

History of West Africa

VOLUME TWO

Second Edition

Edited by

J. F. A. Ajayi

Professor of History, University of Ibadan

and

Michael Crowder

Visiting Professor, Institute of Commonwealth Studies,

University of London



Longman

Acknowledgements

The publishers are grateful to the following for their permission to reproduce photographs:

Camera Press (photographer Ritchie) for page 765(b);
Camera Press (photographer David Lomax) for page
765(c) and (d); Documentation Francaises for page
747 and Popperfoto for page 765(a)

Longman Group UK Limited,
Longman House, Burnt Mill, Harlow,
Essex CM20 2JE, England
and Associated Companies throughout the world

© Longman Group Limited 1974

This edition © Longman Group UK Limited 1987

All rights reserved. No part of this publication
may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior written permission of the Publishers.

First published 1987

Set in 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ pt Bembo (Linotron)

Produced by Longman Group (FE) Ltd

Printed in Hong Kong

ISBN 0 582 01604 5

Notes on contributors

M. B. Abasiattai Ph.D. (Ibadan) is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Calabar. He has written widely on the subject of Nigerian and Liberian history and has held teaching posts in universities in Nigeria and North America.

R. A. Adeleye Ph.D. (Ibadan) is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Ibadan. He specialises in Islamic movements in the Western Sudan, and in addition to articles in various journals he has published *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1800–1906* (1971).

A. E. Afigbo Ph.D. (Ibadan) is Professor of History and Commissioner for Education in Imo State, Nigeria. His publications include *The Warrant Chiefs* (1972) and numerous articles on the history of south-eastern Nigeria.

I. O. Aluko Ph.D. (Ibadan) is Professor in the Faculty of International Relations, University of Ife. He specialises in the field of Nigerian foreign policy and is the author of *Ghana and Nigeria: a study in inter-African discord* (1976) and *Essays in Nigerian Foreign Policy* (1981). His current research interests include the politics of contemporary Southern Africa.

L. Brenner Ph.D. (Columbia) is Honorary Lecturer in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. After working on the history of Borno he is now conducting research into the history of Sufism in West African Islam. With colleagues from Mali, France and North America he has also been responsible for the conservation of Arabic manuscripts relating to the history of the Western Sudan. He is the author of *The Shehus of Kukawa: a history of the al-Kanemi dynasty in Bornu* (1973) and *West African Sufi: the religious heritage and spiritual search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (1984).

R. M. Cohen Ph.D. (Wisconsin) is Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida. He has written extensively on a wide variety of subjects relating to the history of Bornu and political systems in West Africa generally. He is currently engaged on research into the history of food production in Nigeria. Among other books he is the author of *The Kanuri of Bornu* (1967).

L. Denzer is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Ibadan. She has contributed many articles and chapters on various aspects of military resistance and anti-colonialism in West Africa. She has recently edited *The Autobiography of Constance Cummings-John* and is now working on a biography of I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson.

J. E. Flint Ph.D. (London) is Director of the Centre for African Studies, Dalhousie University. He is the General Editor of Volume V of the *Cambridge History of Africa, 1790–1870* and the author of numerous studies of British imperialism in West Africa.

J. D. Hargreaves M.A. (London) is Emeritus Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. His books include *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa* (1963) and *West Africa Partitioned*, vol. I *The Loaded Pause* (1974) and vol. II *The Elephants and the Grass* (1985). He is currently completing a study of decolonization in Africa.

C. H. G. Harrison Ph.D. (London) is Senior Editor in Longman's Africa and Caribbean Division. He has researched on various aspects of French colonial history and is currently revising his doctoral dissertation for publication under the title of *Bad Monks and Frenchmen: French attitudes and policies towards Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960*.

T. B. Ingawa Ph.D. (London) is Lecturer in Modern African Studies in the School of General Studies, Bayero University, Kano. He has recently completed a doctoral thesis on the history of cotton production in Katsina emirate and is planning a wider study of the economic history of Northern Nigeria.

M. Last Ph.D. (Ibadan) is Reader in the Department of Anthropology, University College, London. He has wide-ranging research interests and has written extensively on the Sokoto caliphate, medical anthropology and the development of Islamic thought in West Africa. He is the author of *The Sokoto Caliphate* (1967).

M. Ly-Tall Docteur de 3^e cycle (Dakar) is Assistant Professor of History at the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar. She has written numerous articles on the history of the early states of the Western Sudan and is the author of *L'Empire du Mali* (1977) and *La Femme africaine dans la société précoloniale* (1977).

E. A. McDougall, Ph.D. (Birmingham) is Killam Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Centre for African Studies, Dalhousie University. She has written numerous scholarly articles on the economies of the southern Sahara and has a specialist interest in the history of the salt trade in the Western Sudan.

S. M. Martin Ph.D. (Birmingham) is Lecturer in the History of West Africa at the School of Oriental and African Studies. She has particular interests in the history of agriculture, especially food production, in tropical Africa and in the participation of women in African economies. She is the author of *Rural Igbo: an economic history of the Ngwa region, South-Eastern Nigeria, c.1800-1980* (1987).

D. Cruise O'Brien Ph.D. (L.S.E.) is Lecturer in Politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He specialises in the role of Islam in the politics of West Africa and is the co-Director of an Anglo-French research project on 'Islam, Society and the State in Africa'. His books include *The Mourides of Senegal: the political and economic organization of an Islamic brotherhood* (1971) and *Saints and Politicians* (1975).

J. O. Osuntokun D. Phil (Dalhousie) is Professor of History at the University of Lagos. He has held teaching posts in universities throughout the Commonwealth and has written widely on the African experience of the First World war and on contemporary Nigerian government. He is the author of *Nigeria in the First World War* (1979).

Y. Person Docteur ès lettres, was a District Commissioner in the French colonial administration in West Africa from 1948-63. He then taught in Dakar and Paris devoting his research to a study of Samori Ture which was published in 1968 as *Samori: une révolution dyula*. He died after a long illness in 1984.

R. Rathbone Ph.D. (London) is Chairman of the University of London's Centre for African Studies. He has written widely on modern West and South African history and is the co-editor of *The*

Population Factor in Tropical African Societies (1974), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa, 1880-1930* (1984) and *Africa and the Second World War* (1986).

E. Reynolds Ph.D. (London) is Professor of History at the University of California, San Diego. He has written on a wide variety of subjects relating to the economic history of the Gold Coast and has recently published a study of the slave trade *Stand the Storm: a history of the Atlantic slave trade* (1985).

D. W. Robinson Ph.D. (Columbia) is Professor in the Department of History in Michigan State University. He has written extensively on the nineteenth-century history of the Western Sudan and, with L. Brenner and others, has been involved in the conservation and translation of oral traditions and Arabic documents relating to the region's history. He is the author of *Chiefs and Clerics, Abdul Bokar Kan and the Futa Toro, 1853-91* (1975) and *The Holy War of Umar Tal, The Western Sudan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1985).

C. C. Stewart D. Phil (Oxford) is Professor in the Department of History, University of Illinois. He has taught in universities in Ghana, Nigeria and North America and specialises in the history of Islam in West Africa. He is the author of *Islam and the Social Order in Mauritania: a case study from the nineteenth century* (1973).

J. B. Webster Ph.D. (London) is Professor of History in the Department of History at Dalhousie University. He has taught in universities in Uganda, Nigeria and Malawi and has written extensively on the subjects of religious and nationalist movements in Africa. Among other books he is the author of *The African Churches among the Yoruba* (1964).

G. Wesley Johnson Ph.D. (Harvard) is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author of *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal* (1971) and of various articles dealing with the political traditions of francophone West Africa.

The Editors

J. F. Ade Ajayi, Ph.D. (Ibadan) is Professor of History at the University of Ibadan, and is Chairman of the International African Institute. He is a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos

and a former Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. He holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Leicester and Birmingham. His publications include *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891* (1965), *Milestones in Nigerian History* (1962) and, with R. S. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*. He is Editor of Volume VI of the *Unesco General History of Africa* (1987). With Professor Crowder, Professor Ajayi is joint General Editor of *The Historical Atlas of Africa* (1985). In 1986 he was given the National Merit Award by the Nigerian government.

Michael Crowder, M. A. (Oxon) is Visiting Professor at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. He has held Professorships in History at the Universities of Botswana, Lagos and Ahmadu Bello University and is a former editor of *History Today*. In addition he has taught and directed research at the Universities of Ibadan, Ife, Sierra Leone and California at Berkeley. His historical writing includes *The Story of Nigeria* (1962), *Senegal: a study in French assimilation policy* (1962), *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (1968) and *Revolt in Bussa* (1973) and many journal articles, a selection of which were published in *Colonial West Africa* (1978). He has also edited a number of symposia including Volume VIII of *The Cambridge History of Africa* (1984), *Education for Development in Botswana* (1984), *West African Resistance* (1971) and, with O. Ikime, *West African Chiefs* (1970).

Introduction

J. F. A. AJAYI AND MICHAEL CROWDER

Volume I of the *History of West Africa* covered the period from the earliest times to 1800. Its emphasis was on the theme of state formation and the development of social and political institutions. Outside influences such as the penetration of Islam into the savannah region and of Europeans from the coastal areas played an increasingly important but never predominant role. They were accordingly treated as subsidiary themes.

By contrast, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries covered by this volume, both Islamic and European influences became increasingly dominant in the lives of the peoples of West Africa. By 1800, Islam had become effectively an indigenous religion in West Africa. In the nineteenth century, it became the dynamic force which created a series of major empires spreading in geographical extent over more than half of West Africa. Islamic influences spread even beyond the boundaries of those states and Islam has become the religion of the majority of West Africans.

At the same time, European missionaries, explorers and traders began to penetrate into the West African interior, gathering information, seeking to make converts to Christianity, and establishing outposts of European trade. Soon, there followed European soldiers and administrators who conquered and established colonial empires for Britain, France, Germany and Portugal. Europeans thus became dominant over the whole of West Africa, including the Islamic areas. Many West Africans became Christians. Both the traditional West African and Islamic religions, as well as the cultural and economic systems, came under pressure from European power, ideas and values. Resistance to this pressure has since led to a resurgence and revival of Islamic and traditional cultural and political life in West Africa.

This leading role that Islam and European Christian influences

have played in the history of West Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the major theme of this volume. Two preliminary chapters discuss the ideologies of the two movements in the early nineteenth century. These are followed by seven regional chapters reviewing developments in the nineteenth century generally and examining the impact of these factors on internal institutions. With the colonial conquest, the traditional historical and even geographical boundaries became less important. In their place, colonial boundaries assumed greater prominence, particularly in the dichotomy between British and French territories. For this reason, the chapters discussing the history of the colonial conquest, patterns of rule, African resistance and resurgence have either attempted to survey the whole of West Africa or have followed the logic of the Anglo-French partition.

This approach is dictated also by the prevailing state of our knowledge, but it is not entirely satisfactory. For example, by taking this approach, continuity in the history of the development of internal institutions traced to the nineteenth century has not been sustained to the present day. Politics in independent West African States have shown the continued vitality and dynamic nature of many of these institutions. Yet the basic research on their developments in the colonial period has only just begun. This neglect makes early twentieth century West African history a less well-known period than the nineteenth. It is our hope that this volume will draw attention to such gaps in our knowledge, and the future editions will be able to cover the internal history of West Africa in the first half of the twentieth century more adequately.

As with Volume I, we have to point out that the chapters in this volume were commissioned in 1965. While some authors were able to respond in good time with their chapters, there have been delays on the part of others, as well as interruptions caused by the Nigerian Civil War, and the need to find alternative contributors rather late in the day. One result is that the chapters by authors who met our initial deadline may not have taken account of the more recent publications in the field. Another is that plans for a chapter on the Niger Delta States and their hinterland in the nineteenth century fell through and we have to await a new edition to fill in this gap. Nevertheless, we believe that these nineteen chapters together give a balanced and coherent picture of the main outlines of West African history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As in Volume I also, no attempt has been made to standardise the orthography of African names, and we must again express the hope that steps will soon be taken to establish a standard orthography for

African personal and place names. Such a project would be of immense benefit to historians as well as to scholars in disciplines other than history.

Chapter 7 of this volume was originally written in French and we owe the excellent translation to Dr Joan White. We also wish to thank various colleagues for editorial assistance, particularly Professor R. J. Gavin.

Finally, this history could not have been published without the general support of colleagues and the secretarial staffs of the History Departments of the University of Ibadan and of Abdullahi Bayero College of Ahmadu Bello University; the Institutes of African Studies of Fourah Bay College of the University of Sierra Leone and of the University of Ife; and the Centre for Advanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences, Stanford, California. To them, and to the Vice-Chancellors of these Universities and the Director of the Centre, we wish to express our sincere thanks.

J. F. Ade Ajayi,
University of Lagos
October 1972

Michael Crowder,
Abdullahi Bayero College,
Ahmadu Bello University

Introduction to the second edition

The first edition of the second volume of *History of West Africa* was published in 1974. Since then a great number of monographs and general studies on the history of West Africa since 1800 have been published. We did not, however, feel that the urgency for a second edition of this volume was as great as that for Volume I, covering the period before 1800 in which much more radical changes to our understanding of the West African past had taken place since its appearance in 1971. This perception of the historiographical advances made in that period of West African history is reflected in the fact that two new editions of Volume I have appeared, the third in 1985 involving the commissioning of new chapters as well as radical

changes to many of the existing chapters including the commissioning of new authors for some of them.

At the same time as we prepared the third edition of the first volume of the *History of West Africa* we made plans for a revised edition of the second volume. New authors were commissioned for some chapters, while some authors of existing chapters were invited to make radical revisions to their original offerings. It is difficult enough to organise a first edition of a multi-authored volume, and it has been our experience in editing both volumes that it is even more difficult to persuade authors to revise existing chapters on schedule. Some authors did not deliver their revisions at all forcing us to retain unrevised chapters, the only alternative to which was to commission new chapters and hold-up publication of those chapters which had met the deadlines we set. Virtue has little reward for contributors to collective enterprises of this kind, as the pace is set by the slowest runner in the race. In addition to delays in receipt of revised chapters, the timing of the publication of the edition was dictated by commercial considerations such as new existing stocks of the fifth reprint of the original edition, and the special problems of the Nigerian market which before the economic crisis created by the fall in world oil prices absorbed more copies of both volumes than any other.

In placing the background of the production of this new edition of Volume II before our readers we are aware of the fact, as A. G. Hopkins has so nicely put it, that editors are 'like waiters: their job is to present the chef's creation to its best advantage while also concealing the secrets of the kitchen from the clientele.'¹ We shall continue therefore only by presenting you with the new items on our menu. There are two entirely new chapters, that by A. E. Afigbo on 'Southeastern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century' and that by Richard Rathbone on 'Independent West Africa.' A number of other chapters, though bearing the same title as their counterpart in the first edition have been so substantially revised or written by different authors as to constitute effectively new chapters. Murray Last has completely revised his chapter on 'Reform in West Africa: the jihād movements of the nineteenth century', while La Ray Denzer has presented a new interpretation of Chapter 2 on the question of the impact of Missionaries and Abolition on West African history. Charles Stewart has made major revisions to R. A. Adeleye's original chapter on the Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century, taking into account the vast amount of literature that has appeared on this subject in the past decade. Jacob Ajayi has updated his 'Aftermath of

¹ A. G. Hopkins 'Big Business in African Studies' *Journal of African History* 28, 1, 1987.

the fall of Old Oyo' in the light of the equally intensive study of nineteenth century Yorubaland that has taken place since he first wrote it. Edward Reynolds presents a new chapter on Ghana in the nineteenth century, as do Monday Akpan on Liberia and Sierra Leone and Madina Ly Tall and David Robinson on the Western Sudan and the French. Ann McDougall has joined John Flint in a major rewrite of his original chapter, paying much more attention to the internal trade of West Africa before the imposition of Colonial Rule. Much less radical revision has attended the original chapters covering the colonial period. However, Tukur Bello, Chris Harrison and Susan Martin have written a new chapter on the establishment of colonial rule in West Africa while Jide Osuntokun has joined Michael Crowder in a substantial revision of his original chapter on the First World War and West Africa.

The first edition of Volume I was 568 pages in length, the second 648, and the third 742. The first edition of Volume II was 764 pages long, the present edition is nearly 850 pages in length. This raises for the editors two questions. First, if future editions are to be published, will they not on the present evidence grow into volumes of unmanageable length? Second, how far can one go on revising historical enterprises of this kind as though they were the historical equivalent of *Gray's Anatomy*? Our own feeling is that with our new edition of Volume I published last year, and this edition of Volume II being published early next year, we should rest on what laurels we may have earned in initiating this enterprise in the mid-sixties and concluding it in the mid-eighties. We are particularly grateful to the contributors to both volumes in their several editions, especially those who have been so patient of the delays that have attended their production. We hope that they will remember, as we do, in the words of Tony Hopkins again, that in editorial enterprises such as these 'it is a miracle that anything appeared at all, given the mixture of waywardness, mischance and double booking which occurs whenever more than two or three academics are gathered together with productive purposes in mind.'²

J. F. Ade Ajayi,
Department of History,
University of Ibadan

Michael Crowder
Institute of Commonwealth Studies
University of London.

10 November 1986

² *ibid.*

Contents

	Page
Notes on Contributors	v
Introduction <i>J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder</i>	x
Introduction to the Second Edition <i>J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder</i>	xii
1 Reform in West Africa: the <i>jihād</i> movements of the nineteenth century <i>Murray Last</i>	1
2 Abolition and Reform in West Africa: <i>LaRay Denzer</i>	48
3 The Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century <i>R. A. Adeleye & C. C. Stewart</i>	86
4 Borno in the nineteenth century <i>Louis Brenner & Ronald Cohen</i>	132
5 The aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo <i>J. F. A. Ajayi</i>	174
6 The Gold Coast and Asante, 1800–1874 <i>Edward Reynolds</i>	215
7 The Atlantic Coast and the southern savannas, 1800–1880 <i>Yves Person</i>	250
8 Sierra Leone and Liberia in the nineteenth century <i>Monday B. Abasiattai</i>	301
9 The Western Sudan and the coming of the French <i>Madina Ly-Tall & David Robinson</i>	340
10 Economic change in West Africa in the nineteenth century <i>John E. Flint & E. Ann McDougall</i>	379
11 The European partition of West Africa <i>J. D. Hargreaves</i>	403

12	Southeastern Nigeria in the nineteenth century <i>A. E. Afigbo</i>	429
13	The establishment of colonial rule in West Africa, c. 1900–1914 <i>C. Harrison, T. B. Ingawa & S. M. Martin</i>	485
14	The First World War and West Africa <i>Michael Crowder & Jide Osuntokun</i>	546
15	West Africa 1919–1939: the colonial situation <i>J. F. A. Ajayi & Michael Crowder</i>	578
16	African political activity in French West Africa, 1900–1940 <i>G. Wesley Johnson</i>	608
17	African Political activity in British West Africa, 1900–1940 <i>J. B. Webster</i>	635
18	The 1939–45 war and West Africa <i>Michael Crowder</i>	665
19	Politics of decolonisation in British West Africa, 1945–1960 <i>Olajide Aluko</i>	693
20	Politics of decolonisation in French West Africa, 1945–1960 <i>Michael Crowder & Donal Cruise O'Brien</i>	736
21	Independent West Africa <i>Richard Rathbone</i>	774
	Index	808

lance, a virtual prisoner, at Sokoto until the end of the 1840s. The truce with Kebbi lasted until 1849. The other area that posed a direct threat to Sokoto as well as to its nearest eastern emirate, Katsina, was that controlled by the Katsina successor principality of Maradi. From 1819, under Sarki Dan Kassawa (1819–31) Maradi persistently attacked Katsina, and aid provided to the emirate by Sokoto and neighbouring emirates proved ineffectual. Like Gobir, the Habe Katsinawa successor towns allied from time to time with their northern, Tuareg neighbours and remained a constant source of harassment to the Sokoto environs.

The theatre of battle immediately adjacent to Sokoto tends to be highlighted in many of our accounts of Muhammad Bello's years, but, in what may be characterised as the Borno sector of resistance to the emirates, equally hostile forces were also met. Following the early conquests of the *jihād* in which Borno lost its western marches (out of which the Katagum, Hadejia, Missau and Gombe emirates were carved), relations between Borno and Sokoto continued to be hostile. The attempts of Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi to overrun the Caliphate in 1827 after successful exploits in Hadejia and Katagum between 1824 and 1826 are well known.¹³ The advance of Borno forces towards Kano early in 1827 was only halted at Garko by a joint army of neighbouring emirates under the leadership of Ya'qub of Bauchi, acting on the Caliph's orders. This latter event ended large-scale offensives aimed at territorial expansion by both Borno and Sokoto's emirates, but thereafter the frontier between them was rendered highly unstable and explosive by mutual border raids. Within this same eastern sector, but on the northern frontier, Zinder, capital of Damagaram and one of Borno's vassal states, was the centre for unabated hostility against the Caliphate throughout the century. The targets of Zinder attacks were Daura, Katsina, Kano and Hadejia. Sarkin Zinder Ibrahim b. Sulaiman (c. 1822–41) penetrated south of Kazaure in the early years of his reign and in 1829 he began systematic incursions into Daura.¹⁴ On the Borno-Adamawa frontier war was endemic, with Mandara and Marghi territories the major battle grounds. In 1824, for example, there was a major confrontation between Adamawa and Borno forces. However, Kilba, Song, Holma, Batta, Koncha, Banyo, Tibati, Ngaundere, Chamba and numerous other peoples were integrated into the Adamawa emirate, in turn,

¹³ The British traveller, Hugh Clapperton, passed through Borno and Sokoto during this time, and he and his servant left first-hand accounts of political tensions between the two states; see H. A. S. Johnson, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, Oxford, 1967, pp. 116–22.

¹⁴ On Damagaram, see R. A. Dunbar, 'Damagaram (Zinder, Niger) 1812–1906; the History of a Central Sudanic Kingdom', Ph.D. thesis, 1970; and for Bornu, see Louis Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa: a History of the al-Kanemi Dynasty in Bornu*, London, 1973.

under Modibo Adam b. Al-Hasan. However, these conflicts belong more to the internal history of Adamawa.¹⁵

Adamawa and the eastern emirates held a special significance for Sokoto, as Muhammad Bello wrote in the mid-1820s, for it was expected that the community would migrate to the east at the time the Mahdi appeared. The belief in the imminent appearance of the Mahdi, who would prepare the Muslim community for the end of time, is an undercurrent that ran through much popular and scholarly thought during the century.¹⁶ At the end of the century it was, indeed, in these eastern territories that Mahdists came to pose a threat to the established emirate authorities.

In the territories under Gwandu control, it is noteworthy that as late as 1830 the Lander brothers described Yauri as a flourishing kingdom disposing of a strong military force which had successfully resisted the power of the jihādists.¹⁷ Yauri was subsequently granted *dhimmi* status, which provided its protection against further attacks in return for a regular tribute, a move no doubt related to its economic importance astride a major trade route leading from Katsina to Kumasi. Nupe, to the south, had been the locale of Mallam Dendo's preaching on behalf of the Shaikh and the site of at least one major campaign from Sokoto during the second decade of the century, but no effort to establish an emirate there was made until after Dendo's death in 1833. Across the Niger, Ilorin was carved out of territory of the old Oyo kingdom, but it too was not internally consolidated until the reign of 'Abd al-Salam (c. 1830–42). Before and during these years the Yoruba chiefdoms into which the old Oyo empire had disintegrated were constant targets of Ilorin attacks. In the course of numerous campaigns Ilorin expanded to Igbomina country and took Ikirun. The power of Edun of Gbogun, considered the most powerful Yoruba general of his day, was completely broken.

Conflicts on the frontiers of the Caliphate were not the only source of tension for the emirates; internally in certain emirates, notably Adamawa, Nupe and, to a lesser degree, Ilorin, a handicap to consolidation lay in internal dissensions between the Muslims that led to armed hostilities. We have noted the conflict in Kano during the early 1820s, above; the founding of the Adamawa emirate was

¹⁵ See Sa'ad Abubakr, *The Lāmbi of Fombina: a Political History of Adamawa 1809–1901*, Zaria, 1977; and Martin Njeuma, *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa) 1809–1902*, Buea, Cameroon, 1978.

¹⁶ See Muhammad Ahmad Al-Hajj, 'The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria', Ph.D. thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, 1973.

¹⁷ On Gwandu, see S. A. Balogun, 'Gwandu Emirate in the Nineteenth Century with special reference to political relations: 1817–1903', Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970; Yauri is treated in Mahdi Adamu, 'A Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the Nineteenth Century', M. A. thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, 1968.