession with military potency was to convince them that, the matter (Satiru conflict) had been buried forever, however the underdog (Satirawa) were able to raise from the ashes of defeat and resettled in numerous villages across the region as the Satirawa resettled they were distinguished from other inhabitants of the area by their (ideology). This phenomenon set the stage for the nurse and dissemination of the Satiru legacies.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Satiru Legacies

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter we will move forward to discuss the legacies of the revolt. The outcome of the conflict has made indelible mark on the communities of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni Local Governments.

The legacies of the conflict are the fundamental impetus that made the people and environment a distinct society from the rest of the population. It created a nation of people who felt being offended as the genesis and ideals their fore-fathers opt to defend were misunderstood. The Satiru legacies in the rural areas of Dange-Shuni and Bodinga local Governments created and nursed a society upon which certain trends were observed to have exceeded the limits ideally observed in the rest of the society. The trends advanced and particularly acknowledged were a product of the 1906 Satiru conflict. It remained a key pervasiveness that became entrenched in the mindset of many within the Satiru descendants as can be observed in these key variables of the legacies.

4.1 Belligerence

Aggressiveness is the first emblem affiliated to the descendants of Satirawa¹ by the communities in and around the villages of Bodinga and Dange-Shuni local Government areas of Sokoto State. They were perceived as likely to become more aggressive than others in respect to normal human interaction and endeavors an insignia they objected.²

¹ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020, Mallam Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020 and Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020. According them people of Satiru descent were looked upon as a nation who possess a certain level of un usual temper in comparison with others. They are addressed as aggressive and courageous in their believes.

²Interview with Aliyu Muhammad Takatuku (Dangaladiman Takatuku), aged, 60, interviewed at his palace on 07/01/2023.

Aggressiveness and pacifisms are manners beyond an individual spiritual control, every human have a content of both. The level upon which the host communities affiliate the comportment to people of Satiru descent had elevated it above the basic standard observed in the rest of the communities. The action is manufactured from the pattern of how simple interactions between people are conducted in an atmosphere of tolerance and endurance. In any accidental misunderstanding that involve a Satiru descent he is observed to become uncontrollable than others.³ These were the factors why majority of their hosts affiliate belligerence to people of Satiru descent.

Therefore the facet was over exaggerated beyond normal belief because the factor of the subject (*Basatire*) is still affiliated to the conflict that his response to an upsetting action is always judged on the idea that he is a Satiru descent, a facet he also hated to be addressed as.⁴

It was also observed that, most of the cases before the districts court in the areas are cases tabled by Satirawa before the courts or against them. In many villages people are fearful of having court cases with contestants from Satiru descent, because they (Satirawa) perceive dragging court sessions for many years without ruling as a tactic of punishing their opponents.⁵

Furthermore, they were on the habit of not transporting their farm harvest and hays from the farmlands as done by others as soon as the rains stopped. It had became a now phenomena in

³Interview with Aliyu Muhammad Takatuku (Dangaladiman Takatuku), aged, 60, interviewed at his palace on 07/01/2023.

⁴ The communities in the area had naturally developed a notion that, a *Basatire* is always a person who responds to certain upsetting actions very differently and aggressively from others. However this notion is also indirectly infuriating an average *Basatire* because he disliked the emblem and felled more upset whenever his actions are interpreted in such away.

⁵ Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi [Head Master Rumbuki Primary School], aged 50, interviewed at Rumbuki Primary School on 16/03/2020 and Muntari Alhaji Danchadi (Staff Rumbuki Primary School), age 45, interviewed at his School on 16/3/2020. Who narrated that some of the community members were highly feared and respected by others just because of their habit of taking simple misunderstandings before a court of law. These incidences are common in villages where Satirawa constitute a proportional number.

these areas that Satirawa farmlands are not cleared for grazing in time and pastoralist have taken caution of that.⁶ These phenomena instigate communal clash between the Satirawa and Pastoralist in the area. The impact of the facet on the community had broad implication as the community was branded a nation of aggressive men whose reputation is always to mutate violence. Therefore majority of other communities regard them as a community difficult to interact with.

4.2Fundamentalism

The Satiru descendants projected an image of themselves in which the communities further advance the facet beyond their official conduct. They were looked upon as a nation that promotes delinquency and Aggressiveness. But the manner is a part of the communities' effort to go contrary with any opinion or standing rule which the authority or aristocracy is adhering to. They felt they were mistreated by the Caliphate aristocracy and bulk of its intellectual community have justified the action against their fore-fathers and continue to castigate the Satirawa in some of their Islamic literatures and lectures. Therefore Satirawa unofficially succumbed to any movement, idea, or spiritual endeavor that went contrary to that of the aristocracy. The Sokoto aristocracy is affiliated to the Qadiriyya movement by classification of Islamic sects found around the Sudan belt thus the Bulk of the Satirawa descendants are followers of the Tijjaniya sect which before the emergence of Izala movement in the 1970s it was the leading opponent of Qadiriyya in Islamic spirituality. But

⁶Interview with Garba Nabal (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019 and Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019. Satirawa have never disclosed their reason for such attitudes. But some people familiar with their behavior have hypnotize that, it was under the factor of, farmers usually are in a hurry to move their farm harvest and other important belongings from farmlands because as a tradition from early October of every year Fulani pastoralist were observed to encroach in to these cultivated farmlands in search of the left over by farmers. Therefore if the hast is because of the pastoral Fulani factor, they (Satirawa) are not afraid of Fulani, nor a Fulani could force them to do what they are not ready for.

their differences were calm as a result of the sustained attacks they were subjected to by the Izala movement followers.

However the Satiru community maintained their tempo with regards to their strange relationship with the Sokoto aristocracy and the bulk of its Ulama's, on the basis of their Tijjaniya/Qadiriyya tussle. They foresee the Izala though as a rival but more plausible than the Qadiriyya sect which despite being an old fore, it is also the sect of their longtime enemy the Caliphate aristocracy.

Therefore the delinquency attributed to the Satiru descent is a facet which constitutes part of their philosophy with regards to how history interpreted their development and promulgation. Fundamentalism in their believes is considered a honest act and what qualifies a person to be of good quality not inefficient.⁷ As an impact the areas contained a substantial number of the Satiru descents⁸ which were more likely to host individuals with fundamental believes or ideas in comparison to other areas of Sokoto state. The reason could be traced from the Satirawa attachment to rigid ideas and interpretations with regards to complex Islamic injunctions and rulings. Many movements that were regarded as extremist or fundamental in their activities are observed to have mutated into their current status as a result of their strictness to rigid and conservative interpretation of some Islamic injunctions. The Satirawa had one very rigid tradition which could be an animator of the community to host people with extreme ideas. This is their reservation of going contrary to any unanimous religious or authoritative injunction on religion or governance especially if they discovered it is the popular opinion of the Sokoto Ulama's or aristocracy.

⁷ Interview with Aminu Altine Dabaga, aged 42, interviewed at his residence on 01/05/2020.

⁸ Interview with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020, Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019 And Bala Bello Fomfo, (Zarumman Fomfo), aged, 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020. Disclosed that, by estimation People of Satiru descent could number about 50% of the entire population of the study area.

The bearing of the behavior had made its debut in the area as their hosts were also buying into the idea because of the protraction of the behavior and most of the Qur'anic schools in the areas are headed by Satiru men. Thus such schools became venues where fundamental ideas and their mutation are been disseminated to the larger communities in the area. With this other none Satirawa had psychologically been recruited to postulate and defend such rigid ideas.

4.3 Occultism

The spread of Islamic believes and civilization goes parallel with the development of other spiritual and mystic needs for super natural powers to challenge the elements and other invisible forces. During the pre-Islamic period these pursuit was led by the chief priests of several chiefdoms and hamlets who were believed by the citizens to have possesses special powers⁹ which enabled them to consult with the Pagan gods and other spirits for the services of their clients. With the advent of Islam this tradition was curved and integrated to use Islamic spirituality in the pursuit of similar goals.¹⁰

Islam has provided a skill of writing which is a part of its contribution to the civilization of the Islamic world. The style and skills of calligraphic tactics is added with strive in spirituality when concocting and selecting special verses from the Holy Book (Quran) to make amulets and Holy water which are believed to cure or change the course of events as required by a client.¹¹ In every Hausa society there exist such groups of scholars who are respected because

⁹ Ado Abdulrahman, *Sana`ar Gardanchin Hausawa: Asalanta da Yadda Akeyinta a Kasar Hausa*, Cairo, Al-Adab corporation, 2014,p12

¹⁰ Ado Abdulrahman, *Sana`ar Gardi...*,p15

¹¹ Quranic verses are believed to hold divine powers to heal and cure illnesses, Islamic marabouts sifted some of these verses for concocting amulets and holy water which they served their clients as remedy for their needs and aspirations.

of their expertise in this field called *Tsibbo*.¹² The Satiru community is blessed with scholars highly respected not only by their people but beyond, right from the erection of the village it was believed by many that the village was twisted with specially prepared amulets and concoctions that makes it invisible to any adversary or first comer to the village.¹³

In addition every *Basatire* is believed to have possesses one or the other powers derived by means of the concoctions or amulet. Furthermore in the Satiru village before its destruction there are three wells which are the source of water for the community. The first well is of pure safe virgin for drinking while the other two were littered with concoction one with *Tsime*(Seeds and plants mixture) while the other contains *Rubutu*(Washed written verses).¹⁴ The waters of the second well that of *Tsime* is believed to have power to make a person physically strong as a baked clay, hearted, fearless and aggressive.¹⁵ The later that of *Rubutuis* believed to have powers to heal diseases such as Stomach pains, Headache and other similar diseases.¹⁶ The occultist of Satiru believed their progenies were initiated into the profession and became proficient in the field as a result of using the spiritual waters from the wells in their former village (Satiru).

Satiru is a community blessed with scholars who are of profound expertise beyond others. As discussed in the last chapter, concoction and other amulets were all part of the Satirawa gears during the contingency plan for the encounter with the combine British and Sokoto troops. The tradition is believed to have been monopolized by scholars of Satiru descent within the

¹²L. Y Malunfashi, International Journal of Business, Economics and Law, The Spread and Development of Islamic Civilization in Northern Nigeria: A case study of Katsina State, p 174 Volume 9.

¹³ The village is believed to be program with numerous spiritual charms to make it invisible and deterrence to attack. Even the name "Satiru" is believed to have been coined from the word *Sa turu turu*. Meaning a stirring village. Furthermore, they (Satirawa) believed their village Satiru is embedded with special powers to reveal any eventuality on the village before it happens.

¹⁴Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..." p5.

¹⁵Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..."

¹⁶Habibu Alhassan, Rashin jituwa Tsakanin mallaman satiru da Turawan Muklkin..."

communities in the area.¹⁷ This tradition have continued to the present, their expertise in occultism was integrated into their extra-economic endeavors, many of the scholars who are practitioners in this field have attain some economic independence than others due to the financial income they were able to make by clients who trooped to them from all parts of the state and beyond.

The monopolization of the occultist trade has also cultivated a certain respect bestowed on people who are one way or the other connected to Satiru progeny. They were looked as an element of fear, some people take measures not to offend a *Basatire* deliberately because he might have possesses one of these means of harming them.¹⁸ The belief in super natural powers was part of the factors that energize the Satiru men to face the authorities in 1906.¹⁹ The poise is still an element of proud by the Satiru descendants; it had provided them with the respect and charisma upon which other people portrayed an ordinary *Basatire*. Their expertise is acknowledged across the vast territory of north western Nigeria.

The occultist trade had contributed in the socioeconomic Wellbeing of the Satiru descendants;²⁰ it had enabled them to cultivate some respect and tolerance of the community in the area. However within the context of larger Sokoto Ulama's they were perceived as carriers of the same tradition that was to initiate their forefathers into conflict with the authority. The term *Budeji*²¹ is a prominent expression among other scholars in reference to the Satirawa occultist. It was express in an awful image to portrait the Satiru occultist as

¹⁷Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalausa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

¹⁸Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020. and Bello Dangero Dabaga..."

¹⁹Interview with Malam Hamidu, Gidan Giwa, aged, 65, interviewed at his residence on 01/05/2020.

²⁰ Interview with Malam Bawa Kaurar Mallam, Sabara, aged 50, Interviewed at his residence on 16/12/2019.

²¹ Interview with Sambo Waliyi, Sokoto, aged 83, interviewed at his residence Gidadawa ward, on 01/02/2020

contributors of an irrelevant social phenomenon to an Islamic community whose laws had banned such activities.

4.4 Non Challant Attitude to Western Education

The war with the Satiru community was spearheaded by the British colonial administration and it was the same establishment that came with the new formal system of education. Islamic societies were known to despise so many believes and innovations from the Christian west because of the historical background of the unreceptive relationship between the Christian church and Islamic religion.²² Therefore it is an established phenomenon for Muslims to despise ideas or innovations from the Christian believers. After the establishment of colonial administration in northern Nigeria, as part of the colonial government effort to provide the subjects with skills needed to consolidate colonial rule, intervention programs were introduced which include the establishing of schools to train locals meant for employment in the colonial civil service.²³

The colonial government did not led the first phase to promote Western Education (*Boko*) in northern Nigeria it was left for the Christian missionaries to handle the mantel of the task.²⁴ The Missionaries activities towards promoting western Education in Hausaland began in 1905 before even the attack on Satiru village in 1906. It was noticed that the effort was resisted by northern subjects especially areas of Hausa/Fulani speaking communities. But the emirs were tasked by the colonial administration to support the effort by enlisting their children to be

²² Islam predates Christianity in West Africa, and Christianity having being the religion of western colonialist had added the depisement of the faith amongst Muslim communities in West Africa. In Islamic principles Christianity is one of the two reveled faiths to the Jews that had been corrupted by late apostle which rendered the faith obsolete with the advent of Islam.

²³ S. W Junaidu, 'Resistance to Western Culture in the Sakkwato Caliphate: A Lesson to Generations Yet Unborn' in A. M. Kani and K. A. Gandi, (ed) '*State and society in Sokoto caliphate*' Usmanu Danfodiyo Sokoto, Gaskiya Corporation Limited, Zaria, 199'p241.

²⁴ I. M. Jumare, 'Some aspect of colonial Education policy in the Emirate Areas of Northern Nigeria, 1900-1960', paper presented at the international seminar on *the impact of colonialism on Islamic Education and institutions* centre for Islamic studies, university of Sokoto, 1988, P3

vanguard of this endeavor.²⁵ However, there are references made that; the aristocracy sent the sons of their former slaves instead of their blooded children.²⁶

The Satirawa despisement of western education can be traced to have evolved from the fact that; the system is being introduced by their furious enemies (White men). Furthermore it was observed by the Muslim communities of the Caliphate that, Christian missionaries were leading and operating the schools themselves. This further proves their allegation that western Education is part of the Christian crusade to convert the Muslim Ummah into Christianity. This interpretation is to have convinced many not only people of Satiru descent to despise western Education and not to enroll their children into formal schools. This phenomenon has survived up till the present with the only changes are that the numbers of households that are still on this notion have subsided to a meager of the initial size. The communities having substantial number of Satiru descent are still lagging behind in terms of school enrollment.²⁷ They for see any member of their community who enrolled his children into formal schools as an apostate who has submitted his next generation to the unbelievers.²⁸

Therefore, formal Education from the context of the Satirawa descent is an upshot of Christianity and who so ever enroll in the system has gave his contribution on the consolidation of *Kufur* in Muslim land.²⁹ This action is questionable before God on the Day of Judgment. They further argue that it also constitute brotherhood with unbelievers.³⁰ This interpretation of the status with regards to formal Education had been one of their principles (Early Satirawa) which had become entrenched in the norms and precious values of the

²⁵ I. M. Jumare, 'Some aspect of colonial Education policy in the Emirate Areas of Northern Nigeria...' P3

²⁶ S. W Junaidu, 'Resistance to Western Culture in the Sakkwato Caliphate...' p241.

²⁷ Interview with Dahiru Usman Rudu Gero..."

²⁸ Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi, (Head Master Runbuki Primary School)..."

²⁹ Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo, (Zarumman Fomfo), aged, 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

³⁰ Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

present Satirawa.³¹ They never enroll their children into schools and occasionally jeopardize any effort to establish or maintain such schools in villages where they constitute a majority.³² The current generation non Challant attitude towards western Education had its impact. While the other communities living in the area are enrolling at least on average scale the Satirawa low enrolment had created an imbalance ratio in the area as the Satiru descent were observed to have the lowest level of literacy in western Education in comparison to their colleagues.³³ The conception had made its impact as the Satirawa descendants were observed to have the lowest members in the political elite and other sectors requiring literacy.

4.5 Disinclination to Modern Social Amenities

Part of the legacies of Satiru revolt that made their presence in the community is the negative attitudes towards some necessities made available by modern technology. In their effort to despise any innovation or requisite that stem from the Western world (Europe and America) the large portion of the Satiru descendants were observed to shun many social amenities that other communities are struggling to be provided for.³⁴ Amenities such as Pipe burn water (*Ruwan Famfo*), many people of the community especially the older generation deliberately object to use pipe burn water, their specific reasons is still obscure but there are signs that the idea was developed out of hate to anything of western origin.³⁵ They felt the white man as an enemy and will continue to be an enemy therefore anything that has to do with him is not a

³¹Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi, (Head Master Runbuki Primary School)..."

³²Interview with Bala Anaruwa Danchadi, (Head Master Runbuki Primary School)..."

³³Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo, (Zarumman Fomfo), aged, 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

³⁴ Interview with Dahiru Usman Rudugero...' He narrated in the present democratic administration many communities are struggling to make contact with either their legislative representatives or council Chairmen lobbying for capital projects for their communities which includes schools, Hospitals and Rural Electricity. But Satirawa shun such efforts, and where such infrastructures are provided they are found not to be pleased or exultant with such developments.

³⁵Interview with Nasiru Umar, Danchadi, aged 39, at his residence on 10/12/2019.

necessity they passion. Most of the Satiru descendants elderly members use water fetch from local dug wells which are the main source of water for many rural dwellers.³⁶

Electricity, despite the poor dilapidation of Electrical infrastructure in most rural communities the Satirawa was already a nation who is not appreciating the use of electricity. Many young generation of the community would like to have electricity in their homes, but their elderly objected to its use.³⁷ A time the elders will sanction their families in their wills that, *Ko bayan raina, ban yarda ba, asa lantarki gidanga*³⁸ Meaning, I forbid the use of electricity in this home even after my death. They pressure their young not to submit and embrace modernity as it is a negative development there is no good from any innovation that came from the Whiteman (European/American).

With regards to cloths it is observed the Satirawa especially the older generation prefer the locally produced cloth *Sawaye* which can be use to produce different variety of outfits, *Arkilla*, *Gwado* or *Watse*³⁹ etc. Therefore these are the major clothing of the community elderly. They object to use most outfits from the modern varieties in the notion that, the products are from the Christian world.⁴⁰ However the impression was monopolized by the elderly community members who with time are diminishing while the younger generation are continuously shunning the idea to reserved only the locally *Sawaye* as genuine outfit.

³⁶ Interview with Bafashi Dandare Bodinga, aged 43, interviewed at his residence on 05/07/2022.

³⁷ Youth make the highest number of most communities in these areas, the younger generation of Satiru are the more liberal of the Satirawa therefore a large portion of them are subscribing to modern way of living despite strong objection from their parents.

³⁸ Some of the elders have observed that, on their absence the coming young generations are becoming vulnerable to embrace many of the ideas and innovations they despise. Therefore issuing verbal wills which they hope will serve as a standing order to their descendants became their last hope to preserve their ideology.

³⁹ Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁴⁰ Idris Yahaya, 'Resistance to British Colonialism in selected Hausa Poetry', *Sokoto Journal of History*, vol.2, June 2013,

The Satirawa especially from the first and the immediate past generation were believed to shun the use of automobiles as part of preserving their hate of anything that came from the western world. In many communities of northern Nigeria there are some who objected to use automobiles especially those in senior ages because of the dizziness they developed whenever they were transported by automobiles. But for people of Satiru descent these factors were further upheld with the idea that the technology that developed these automobiles came from the Whiteman.⁴¹

Therefore Satirawa became the vanguard of this idea in most villages covered by this research however the notion was a reservation that was entirely a tradition of the old generation of the community. The young generation of Satiru descendants failed to maintain this idea of shunning modern transportation facilities. The challenge of modern life had won over the current Satiru generation in this respect as some are farmers who transport their goods to southern part of Nigeria and beyond using trucks and vans.

Electronic devices, As the community was pre-occupied to maintained its norms and ideology electronic devices that have become a part of our daily life were not all that pleased by the Satirawa. The concept is still led by the elderly generation but it had a wider impact on the community because electronic devices had occupied important roles in way and manner man conduct his activities today. For instance some scholars of Satiru descents decline the use of Microphone during sermons, five daily prayers and *Tafsir*, because these electronic devices came from the western world in their opinion using them in religious practices will corrupt their deeds as null and void.⁴² Some have gone to the extent that nobody will switch on a

⁴¹ Interview with Bafashi Dandare Bodinga, aged 43, interviewed at his residence on 05/07/2022.

⁴² Interview with Nasiru Umar, Danchadi, aged 39, at his residence on 10/12/2019 and Dahiru Usman Rudu Gero..."

radio in their premises or presence.⁴³ They regard it as a satanic voice, developed by the Christian unbelievers to corrupt the Muslim world. However with regards to modern telecommunication device (GSM) despite its relevance in speeding communication between individuals Satirawa have a low patronage of the device. This conception was not an adhering of the elderly alone even some middle age members of the community are observed to have maintained such a conception either of no need to hold a phone device or dislike it because it is a Christian innovation which is the most formidable idea believed by their hosts.

The notion of objecting such amenities were concocted into Islamic interpretations on the legality, use and relevance of modern innovation by the Satiru scholars that anything from the Jews and Christians is forbidding to be use by a Muslim believer.⁴⁴ They (Satirawa) rested their points that such innovations are a product of the dearest enemies of Islam (Jews and Christians) therefore the Muslims should try as much to detest their usage and patronage as they are fulfilling an obligation expected of them.

In the reservation of their conservative norms and values the Satirawa in addition to the mentioned above also were observed to shun enrolment as public servants.⁴⁵ They consider salaries drawn from Public service as *Haram*, meaning none legal means of earning a living.⁴⁶ It is under such pretext some of their scholars reject alms given by civil servants because they regard their profession as patronage to Apostasy⁴⁷ and with time it will corrupt their spiritual reasoning and in turn their deeds will be null and void from the religious perspective.

⁴³ Interview with Nasiru Umar, Danchadi, aged 39, at his residence on 10/12/2019 and Dahiru Usman Rudu Gero..."

⁴⁴ Interview with Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

⁴⁵ Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo, (Zarumman Fomfo), aged, 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020. and Interview with Aminu Altine Dabaga, aged 42, interviewed at his residence on 01/05/2020.

⁴⁶ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020. see also Idris Yahaya, 'Resistance to British Colonialism in selected Hausa Poetry...' pp220-221

⁴⁷ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020 and Bala Bello Fomfo, (Zarumman Fomfo), aged, 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

The idea of discomfort with anything of Western origin had become entrenched in the ideology of many senior citizens of the Satiru descent. It is a key measurement module one can simply distinguish a person of Satiru descent from other non-Satiru descent.⁴⁸ They were believed to hold rigid ideas on these hypotheses therefore it became part of their emblem which no one is disputing in the area.⁴⁹ The Satirawa were pleased to be attached to these ideas of shunning social amenities and perceived themselves as a nation that despite the pressure of modernization they (Satirawa) have maintained their status as a Muslim community who have defied Christian oriented socio-economic development and will continue to do so.

4.6 Non observance of Ramadan fasting in line with the leadership of the Sokoto Sultanate Council

As an upshot of their reaction to the authority, the Satiru descendants were observed to have become leading proponents of the idea to rebel against proclamations often announced by the sultanate council in Sokoto for the observance of the Muslim Holy month of Ramadan and subsequent Sallah festivals.⁵⁰ The efforts to contravene the authorities have whooping impact on not only the Satiru descents but to the larger so called Hausa⁵¹ communities within the fringes of Sokoto Emirate Headquarters. Many have also joined the idea of going contrary with the aristocracy in some standing Islamic practices such as the observance of Ramadan, Id Prayers and Yearly reading of Islamic calendar. But the Satirawa were looked as the vanguard

⁴⁸Interview with Nasiru Umar, Danchadi, aged 39, at his residence on 10/12/2019.

⁴⁹Interview with Malam Abdullahi Kaura Dabaga, aged 55, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁵⁰Reported by almost all my informers. See also H.M. Maishanu and A.A. Sifawa, "Satiru factor in the socio-political history of colonial and post-colonial Sokoto..."

⁵¹In and around Sokoto city, it is a convictional belief that people of Fulani and Hausa descent constitute the majority of the citizens. However going by history of settlements in and around Sokoto it concludes many were formally integrated into the mainstream Hausa culture. Local histories are still been referred to in addressing the descent of communities in and around Sokoto city. Thus in issues of affiliation to sects and spirituality people from all ethnic background can be found; it is a matter of interest and belief not ethnic background. But the large portion of the Sokoto aristocracy and the intellectual community affiliate the Tijjaniya sect followers in Sokoto to people of Hausa descent.

of this practice of offending any religious event scheduled by the Caliphate custodians and their Ulama`s. for instance their none observance of the Ramadan fasting with the announcement made by the Sultan of Sokoto is well entrenched in their believe that, the sultan is in no position as the faithful Caliph and they are pleased only with the sighting of the Moon by their Ulama`s. This behavior made a profound impact in areas far beyond where the Satiru descendants were found.⁵² It is believed that the bulk of their scholars spread the idea to many students that received their classes therefore it became a behavior most commonly found in the area and referred to by the local community as ‘*Yanzundu*’⁵³(the extenders) *Ba diliya* in Arabic. The most distinguishing features of the Satirawa non observance of the Ramadan fasting from others like some parts of the Izala movement is that, they (Satirawa) were observed to extend the days of starting their fasting ritual, because the moon has to be sighted by their Ulama`s before they commence. This is why in most cases they also observed the Id `il fitir days after the larger community have done so.⁵⁴ While in the case of Izala fellowship and others they observed theirs prior to Sultanate council announcement and terminate the fast before the rest of the Muslims in Sokoto.

The none adhering to the sultanate announcement for this very important Islamic ritual (Ramadan) is seen by the Satiru scholars as a factor that reinvigorate their influence towards the conduct and affairs of their brothers the Satirawa. They felt it is a rightful deed to rebel the Caliphate institution of governance (Sultan) because of its brotherhood with the colonial administration and it was the same system native Nigerians inherit which maintained the mental of leadership after the colonial masters have left.

⁵²Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020.

⁵³ Because of the persistence of the behavior people named the practitioners of the idea as *Yan zundu*. Meaning a people who stretched the fasting period beyond the legal days. On the pretext that they were the rightful practitioners.

⁵⁴Interview with Malam Aliyu, Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 52, interviewed at his shop on 14/05/2022.

4.7 A Nation

The legacies of the revolt stir up a feeling of brotherhood amongst the descendants of Satiru community the idea was also an offshoot of a phenomena they were subjected to by their hosts. The Present Satiru communities are an integral part of the present Hausa community of Sokoto emirate. However their emphasis on certain aspect of values and culture had differentiated and exposed them to be identified differently from the other communities they lived with.

The Satirawa are a product of an ethnic blend that took place in the late era of the Sokoto Caliphate.⁵⁵ The community is a combination of Gobirawa, Kabawa, Zamfarawa, Katsinawa, Gimbanawa, Azbinawa (Azben) and Arawa that were blended into a single community by the circumstances of their historical experience.⁵⁶ They were not an alien ethnic group rather a nation formed by the challenges and reaction to the social and economic variations the Caliphate had to deal with at the last leg of the 19th century. The advent of the newly established British colonial administration added its weight to the crisis which enabled it to graduate into a flagrant issue in the history of northern Nigeria. The special Bond that became the community's identity is to be their Umbrella henceforth in social and economic interaction with other communities.⁵⁷ As such they developed certain characteristics that were observed affiliated to them such as:-

In social interaction they were observed to have much generosity to people of their descent than none Satirawa⁵⁸ and it is also observed they promote inter-marriage among themselves

⁵⁵Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

⁵⁶J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..." p30. See also A.S. Mohammad, "A Social Interpretation of Satiru revolt..." p164

⁵⁷Interview with Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁵⁸Group interview with Alhaji Usman Bagaya..." Aliyu Barade Rudu Gero [Baraden Rudu Gero]..." and Dahiru Usman Rudu Gero..."

above others.⁵⁹ The facet however could be traced to the attitudes of other communities towards the Satirawa which had inspired them to form a kind of brotherhood, unity and solidarity in their ordeal.

Their promotion of “*Basatire* first”⁶⁰ in some aspect of their endeavor is part of the delinquent behaviors that led them into confrontation with other people. The conflict has indirectly energized the community into a special Bond of relationship which is yet to be supersede in the

area.⁶¹ Therefore part of the conflict legacies in these social phenomena is well observed and acknowledged by other communities living amongst the Satirawa descent. It is what they referred to when making reference to the Satirawa unity as *Hausawan can sun Himu hadinkai*.⁶² The Satirawa were perceived as emblem carriers of genuine Hausa community in the area. In their mix are a large number of people who historically affiliate themselves to the *Fulbe sulbe* (Fulani) clan.⁶³

The Satirawa guild of necessity had contributed immensely in erecting barriers between the forces of integration and seclusion as such the Satiru descendant can be identified from other groups in the communities they lived.⁶⁴ Some could go to the extent of differentiating a Satiru

⁵⁹Group interview with Alhaji Usman Bagaya..., Aliyu Barade Rudu Gero [Baraden Rudu Gero] and Dahiru Usman Rudu Gero...”

⁶⁰ They promote Satiru brotherhood to the extend a Satiru subject can join a skirmishes that involved someone of Satiru descent without even clarifying the reason for the misunderstanding. His only green light and ground is, A Satiru man is being challenged physically therefore his assistance is heartily solicited.

⁶¹Interview with Muhammadu Harande (Magajin Madorawa), aged, 87, interviewed at his palace on 7/01/2023.

⁶²Interview with Dahiru Usman Rudu Gero...” narrated that on several occasions references are made to how Satirawa were observed to have unity and generosity between themselves over and above others in the area. Therefore people usually uttered such comments in dismay.

⁶³Interview with Malam Abdullahi Kaura Dabaga, aged 55, interviewed at his residence On 30/04/2020.

⁶⁴Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020.

descent from the rest of the population by his physical appearance.⁶⁵ But his character remains the prime actor that differentiates him from the others. `

4.8 Disregard to Authorities

Part of the early legacies of the revolt within the descendants of Satirawa was the habit of impudence to constituted authority. They maintained the idea of their forefathers that, what the British imperial establishment erected in Nigeria was an infidel authority.⁶⁶ Therefore pleasing with its presence is an act of apostasy and a faithful Muslim only option is to maintain a rebellious position against it as much as he could. The behavior covered a large extended area beyond where they constitute a majority. The descendants could be found scattered in a cluster of villages around Bodinga and Dange Shuni local Government areas and some satellite villages in other parts of present Sokoto, Kebbi and Niger State.⁶⁷ As a nation who were product of an internally displaced people they are now subjects not rulers in every community they reside.⁶⁸ But one observed phenomena which are part of the conflict legacy is that; they (people of Satiru descent) were problematic when it comes to obedience to both traditional and constitutional authority.⁶⁹ The behavior is believed to have evolved from the history of the role played by the authorities and the aristocracy whom the present generation is a descent of the generation that collaborated with the British in destroying their village.

⁶⁵ Interview with Bafashi Dandare Bodinga, aged 43, interviewed at his residence on 05/07/2022.

⁶⁶S.U. Lawal "The Challenges of the Subject-Peasantry to the Colonial State: The case of Satiru revolt of 1906..." p66.

⁶⁷ Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁶⁸In an interview with Malam Ummaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019. Reported that of all the villages in our study area none was headed by a person of Satiru descent, the Satirawa were once refugees or internally displaced persons and they avoided establishing a new settlement that will constitute only people of satiru descent because the authorities will not allow such to happen. Therefore in every community the Satirawa descendants are subjects not rulers.

⁶⁹ Interview with Aliyu Barade, (Baraden Rudu Gero) District Head of Rudu Gero, aged 52, Interviewed at his palace, on 17/12/2019.

The village heads of the host communities of Satirawa descendents are reported to have tabled many complains in respect to how Satirawa descent are being problematic to them than others.⁷⁰ The village head of Fomfo who is the custodian of the village of Dabagin dan Alhamdu which contained a large number of Satiru descent made several attempts to the fief holder of Bodinga to relieve him of the care of the village (Dabagin dan Alhamdu) because of their disrespect and belligerence to authority.⁷¹ Such attitudes are militating against social control of subjects by traditional rulers in areas they are observed to have constituted a majority.⁷² The traditional village heads were fearful of the behavior because it will attract even non Satirawa to join their ranks.⁷³ These negative attitudes have cost them the trust and respect of the traditional authority as the village heads became convinced of most accusation tabled before their courts in respect of Satiru descendants. Some local chiefs branded the Satirawa as natural trouble makers (*Hitina ga jinin su take*) such citation against Satirawa is traced back to the unpleasant situation local chiefs became of the Satirawa attitude towards them.⁷⁴

4.9 The Satiru Elite Reformation Purge

After the revolt and the subsequent destruction of the village the Nostalgia from the descendants of the survivors had manifested in many dimension one such phenomena observed so prominent within the elite of the descendents of Satirawa is the zeal to purify the community from all other low social ranking traditional and professional groups found in

⁷⁰ Group interview with Alhaji Usman Bagaya, Dahiru Usman and Aliyu Barade, (Baraden Rudu Gero) District Head of Rudu Gero...'

⁷¹ Interview with Bala Bello Fomfo, (Zarumman Fomfo), aged, 50, interviewed at his palace on 18/03/2020.

⁷² In Zoramawa a village under the district head of Bodinga a discontent with the Satiru community members had prevented the turbaning of a new village head because of the fear of their retribution.

⁷³ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020.

⁷⁴ Group interview with Alhaji Usman Bagaya, Dahiru Usman and Aliyu Barade, (Baraden Rudu Gero) District Head of Rudu Gero...'

northern Nigeria.⁷⁵ This effort to ginger the community and recast it in a format that will upgrade its prestige and eradicate any social and economic endeavor that will downgrade the community became part of its norms and values that evolved after the conflict. The reformation enabled them to distract themselves from certain groups and professional class such as; Butchers, Blacksmiths, Barbers and Magicians (*Gardawa*) However these Groups are traditionally being inherited from generation to generation in these part of northern Nigeria as such practitioners of these profession are a caste class of themselves.

The history of these professions is connected to lineage of slavery at least in areas of the former Sokoto Caliphate. This is the prime factor behind why the descendants of the survivors of the Satiru revolt tried as much they could to avoid joining any of the four professions. They for saw any connection with these professions will counter argue their standing proclamation that, *Mu ba Bayi Bane* (We Satirawa are not of slave descent) and argument that is debunked by many of the Caliphate elites. The community's reasons for debunking these groups are as follows.

Butchers, The Satiru descendants' elite were against intermarriage with butchers and enrolling in the profession despite the fact that before the revolt butchery was part of the economic endeavors of the community. But the new trend is curved out of the idea that, in many parts of northern Nigeria butchery is a traditional profession that was mainly reserved for descendants of slaves during the feudal era.⁷⁶ Infact the word *Barunje* in classical Hausa means Slave.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ During the feudal era it is an established tradition within the nomadic tribes especially Fulani that, Blacksmiths, Butchers, Barbers, traditional Musicians and Magicians (*Gardawa*) are considered part of the lower cadre of the society paralleled to slaves. Therefore intermarriage with them or joining their profession is despised generally by the Fulbe clan.

⁷⁶ Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022., Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019, Malam Umbaru Allah

Therefore they (Satirawa) are not Slaves and despise joining lineages with butchers who are certainly by descent slaves.⁷⁸ The habit was born out of the emotional conflict between the Satirawa descendants and Fulani cultural norm of despising same low ranking profession as reserves for descendants of slaves.⁷⁹ They for saw that as long as these groups are been considered occupiers of the lower ranking of the society they (Satirawa) will ever be careful not to connect lineage or join the profession. The rational was to purify the community as to look clean and pure as the Fulani sees themselves.

Blacksmiths, for Descendants of Satirawa, Blacksmiths profession is also considered a profession of people from the lower cadre of the society just as they were perceived by the Fulani clan. Therefore as part of the same effort to sanitized the Satiru descendants from all other caste cadres of the society the profession was caste out by the community despite before the revolt it was an integral part of their profession, infact there are reports that some of the survivors of the revolt escape being killed because they were away on the seasonal migration of smirthing Iron ore when the conflict took place.⁸⁰

The current generation of the Satiru community had in general avoided joining the profession which resulted in forcing them to solicit the services of smiths from other neighboring

Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo),aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019 and Malam Iliyasu, Tudun Bara (Gwarko), aged, 95, interviewed at his farm on 21/06/2020.

⁷⁷ Mahdi Ahmadu, *The Hausa Factor in the History of West Africa*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, pg6, 1978

⁷⁸Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa,aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

⁷⁹ Within the cultural norms of Fulani *Pulako*(Respected values of the Tribe)Butchers, Smiths, Barbers and Musicians are considered a low and spum professions that only a descendant of slave can engaged. Therefore these four constitute the most despised groups from the Fulani perspective

⁸⁰Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo),aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

communities who are not of same descent with them.⁸¹ It cost them a lot but as long as the motive is actualized the prize is worth it.

Barbers are part of the professions outcast by the Satirawa descendants all under same rational with Butchers and Smiths. Barbing is profession that attracts customers almost on daily basis because of human needs to makeup his body and attendees on every naming ceremony. There are certainly barbers in Satiru community before the revolt, however because of the lower cadre status of the profession and in order to avoid being ranked downed in the societal cadre the descendants of Satiru shun themselves from the profession. Some of the wealthy of the community have their fixed barbers who came from the neighboring communities to attend to them on weekly basis just as they are used to for the Fulani elites. This is what the rational aims to achieve (to be proud and feel being part of the society elite).

Magicians (*Gardawa*), In classical Hausa society *Gardi* is a profession manned by people considered to be Grimy of the society infact *Gardi* and Smiths (*Makeri*) going by the ancient tradition in Hausaland cannot marry outside their caste. The profession is been respected for expertise in Sorcery and traditional medicine. Their pre occupation with sorcery and claims to have spiritual link with spirits in addition to cultural nudity is what generated a kind of despisement from the rest of the society especially the Fulani stocks. *Gardi* are by tradition considered plantation slaves who are professionals in local medicine and sorcery.

The facet was part of the Satiru descendant's reaction towards the tradition Fulani militant *pulakohabit* which was observed by the Satirawa as a pillar upon which the Fulani community sees themselves above others. They (Satirawa) scarified a lot in the pursuance to level

⁸¹Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

themselves equal to every ethnic clan who felt they are above the ladder in the taxonomy of social ranking in western Sudan. The psychology behind the reformation was part of the effort to distance themselves from any notion that connects Satiru community both earlier and present to slavery. In areas of Bodinga and Dange Shuni Butchery, Barbing and Smirthing are broad economic activities practice by the majority but Satirawa have eclipsed themselves from the engagements despite the economic values attached to the professions. The move had become a cultural lag⁸², which economically had contradicted the norms of economic activity in the area. However, the forces of modernization and Economic predicaments are forcing the community to adjust to changes but not directly. The descendant of Satirawa claimed that, through inter marriages mostly by the new generation some are dating brides from other close communities who are butchers, Barbers, Smiths and *Gardi*⁸³, it had resulted that some Satiru households are now having their much younger generation practicing Butchery and Smirthing.⁸⁴ The practitioners of these professions who connect themselves to Satiru descent are sons of wives married outside the community.⁸⁵ The Satirawa considered these generation who are bridging their strict standing rules as byproduct of these inter marriages between descendants of Satirawa and non Satirawa in the area. However the elite who maintained the pressure of adhering to these rules are despite the challenges adamant for the idea to continue, they felt it is part of their spiritual responsibility to safeguard the trait because it had become an integral part of the revived Satiru descendant values that had elevated the descendants of the survivors as such their preservation is a crusade mandatory on every faithful *Basatire*. The forces of change are attacking vehemently but their resilience to these values is of equal force.

⁸² A pattern of social behavior which despite its conflict with norm values the publicists continued the practice.

⁸³ Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

⁸⁴ Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

⁸⁵ Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

4.10 Intellectualism

Satirawa had the highest number of Qur'anic Islamic scholars in the entire area that made-up our study field. It is a widely accepted and known phenomenon that most people in the area had, or are studying under one or more scholars of Satiru descent.⁸⁶ It is a field they have unofficially monopolized and not challenged by any other in the area. There is a popular opinion amongst scholars that it was the level of scholarship attained by the Satirawa fore fathers that enabled them to confront the Sokoto aristocracy and have the feeling that they (Satirawa) are knowledgeable just as any other member of the Caliphate intellectual community is.⁸⁷

Scholarship is an integral part of the modern day Satirawa descent identity⁸⁸ it had made a profound impact in the area because as the major heads of *Makaraton Allo* you find large proportion of the villages studying under them.⁸⁹ This enabled scholars of Satiru descent to disseminate their ideology and notion with regards to the legitimacy of Democratic rule or submitting to such system of governance to students who attend their *Qur'anic* lessons or advance Islamic literature.

Their Ulama's foresee the Sokoto aristocracy especially the Sultan as collaborator in an infidel system of Governance either in military administration or liberal Democracy.⁹⁰ For them both two constitute a pair (*Dagutu*) meaning a deluding system of governance which sole aim is to derailed the Muslim Ummah from the truth path.

⁸⁶Interview with Malam Hamidu, Gidan Giwa, aged, 65, interviewed at his residence on 01/05/2020.

⁸⁷Interview with Ali Bature, Gidan Yadu, aged 85, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

⁸⁸ Interview with Buban Jekada Madorawa,(Buba Magini), aged, 75, at his residence on 07/01/2023.

⁸⁹ Interview with Buban Jekada Madorawa,(Buba Magini), aged, 75, at his residence on 07/01/2023.

⁹⁰ For the Satiru descendant, the same forces that destroyed their village in 1906 are still controlling the levers of power in Nigeria. They foresaw the Caliphate authority had been given an automatic recognition in the daily affairs of the nation right from the policy of indirect rule which raised the aristocracy from the ashes of defeat to the new political order under the PaxBritannica.

Therefore the revolt have left its legacy on the current Satirawa with regards to intellectualism as they have successfully integrated the rigid interpretation of certain Islamic injunctions as interpreted by their fore fathers and are crusading the idea to students attending their classes which eventually is prospected to have impact in the near future.

Intellectualism had become a channel through which the Satiru scholars recruit non Satirawa into their beliefs and adherence to their strict Islamic interpretation.⁹¹ Some people joined the Satirawa in none observance of the Ramadan fasting and *Id* celebration due to the influence of Satiru scholarship in their areas. Therefore intellectualism is what generate some respect for the community and also provide them with a platform to professed their norms and values across other communities who the factor of influence has penetrated deep into their social setting as well.⁹²

4.11 Xenophobia

One of the social upheaval that constitute part of the Satiru legacies was the facet of racism, the demography of the earlier Satiru community and its present descendants was composed of diverse ethnic groups with the exception of *Fulbe*.⁹³ The emergence of the circumstance was a core incidence, the bulk of the Caliphate aristocracy and its leading Ulama's were of *Fulbe* descent.⁹⁴ However, the conflict against Satiru community was led by the British colonial Government with the support of the Caliphate leadership. These alliance which faced the

⁹¹ Through scholarship Satiru scholars have successfully indoctrinate large portion of students in some areas of western Sokoto city.

⁹² Having the largest *Makarantun Allo* in these areas this factor enabled people of Satiru descent to galvanize respect within the community as Malams.

⁹³J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..."pp29-30.It was observed that ethnic groups in the earlier Satiru community were composed of people from mainly Hausa ethnic groups who era identified in the corpses left after the battle of Satiru. Tribal marks of; Gobir, Kebbi, Zamfara, Katsina, and other such tribal marks. Not a single Fulani joined them.

⁹⁴ Core-incidentally, the Sultan, Wazir, Magajin Gari, Galadiman Gari and some Scholars within Sokoto city are Fulani by ethnic descent. Some critics of the Caliphate social setting are criticizing these ranking as the whole jihad were a Fulani jihad because a substantial number of the flag bearers are Fulani as well.

Satirawa won the battle but were unaware that, their action was to further promote the habit of detestation of first the British and secondly the aristocracy who are majority from Fulani ethnic group.⁹⁵

The present Satiru community was observed to have maintained that culture of despising people of Fulbe descent especially those in authority and others who are uphold to the values of Fulbe culture. The facet evolves even before the advent of colonial administration.⁹⁶ Satiru community from its early inception is reported to have denounced slavery and for most observers the slave owning class of the Caliphate was heavily dominated by people of Fulbe descent a core incidence that further exaggerated the hate for people of Fulbe descent. The Xenophobic culture within Satiru descendants has become an integral part of their behavior and none seems to refute that. They are of the opinion that in this part of Nigeria the classification of people status began with the Fulani as the occupiers of the first class position followed by Hausas and others while the slave classes were the occupants of the bottom line of the ladder.⁹⁷

Although this stratification was not official but their xenophobic character was in line to deter this societal arrangement.⁹⁸ They abominate any interaction where Fulani or their language (Fulfulde) is the subject and in their reservation they usually utter the word *Mu Babayin Kowa bane*⁹⁹ meaning we are not of slave descent. The Xenophobic behavior had

⁹⁵Interview with Garba Nbalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

⁹⁶Interview with Malam Aliyu, Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 52, interviewed at his shop on 14/05/2022.

⁹⁷Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa, aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

⁹⁸Interview with Garba Nbalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

⁹⁹ Within the areas of north western Nigeria, the slave owning class during the Caliphate era was predominantly Fulani. Therefore people unofficially build a reputation that if you are a Fulani by descent your progeny had escaped slavery in the past. But for other Hausa ethnic groups there are every possibility that once upon a time their ancestors have experienced slavery in one way or the other. In conversation with Satirawa descendants they usually utter this statement in order to convince you

made a profound impact in the day to day life of the Satiru descent. It played a leading role in the way and manner they handle other contesting issues with their hosts and neighbors.¹⁰⁰ For instance almost on annual basis they contested the former land of Satiru with village of *Sabara* part of their resilience to use violence in the contest is that *Sabara* is predominantly a Fulani village¹⁰¹ therefore they uphold the idea that they are confronting the same ethnic group which had through history been a tormenting figure of the Satiru community.

From the Satiru perspective other Hausa ethnic groups such as Gobir, Kebbi, Zaria, Katsina and Kano were brothers in ethnicity¹⁰² but they have succumb to the aristocracy therefore lost their ethnic pride and now constitute a pair with the Caliphate aristocracy.¹⁰³ Xenophobia towards Fulani ethnic group is considered a moral act within the Satiru descent, all other improper acts within the context of the behavior is considered legal and appreciable to them. However people of Fulbe descent were also indirectly stirred up by the behavior of Satirawa, they interpreted the notion as charging their ethnic group with racism. Therefore Xenophobia became another variable nursing hate and possibly violence in some cases.

Xenophobic impression within the descendants of the Satiru community is condole because they for see it as part of their effort to express their tribal (Hausa) pride and to counter the believed by some that, the Fulani are the superior ethnic group in the area. But having allowed a substantial number of them to uphold the behavior it had created from the perspective of the

that they, (Satirawa) are no bound by any law to submit to the wishes or authority of the aristocracy whom they branded pure Fulani.

¹⁰⁰The strive to repute identifying them with slavery or servitude to any authority was emborded by this behavior. Simple issues of land or crops dispute could be exaggerated to hostile level by the Satirawa such behavior are bond with their concept of Xenophobia.

¹⁰¹Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo),aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

¹⁰² As Hausas by descent The Satirawa looked on them as brothers therefore cultivate some respect not deserve by Fulani.

¹⁰³Interview with Alhaji Shehu Umar Hausawar Maiwa,aged, 51, at his residence on 14/05/2022.

Fulani that Satirawa are the most racist people in the area.¹⁰⁴ Beside the usual discontent with the Satirawa which happened on occasional ground, xenophobia is the leading factor that drives the descendants of the Satiru community into quarrel with People of Fulani descent in the areas.

4.12 Satiru Community as an Academic Research Variable

The Satiru revolt as it became generally known had attracted a wider coverage by academicians both traditional and professionals. It has more attraction to scholarly works more than the Giginya battle where the fate of Sokoto Caliphate was decided in 1903. The topic has been interpreted from all context of academic research covering both the Capitalist method of research and socialist interpretation as well. The revolt had attracted numerous write-ups in respect of the Satiru conflict. It had made impact not only domestically but international whenever resistance and revolt during colonial Africa is discussed Satiru revolt is made reference to.

The alacrity of the Satirawa to face British colonial authority in a military show down with a staggering fatality on both sides was to have enriched the research topic and allowed for different approach on the variable.

4.13 The Land factor on the persistent of Satiru Legacies in the study Area

Satiru village was established on the fief land of Danchadi district which was under Gwandu emirate by distribution of Caliphate territory after the 1804 Jihad. Throughout the period of the village growth there wasn't any attempt to checkmate the establishing of the village at that

¹⁰⁴Interview with Malam Bawa Kaurar Mallam, Sabara, aged 50, Interviewed at his residence on 16/12/2019.

particular time.¹⁰⁵ After the battle of Satiru a curse was pronounced by Sultan Attahiru II on the land that constitutes Satiru.¹⁰⁶ The proclamation objective worked because since 1906 when the battle took place there wasn't any erection or Agricultural activity on the land until recently.¹⁰⁷ The land by virtues of state law is an integral part of the land of the Nigerian Federation.¹⁰⁸ But the status of the land had been another key player in the mutation of the Satiru legacies. Therefore the land was viewed in three different perspectives: For the descendants of the Satirawa, the land is their ancestral property and therefore they are the rightful owners of the land. The Government which defeated their great grandparents was not the rightful owner of the land because the defeat was not an action that completely obliterated them from the earth. Therefore they still uphold to the concept that the land where the former village of Satiru was once situated is their rightful property.¹⁰⁹

The second group is the Fulani who are the second most populated people in the area who consider the land of Satiru as part of the Forest reserve which is part of the larger land belonging to the State.¹¹⁰ Therefore they have every right to graze the land and use it if necessary as any other person is free to do.¹¹¹ In addition they objected to any erection of House or farmland on the site¹¹² because it is a government forest reserve. This notion is their

¹⁰⁵There wasn't any record or verbal information reporting that the villages adjacent to Satiru objected the establishing of the village neither protested to any fief or local chief the erection of the village by Malam Siba. The unrest that emerge was after the discontent with the authorities have began.

¹⁰⁶ H.M. Maishanu and A.A.Sifawa, "Satiru factor in the socio-political history of colonial and post-colonial Sokoto..."p163, See also J.S. Hogendorn, and E.L. Paul, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance..."p5 and S.U. Lawal: An Icon of scholarship and public services..."p70.

¹⁰⁷Interview with Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

¹⁰⁸I.M. Jumare, "Land Tenure in the Sokoto Sultanate of Nigeria " PhD Thesis, North York, Ontario Canada, 1995, p128.

¹⁰⁹Interview with Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

¹¹⁰ I.M. Jumare, "Land Tenure in the Sokoto Sultanate..." p128.

¹¹¹Interview with Malam Ummaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

¹¹²Interview with Garba Nabalu (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

conceptual idea which they formerly stand for in the crisis that resulted with regards to the land of former Satiru village with the other communities.

The third group is the aristocracy which is embedded with the custody of the land in the area. From their perspective the land of the former village is a legal property of the state. Therefore the colonial proclamation on land and the subsequent defeat of the Satirawa have rendered the land as state property. These three categories of contestants to the land are the vanguard of the entire crisis affiliated to the land issue. The Satirawa in their notion of the idea that the land belongs to them postulated that; their forefathers were the owners of the land because the village (Satiru) was curved on the site and the defeat does not constitute a rightful procedure that takes away their claim to the land. Therefore descendants of Satirawa from Rumbuki village made several attempts to erect wells and curve farmlands on the site an action that resulted into clashes with Fulani from the village of Sabara and other villages. Such clashes led to fatalities because they occur almost on annual basis with the Satirawa insisting on their claim that the land is theirs and reserve the right to utilize it.

The Fulani as earlier mentioned objected to the erection of any physical means in utilizing the land of former Satiru village.¹¹³ Some of the reasons they advanced is that, Satiru was a village established at the turning end of the 19th century, while their villages were already well established before Satiru. Therefore the defeat of the Satirawa and destruction of their village have reverted the forest to its former position before Satiru was curved.¹¹⁴ Such claims and

¹¹³ Interview with Garba Nabal (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019. who said that, the Fulani as pastoralist are objecting the development of the land into farmlands and Houses because it is the largest grazing reserve along the Dange/Shuni and Bodinga local Government areas. If it got lost to development they have to move as far as Tureta areas for grazing which is a distant area from the site.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

counter claims are happening in sequence which is a clear indication of how each part remains consistent to its idea.

The growing population of the area is advancing the crisis; it was observed that some fief holders in the areas are also on the habit of secretly selling plots¹¹⁵ of land carved from the forest reserve of Satiru. These actions are also encouraging others to attempt getting a share of theirs from the land. Furthermore, the land had in recent time been used by pastoral Fulani escaping from the carnage of Bandits in Zamfara and other areas of eastern Sokoto¹¹⁶ as a safe haven before the advent of the rainy season upon which they migrated back to their areas. Thus Satiru forest is caught in the middle between the forces of history and those of current necessity driven by challenges to sustain a livelihood.

The land is now a contesting ground between adamant Satiru descendants who want to develop the site and the Fulani's who want it preserved as a forest.¹¹⁷ The aristocrats are also up surging the crisis because as representatives of the authority in the area they misused their power to siphon public property for themselves. The two other contesting parties (Satirawa and Fulani) are well aware of the aristocracy's behavior it made them to further advance their points in the crisis. This stalemate led to the fatality that occurred almost on annual basis between the two groups (Satirawa and Fulani).¹¹⁸ The crisis is prospected to continue unless there is a meaningful intervention from the Government and other community leaders in the area. The whole communities (Satirawa and Fulani) are going through a population explosion

¹¹⁵ A unanimous informer narrated to me that the two senior fief holders in the area are selling part of the land without Government authorization.

¹¹⁶ Within the past ten years, the forest reserve had received several migrant Fulani pastoralist escaping from banditry activities in Zamfara and eastern parts of Sokoto with their herds for safety.

¹¹⁷ The two communities have stand to their ground and the crisis is threatening the continued core existence of the communities in the area. It had revive a leap in the history (Satiru conflict) of the areas

¹¹⁸ Interview with Muhammadu Dandi Dabaga, aged 51, interviewed at his residence on 16/3/2020.

and resources to sustain their communities are becoming scarce,¹¹⁹ therefore the conflict could be looked from the perspective of struggle for control of resources in addition to its historical position as a crisis view point which the Satiru descendants are still parading it.

The land factor had accelerated a kind of communal clash in the area which happens on the onset of every rainfall especially beginning from the 1970s mostly by farmers who their farms are bordering the reserve who tried to expand their farmlands by taking its part.¹²⁰ As time goes on the clashes took new dimension in 2018 a homicide took place in the area as a result of arm clash between Satirawa descendants of Rumbuki village and pastoral Fulani of Sabara the victim is of Satiru decent¹²¹, the crisis resulted in the arrest of the Sabara village head and some youth in the area.¹²² The incidence raised tension in the area as villagers of Sabara coo den their village to the fief holder of the area (district head of Bagarawa) whom they accused of siphoning part of the forest reserve for his personal gain.¹²³

Another much later incidence is an attempt to erect a local well in the forest reserve by men from the same Rumbuki village in 2020, men from Sabara village distract and chase away the workers the incidence raises tension in an already volatile area.¹²⁴ Such clashes are occurring almost on annual basis and led to fatality on several occasions while some ended on long

¹¹⁹ The very site once the Satiru village was established was the most fertile land in the area after the marshy belt that is situated some few hundred meters to west of the site. The rest of the vast land is made up of rocky hard sand and semi arid bone dried land.

¹²⁰ Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

¹²¹ Interview with Dangara Buda, village Head of Kalansa Rafi, aged 53, interviewed at his residence on 14/12/2019.

¹²² Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

¹²³ Interview with Malam Umbaru Allah Yasawwakama Musulmi Wahala (Bakashan Ruwan Fomfo), aged 82, Sabara on 10/12/2019.

¹²⁴ Interview with Mallam Bello Dangero, Dabaga, aged 65, interviewed at his residence on 30/04/2020.

court proceedings that ended some cases at least temporary before such cycle of events re-occur.¹²⁵

4.14 Conclusion

The Satiru conflict gave birth to a social phenomenon known as the legacies, it was an emotional

Reaction to the aftershock of the obliteration of the Satiru community using force. The Legacies were the ideals that every average Basatire is proud of and were also the principles that gave his community the respect it enjoyed no matter how that is been portrayed by others. However the same legacies are the driving force of conflict between the descendants of the Satirawa and the communities adjacent to them and the authority.

However on the part of the aristocracy which is played by the sultanate council issues relating “Satiru” or its legacies are not plausible they are considered an issue dealt with by the colonial administration and that had been it done since.

¹²⁵Interview with Garba Nabal (Bala Kano) Takatuku, aged, 61, Interviewed at his residence on 15/12/2019.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

5.1 Summary

The Satiru conflict enjoyed wide coverage by both academics and local historians; it is an unfortunate event of Northern Nigerian history that has left its legacy. The conflict can be interpreted from different perspectives. The idea of class, racial, and intellectual struggle can all fit in interpreting the Satiru conflict. The evolution of the crisis can be traced in the economic, political and strategic condition of the Caliphate from the mid 19th century. It was observed that certain key principles of the Sokoto jihad had become neglected by the Caliphate authority, therefore re-action by commoners from the inaction of the leaders is eminent.

Satiru village emerged as part of these upshots of the changing pattern of how the then leadership of the Caliphate was running the affairs of the state in relation to condition of the common man. The Satirawa erect their village to serve as a safe haven from slavery, it therefore became a citadel for rebellions people with servile origin. The Caliphate leadership and large portion of its intellectuals perceived the community as Rebels who are against an Islamic legal authority therefore fighting them is lawful from the perspective of Islamic judicial injunctions.

The social factors behind the conflict are attributed to the social position of a commoner in Sokoto Caliphate. The Caliphate society is classified into five social strata's of the population. The aristocracy, scholars, artisans, commoners and slaves. Satiru communities from the perspective of the aristocracy are under the slave cadre of the Caliphate ranking. But the Satirawa were vehemently objecting this facet, they felt they are free citizens of the Caliphate

therefore deserve all respect and privileges enjoyed by the free members of the Caliphate society. The misunderstanding that developed between the Satirawa and the authorities are a product of the relationship between the two, the crisis could have been avoided but the non compromising position of the two groups led to physical combat that took place. The class struggle nature of the conflict can be interpreted as a struggle between serfs and nobles. The aristocracy during the last decades of the nineteenth century was preoccupied with issues relating to succession disputes, rebellions and outside threats to the existence of the Caliphate. These hitches are resource intensive therefore institution of slavery became part of economic measures that will provide the aristocracy the means and resource to confront these challenges. The Satirawa vehemently confront the Caliphate leadership on the accusation of massive enslavement of the subjects just for their appeasement, not justifiable within Islamic context.

The crisis between Satiru community and the Caliphate aristocracy was hastened by standing policy of the Caliphate authority not to listen to the Satiru grievances, or to intellectually discuss their points. The Satiru intellectuals were upset with this policy; they felt they are on average to any other scholar in Sokoto metropolis therefore the attitude of the authority stem from the social ideology of slave and master relation.¹ The Caliphate leadership felt they (Satirawa) as slaves are nobody to be listening and discuss sensitive issues of this nature with them.

Therefore, the onset for the crisis was set and advanced by the attitude of the Caliphate leadership while the Satiru community was ever receiving new comers with similar

¹ They are made to believe as slaves or descendants of slaves they are not in position to be listening to buy the Caliphate authority or Ulama.

grievances against the Caliphate.² The crisis was about to change the pattern of relationship between the noble and lower ranking of the society when a much powerful force³ came in and was amalgamated into the crisis. The events leading to the physical combat with the Satirawa were allotted by the authorities in order to build a pretext for eliminating them. The Satirawa from their perspective of events were further convinced of the idea that the Caliphate leadership was on a verge of bad intention with its treaty with the British colonial authority. They foresaw the treaty a final conviction that, the Caliphate leadership is now an integral part of an infidel establishment on a crusade to disseminate Christianity in Muslim land.

The Satirawa became satisfied that their old adversary is led by no other people than a nation whose preoccupation is now rested on the accusation of material wealth. They are eager to prevail even if the Muslim society will be led astray. Therefore their earlier stand on the Caliphate leadership is equitable and legal from the Islamic perspective. The Caliphate leadership was lucky to have integrated the British colonial authority in taking a lead in confronting the Satiru community.

The idea of a coming Mahdi was a general phenomenon in western Sudan⁴, but diehard believers like the Satiru community took the idea into practical application going by the level of scholarship its Ulama's had attained and the threats by European penetration into the

² Satiru community was estimated to contain at least 5000 to six thousand by some estimates. A village just ten years old by the time of the battle in 1906 to have contained such a large number of people, there must be a neglected factor behind such a large population explosion. In talking with Satiru descendants they were of the notion that slaves folk to in Satiru because of the unilateral freedom proclaimed by the village leaders.

³ British colonial authority.

⁴ The idea of a coming Mahdi is entrenched in the religious believes by many within the Islamic world. The contention was who could be the real Mahdi, the epoch of his emergence is believed to be a season of repeated crisis and counter crisis, therefore the emergence of European penetration in to Africa especially during the colonial conquest was seen as the rightful time for the emergence of Imam Mahdi. It was this conviction that was exploited by many scholars declaring themselves as the expected Mahdi. It was believed even Sultan Attahiru I embraced the concept while on route to Burmi after he lost the battle to British forces at Sokoto.

Caliphate at that particular time. The Battle to obliterate Satiru community succeeded only in dispersing the Satirawa across a vast region⁵ that was part of the Caliphate territory but the appetite to obliterate their ideology failed. The Satirawa descendants emerged with their forefathers' ideology and philosophy.

The crisis legacies were mutated by the zeal of the Satirawa descendants not to forget and forgive the struggle of their ancestors. They felt it was a deliberate will not to understand the ideas and facts promulgated by their great grand parents because of their servile background and the madcap of those in authority then. The Caliphate leadership succeeded in marqueing the Satirawa and their descendants as a nation of rebellious occultist whose only reservation is instigating violence by challenging a constituted authority without genuine fact or religious injunction. Therefore the version of events with regards to Satiru conflict from the authorities' perspective is no other than, an act by the state to suppress a rebellious community challenging the powers of the state.

5.2 General Conclusion

In conclusion, the Satiru Uprising, which occurred, at the very beginning of the British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria was part of a series of antiphon by the Sokoto Caliphate society to a number of changes that were already marking their presence from the mid 19th century. The crisis is one of similar conflicts of its kind, from east Africa to the West. However the impact and legacies of Satiru conflict differ from other revolutionary and nationalist struggles that occurred within the same period. In Eastern Africa, the Maji Maji Rebellion, the Herero Massacre , Bai Bureh resistance movement in, Sierra Leone, and the Samore toure`s resistance movement against French colonial conquest in the Sene-Gambian

⁵ From Satiru the Satirawa were scattered across most of north western Nigeria. In places like the present Kano, Niger, Zamfara, and Kebbi state. There are communities that descent from Satiru village.

region. These conflict were carried out on the platform of rigid nationalist feeling, therefore they covered certain ethnic groups as movers of the struggle with the sole aim of resisting the presence of the foreign alien in their lands.

The legacies left by these conflicts are predominantly the call for the payment of reparation with regards to the suffering of the victims and the impact of the suppression on the demography of the victim's environment. Colonialism and time have taken their toil, the descendants of the victims are only echoing of enticements and apology to bury the chapter forever. The Satiru conflict varies from the above forgoing crises. The components for the crisis were already in position before the colonial conquest of Sokoto between the Caliphate authority and Satirawa. The Satirawa made their case before the Caliphate that, they will resist any attempt in forcing them to look as servile therefore they refused to provide their labor for the Caliphate plantations and their scholars continued to support such notions in the context of displaying their free status.

The Satiru crises was a combination of economic and social upheaval which was further exaggerated by the level of literacy attained by the Satiru scholars, in Satiru men like Siba and Abdulqadir Maikaho were professional scholars that could be compared with any other scholar at that particular time. But the Caliphate policy of downgrading people from such level must have upset the Satiru scholars to continue infuriating the crises to their advantage. Therefore the conflict became littered with intellectual revolutionary contents and blue color peasant grievances that became the emblem of the struggle between the Satirawa and the authority. The most distinguishing features of the Satiru conflict is that, although Satirawa lost the battle in 1906, but the scores were still not settled between them and the authorities. The prime movers of the conflict are still visible within the areas that hub descendant of Satirawa

and their ideology have ventured beyond the areas of Bodinga and Dange- Shuni Local Governments.

The dynamic of the crisis have left its legacies covering a vast area of north western Nigeria and beyond, many scholars in the field of Sufism and Izala movements are replicating ideas similar to that advance by the Satiru community. The custodian of the Caliphate were much appease with burying all accounts with regards to the Satiru crisis, this policy had survived to date and had not much help calm the crisis from being part of the social trauma of the communities in the former Satiru area. The communities that constitute what became the descendants' of Satirawa are still upholding to issues not settled by the defeat of their forefathers. Issues with regards to the faith of their former village land are still stirring violence which is affiliated to the left over of the conflict.

The Demography of the area although contains a large number of other none Satirawa but the weight of their presence (Satirawa) have pulled the scale in their favor they monopolized many aspect of social and economic interaction in the area an advantage which enabled them to disseminate their ideology or sympathy to their course. However an average Satiru descendant is found to be discomfort with any affiliation to Satiru because they felt it is an offensive notion concocted to upset them. The Satiru conflict and the nature of its legacies have become deep rooted in the sociology of the area, the crisis was meant to have been settled in 1906 with their defeat and destruction of the village, but the colonial authority were hoodwink by the power of the state military that, Satiru uprising had been dealt with and the reputation of the West African Frontier Force had been re-established. However what was reestablished was the Satiru ideology in a much wider context, from the ashes at Satiru a new

Battle scheme was set that of the impact of Satiru legacies in the rural areas of Bodinga and Dange Shuni local Governments of Sokoto State and beyond.

This work is an attempt to fill in the existing gap of knowledge with regards to Satiru conflict, the much works on the subject felt to dilute other elements behind the unusual behavior of the Satirawa which continued to the present generation. This attempt was able to identify some factors behind the radical nature of the present Satiru community as equally to their forefathers. In conclusion the area of the study is found to be conducive to host people with fanatic ideology.

The significance of this research is that, it had identified a host of villages that are hubs for descendants of the Satiru community and they uphold the ideas, morals and ethics of their great-grandfathers who confronted the combined British colonial authority and the Sokoto Caliphate leadership during the early days of colonial administration in northern Nigeria. In addition the research was able to identify the sources of some local radical ideas in respect to some villages' rebellion on the sultanate council especially on Ramadan fasting observance and Eid celebrations. These entire phenomenons were a product of the legacies of the satiru conflict. As they became entrenched within these identified communities the (legacies) are prime movers of much of dissent and law violation experienced within the communities.

The Satirawa were observed to super head the spur of law defilement in the area and they have exalted much on certain aspect of the law that are criminal and disrespect to authority. The communities hosting the descendants of Satirawa are traditionally attached to their local fief holders; therefore they (communities) obliged to their arbitration and respect them. However in contrast the descendants of the Satirawa are on the opposite, their submission to

rules and norms are not assured. Divergence to local norms and the law is an action of pride for the Satirawa and that had been their most distinguishing features of their nation.

This research is a contribution to scholarship on the basis it had identified the extend suppression of Satiru descent by the use of military might had left along lasting legacy that carries all the features and emblems of the suppressed generation. In addition it had produced a people that remain defiant and continue the struggle using ideological tunes as weapons of war with the authority.

The Satiru episode in northern Nigerian History had attracted much attention by scholars but the legacies of the conflict and the level they had influenced the demography of the areas covered by this research had never been given much attention. Therefore it is a contribution on this path for scholars, Security agencies, traditional Community leaders, the Government and policy makers.

The villages identified hosting substantial numbers of the Satirawa descendants are a volatile environment with a tendency to host people with fanatic ideology. Their acquaintance with violating law and belligerence to other community members is a fertile condition to attract people with criminal intent especially those with religious ideological pretexts to become fanatics.

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APPENDIXES

Fig 1; The West African frontier Force in a Parade mode, the composition of the rank and file could be seen consist of natives only while the officer commanding the parade on horseback is white British

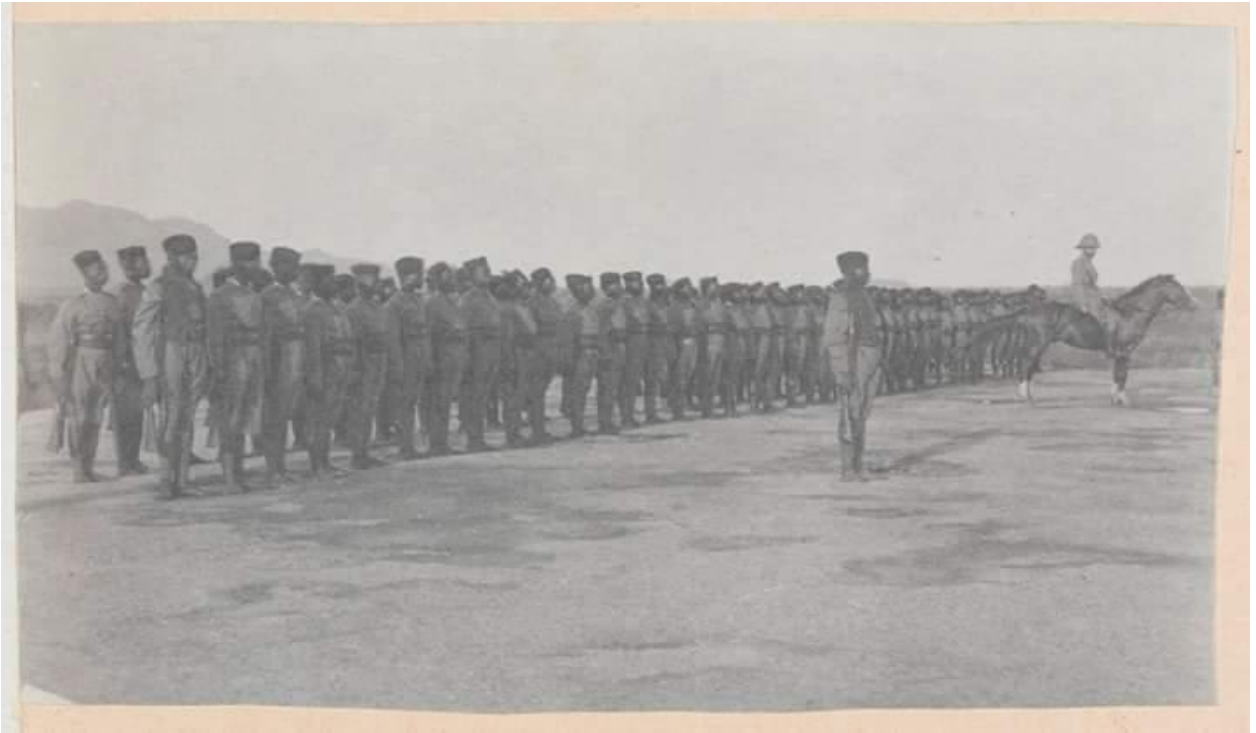


Fig.2: West African frontier force field Gun unit, a typical of the 75 mm, same was used to attack Satiru on 10th March 1906



Fig.3; West African Frontier Force, the Maxim Gun could be seen on the background some of these men might have taken part in the Satiru campaign or knew comrades who fought in the battle

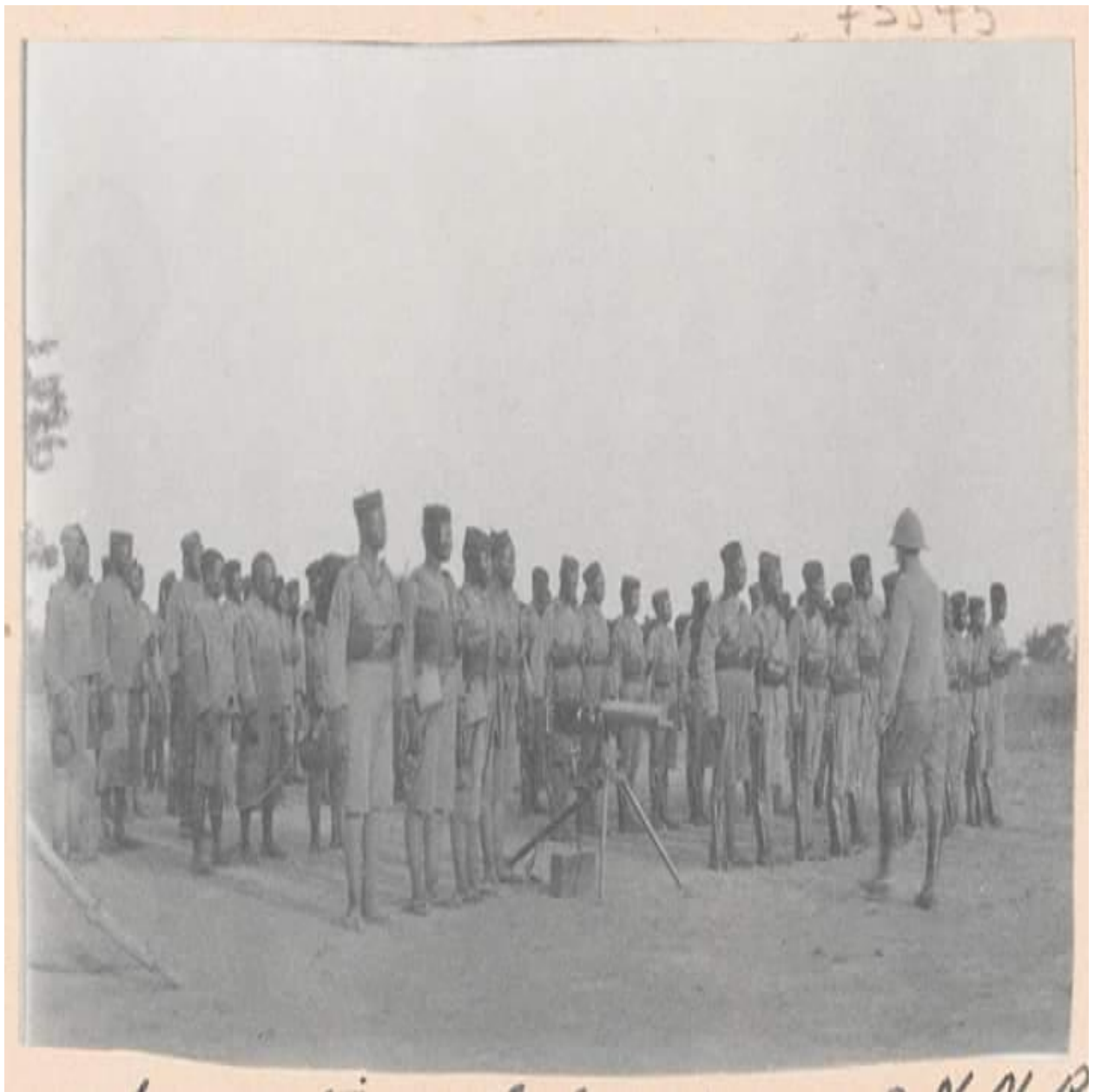


Figure 4 The Site where Satiru village once stood, the tree in the background is ficus (*Binji*); while the village in the distance is Tsomau the village Satiru men killed Malam Yahaya the last action that set the stage for the conflict



Figure 5; Site of the Village South west, this is the direction most of the survivors fled after fleeing the Battle ground, in the far distance is Dabaga village their first call to hide



Fig 6; the remnant of a Burst furnace at the site where the village once stood a testimony of the level of craftsmanship of the Satirawa before the destruction of their village



Fig.7; The edge of the site of Satiru village northeastward. This is the direction the West African Frontier Forces attacked the village on 10th March 1906. The vegetation of the area might have changed from what it used to be in early 20th century due to the changing climate pattern, the soil although rich for Agriculture but turns to hot baked during the dry season as seen on the background contrary to local believe that it is obsolete for Agriculture.



Note fig, 1, 2 and 3 are courtesy of Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto. While the pictures on fig, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were taken on 28th March 2020, during a field work visit by the author on the guidance of a local informer.

