

THE SHUWA ARAB COURTIERERS IN THE CRISES AND INSTABILITY IN THE SHEHUS' COURT, 1837-1881

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ABSTRACT

One of the major themes of 19th Century Borno politics was the crises and instability in the Shehus court. The struggle for power on the part of the ruling elite, particularly after the death of a ruling monarch and the desire to control land and its proceeds were some of the fundamental factors responsible for court intrigues and pronounced crises in the courts. This paper attempts to examine this phenomenon and specifically points out the role of the Shuwa Arab courtiers therein. The paper observes that crises and instability dominated the greater part of 19th Century Borno particularly after the death of Muhammad El-Amnin El-kanemi, from 1837 and concludes that the Shuwa Arab courtiers who had become a political force to reckon with in Borno were naturally obliged to participate in this crisis.

Keywords: Shuwa Arabs, Courtiers, Crisis, Instability, Shehu, Courts.

INTRODUCTION

The Shuwa Arabs who emigrated into Kanem towards the tail end of the 14th Century had not established States of their own, as they came and settled under the Saifawa Mais. Under the Saifawa, they were integrated into the administration through their representatives called *Chima Jilibe* in Kanuri and Sheikh in Shuwa. By the opening years of the 19th century, however, El-Kanemi emerged in the Kingdom and succeeded in saving Borno from collapse. He was assisted in this noble, but difficult task, by the Shuwa

together with whom he saw to the restoration of the Kingdom. Events later catapulted El-Kanemi into position of power and authority. He consequently appointed the leading Shuwa men into his council, Thus under the new El-Kanemi dynasty the Shuwa clinched the prestigious office of the Waziri, i.e., Prime Minister. But when El-Kanemi died in 1837 and was succeeded by his son Shehu Umar, the Shehus' court, gradually but continuously became infested by intrigues as the struggle for power between the courtiers intensified. The Shuwa Arab Courtiers participated in these intrigues and conflicts in order to protect the new positions and other personal interests in the Kingdom. The paper focuses on the role of the Shuwa Arab courtiers in the Shehu's court, especially after the death of El-Kanemi.

The Death of El-Kanemi and the Beginning of Crises

When Muhammad Al-amin El-Kanemi died in 1837, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Umar Muhammad Al-amin. But the Saifawa attempted to return to power at this time. The Saifawa cause was championed by Mai Ibrahim who had quietly remained at the background for seventeen years during the reign of El-Kanemi. No sooner had El-Kanemi passed away in 1837, than Mai Ibrahim felt quite naturally and rightly, that he should take over and reestablish saifawa rule in the state. It is said that Mai Ibraliimu sent a message to the newly installed Shehu Umar to come to Birni Kafela i.e the Mais seat of power, to render his allegiance. But the Shuwa Arab courtiers responded with a strong threatening message to Mai Ibrahim demanding that he come to Kukawa to render allegiance. They emphasized that the death of El-Kanemi had not changed the new political situation in Borno. The message to Mai Ibrahim read thus:

When we buried Shehu El-Kanemi we buried only him, all the courtiers, horses and weapons are still with his son Umar. If you refuse to come here we will see you at Birni Kafela.ⁱ

This threat intimidated Mai Ibrahim who decided to obey the message. He appeared in Kukawa to offer his allegiance to the new Shehu. Even then the Shehu on the advise of the Shuwa councillors, drastically cut down Mai Ibrahim's subsidy in an attempt to curtail his power.ⁱⁱ Mai Ibrahim had no alternative but to look for ways and means of regaining control. But the Saifawa debacle thus continued, Mai Ibrahim opened secret negotiations with Wadai to assist him in regaining the throne since the imperial army of Borno was at Zinder for a campaign. Wadai therefore invaded Borno in 1846 and enthroned the last Saifawa ruler that is, Mai Ali Minargema. Wadai however, retreated after collecting a large sum of money from Shehu Umar. It is important to note here that some Shuwa Councillors lost their lives in the encounter with Wadai.ⁱⁱⁱ Abba Abdulrahman, the younger brother of Shehu Umar, who led the military campaign against Zinder returned to the Kingdom and executed the young Mai Ali and destroyed Birni Kafela. The significance of this development is that it formally marked the establishment of the Shchu dynasty in Borno at the expense of the age old Saifawa dynasty. With the defeat of the last Saifawa ruler in 1846, the Shehu's court encouraged many courtiers and noblemen from Birni Kafela especially those who tend to offer their allegiance to Umar.

This resulted in an increase in the number of courtiers and noble men, which exceeded the number of offices available. Many of them were therefore neglected especially the new comers. Those people nearest to the Shehu enjoyed certain privileges, such as acquisition of fiefs.^{iv} The increase in the number of courtiers and noblemen had implications for the Kingdom. It will be recalled that what maintained the unity of the Kukawa court since the days of El-Kanemi was the small size of the court and the charismatic leadership of El-Kanemi which ensured complete loyalty from his followers. Furthermore, the presence of the Saifawa at Birni Kafela also served as a binding force among the courtiers who feared a Saifawa return to the political scene. But by 1846 when the Saifawa were finally

eliminated, the solidarity of the courtiers at Kukawa suffered and factionalism within the Shehus court surfaced resulting in crisis and instability in the later half of the 19th Century.^v Furthermore, the adoption of hereditary principles as mechanism for appointment into vacant offices also contributed to crisis and instability in courts. The attainment of any political post was by birth rather than merit or through one's service to the State.^{vi} But individuals of exceptional abilities could still rise to a position of leadership. For instance, Laminu of Kanembu and Shuwa parentage, became the Wakil of Hajj Bashir and later an influential figure in the regime of Shehu Umar through ability. Even today, the descendants of Laminu Njitiya are rulers in Borno as district heads. It was on the basis of this hereditary principle that the sons of the Shuwa councilors who lost their lives in the encounter with Wadai were succeeded by their sons. Thus, Hajj Bashir and Hamza, were elevated to the position of their fathers Muhammad Tirab and Ahmed Gonimi, both members of the council who died at the battle of Minarge. The qualification for membership of the council was therefore by birth rather than loyalty and merit as buttressed by Brenner. The second generation of Borno leader had achieved political ascendancy, not by their own merit, but by birth.^{vii} This became a contributory factor to instability.

Another factor which created instability in the courts was the inability of Umar to continuously shower his courtiers with gifts to buy or gain their support, unlike El-Kanemi who was known to have kept the courtiers on his side by constantly giving them gifts. In the 1850s, for instance, the income of the state ceased to expand. Moreover, the size of the courts as earlier mentioned, had increased hence the Shehu rewarded only the very few he favoured. Borno's political history in the 9th century was therefore marked by intrigues and intense struggle for political offices which could only be gained by being a favourite of the Shehu.^{viii} Thus, from 1850s there was fierce struggle amongst the nobility to obtain the Shelia's favours. The personal character of Umar itself affected his court.

Unlike his father, Umar was said to be "a weak and indecisive ruler."^{ix} He delegated the power of the State to his slaves and courtiers in such a way that he became powerless. The weakness of the Shehu created room for "vicious political struggle within the court"^x Thus, with few individuals heading the struggle, the court became divided into factions and this affected the internal and external power of the State."^{xi} The political struggle became apparent as manifested in the rivalry that developed between Hajj Bashir Shuwa and Abba Abdulrahman, the Shehu's younger brother, both strong members of the Shehu's court. It can be recalled that from 1837 to 1846, the Shehu had five strong advisers in the persons of his fathers early companions: Mallam Tirab, Ahmed Gonimi, Ibrahim Wadaima (all-Shuwa) Hajj Sudani and Mallam Tatali. Mallam Tirab and Ahmed Gonimi. were killed in the battle of Minarge and their posts were occupied by their sons Hajj Bashir and Hamza respectively. Hajj Bashir, being Shehu Umar's childhood friend, was subsequently, made the Waziri. According to Barth, Shehu Umar could not but choose to rely on Hajj Bashir rather than his brother Abba Abduraliman whom he described as:

A good soldier but of very loose and violent character and might be expected to abuse his influence in the kingdom once admitted into high office.^{xii}

Hajj Bashir was appointed Waziri, prime Minister to the Shehu. This was a very sensitive position, for it meant that he was now second in command to the Shehu and often more powerful than the Shehu himself Barth, a 19th century German traveler and one who came to know the Waziri very well during his travels, described him as the most excellent, kind, liberal and just man who might have done much good to the Kingdom if he had been less selfish and more active.^{xiii} There is a contradiction in Barth's description of the Waziri. How can the same person be excellent, kind, liberal and just, yet, at the same time, accused of being selfish? Apart from his personal weakness, the Shehus younger brother, Abba Abdulrahman

constituted a threat to both Shehu Umar, and his Prime Minister, Hajj Bashir. Abba Abdulrahman regarded Sheltu Umar as a contemptible weakling character of a sheep.^{xiv} Shehu Umar was passive and his passiveness led Hajj Bashir to exercise tremendous influence at court to the extent that he came to rule entirely the minds of the Sheikh who was more sparing of words and less intelligent.^{xv} Shehu Umar had come to place an ever increasing reliance on his ziri, whose use of his almost unlimited power earned him the enmity of fellow courtiers. Hajj Bashir used his position as the chief adviser to build up his own economic and political power. All the best fiefs were under Hajj Bashir. And with the support of the Awlad Sulaiman Arabs, he 1sc monopolized the Trans-Sharan trade route, as a result Hajj Bashir was extremely wealthy and very powerful. Not surprisingly, he became the envy other courtiers and members of the Shehu's family, especailly since the Shehu himself was weak and indecisive as a ruler. Hajj Bashir became so powerful that even royal princes, according to Barth, could receive nothing from the Shehu without first going out to Hajj Bashir.^{xvi} It appeared to the courtiers that political power and wealth was blocked by this single indiviual.^{xvii}

Thus, the Kukawa court was thrown into serious conflict as it soon appeared to the other courtiers that their rise to any prominent position in the kingdom was blocked by this single individual Hajj Bashir, The grievances of the courtiers coupled with Abba Abdulrajiman's hatred for the Waziri, Hajj Bashir, and Shehu Umar himself, led to the creation of mutually repugnant and irreconcilable factions in Kukawa. One faction supporting Shehu Umar and his Waziri, Hajj Bashir, and the other supporting Abba Abdurahman. The hostilities which started in 1846 culminated an open conflict in 1853. By November 1853, Abba Abdulrahman had gained enough support among the malcontents who were willing and ready to join in any plan which might result in the removal of Hajj Bashir, and even the deposition of Shehu Umar.^{xviii} The open conflict, surfaced in 1853 when Laminu Njitiya with the attachment of the Waziris slaves

and followers who were ordered to enforce a curfew on the people of Kukawa clashed with the supporters of Abba Abdulrahman who had purposely set out to violate the orders of the Shehu. In the said clash, Laminu's hand was broken. This was a clear insult to the authority of the Shehu and the following morning Shehu Umar summoned the courtiers with the aim of punishing Abba Abdulrahman, for defying his orders. After a profound argument with his brother, Abdulrahman left the court in anger while his supporters cheered and called after him the title of Shehu.^{xxix} Enraged by Umar's decisions and the extent of Hajj Bashir's influence, Abdulrahman gathered his followers and left Kukawa, in late 1853 and established himself west of Damaturu in defiance of Shehu's authority. He was soon pursued by the Shehu and Hajj Bashir but in the brief encounter that followed, Abdulrahman won a victory. Hajj Bashir hurriedly returned to Kukawa and gathered what valuables he had, and fled eastwards in the direction of River Shari.^{xxx}

Hajj Bashir was later persuaded to return when Abba Abdulrahman promised his personal safety. But he was subsequently executed by Abdulrahman having been found guilty of treason.^{xxxi} Umar with no hope of hesitance submitted to his brother. Thus, Abba Abdulrahman was installed as the new Shehu in 1853. This palace coup brought some changes. Abba Abdulrahman chose a new cabinet replacing most of the courtiers under Umar with supporters and favourites. Ali Garga, the younger son of Ahrned Gonixni and Al-Hajj Rufai, son of Hajj Sudani became Shehu Abdulrahman's closest advisers.^{xxxii} The choice of Ali Garga as the Shehu's adviser was not only on the grounds of courage and bravery as traditions portray, but he was in the good books of Abba Abdulrahman.^{xxxiii} A popular tradition in Borno has it that prior to Abdulrahman's appointment as the Shehu, Ali Garga had a serious argument with an ardent supporter of Shehu Umar, one Muhammad al Tahir al Sheriff, in Kukawa. The argument was on whether Abba Abdulrahman would ever ascend the throne of Borno. Sheriff Tahir said never, Au Garga

was positive. They waged "the little finger" to each other. The successful coup of Abba Abdulrabinan in 1853 proved Ali Garga right. Armed with the fulfilment of his prediction, Au Garga sought Sheriff out and demanded his "pound of flesh." In spite of Sheriffs assertion that "this was what God ordained", Ali Garga could not hear of this. He drew out his sword and picked off his opponents head^{xxiv} Thus, it is clear that the reshuffling of the new cabinet favoured Ali Garga as the close adviser to Shehu Abdulrahman. The 1853 coup was highly welcomed by the courtiers since the only obstacle to their progress, Hajj Bashir, was eliminated and Umar exiled to Dikwa. After the coup, it was expected that peace, law and order would now prevail, at least in the court. But that was not to be. The court continued to witness intrigues and power squabbles leading to Umar's counter coup in 1854.

With the ascension of Abdulrahman to the throne as the new Shehu in 1853, the hope of many of the courtiers were dashed. This was because the new Sheliu was an arrogant, tyrannical and quarrelsome man. His tyrannical ways became even more difficult for the courtiers to cope with, than the injudiciousness of Hajj Bashir. The courtiers felt alienated. After all, Hajj Bashir who had been the main obstacle to the courtiers and on whom Umar had relied was now dead and out of the way. In the absence of Hajj Bashir, Shehu Umar gathered his supporters and forced Abdulrahman out of office. He subsequently executed him when he started to plot against the Shehu.^{xxv} But it seemed, Shehu Umar had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing from the events of 1853-1854. Not only did the Shehu return to power with his old favourites, but he failed to actively participate in state affairs. And like in the days of Hajj Bashir, he once more totally surrendered the conduct of state affairs to his favourites.^{xxvi} With the reinstatement of Umar, Abba Abdulrahman's close advisers were removed from their various offices/positions. This obviously meant that Waziri Ali Garga fell out of favour. But neither the demise of Hajj Bashir or the fate of Ali Garga and Al-Hajj Rufai did cut off Shuwa personalities from the

Waziriship of the Kingdom. Brenner rightly asserted that the most significant development at this time was the rise to favour of Laminu Njitiya who was of Kanembu and Shuwa parentage. Laminu Njitiya was said to have joined the services of Mallam Tirab after abandoning his life of a "highway robber."^{xxvii} After the death of Mallam Tirab and his succession by Hajj Bashir Laminu became the Wakkil representative of Hajj Bashir. When Bashir died, Laminu returned to offer his services to Shehu Umar after the latter's successful counter coup against Abdulrahman. As a reward for the loyalty Laminu had demonstrated in addition to his leadership ability, Shehu Umar gave him the control of the fief that was under the control of Abba Saleh, younger brother and successor to the position of Hajj Bashir during the short reign of Abdulrahman. Laminu's newly acquired status and wealth soon attracted for him a sizeable following and by 1870, Nachtigal described him as the most popular person in Borno.^{xxviii} Barth also described him as the confidential officer, the most wealthy and powerful figure. His ability to execute his duties with complete loyalty and ruthless efficiency earned him the confidence of the Shehu and like Hajj Bashir before him, became the right handman of Shehu Umar. But unlike Hajj Bashir, his former master, Laminu was a better administrator and although he had enemies, he was wise to maintain a large number of friends. He seemed to know more about the state than Umar himself because he learned much from the events of 1853.

Laminu Njitiya was one of the luckiest personalities in the 19th Century history of Borno. As mentioned earlier, he was an example of a commoner who rose to the rank next only to the Shehu. Because of his loyalty and exceptional ability as a leader, he was rewarded with a large fief which belonged to his former master. Therefore with this, he was able to enrich himself and maintain followers. Laminu Njitiya in addition to his position as the chief adviser to the Shehu and chief of police was also the administrative chief of the Shuwa Arabs in Kukawa. Thus, with his immense power Laminu

Njittiya assumed a greater position in Borno, perhaps even greater than that of his former master Hajj Bashir. Like in the days of Hajj Bashir Shchu Uinar left state matters completely in the hands of Larninu Njittiya to handle. Larninu became powerful to the extent that only the imposition of death penalty was out of his hands because this was an executive prerogative of the Shehu.^{xxx} Laminu carried out most of his duties at home. As reported by Nachtigal, he was seasoning his duties, Laminu at the same time gave audience, dealt with relatives, listened to defenders, received reports and gave out orders.^{xxx} Laminu also dealt with complicated problems in relation to vassals or to the neighbouring kings.^{xxxi} Considering his personality and the power he exercised, Laminu Njitiya could be regarded as the most powerful of the Waziris or chief advisers to the Shehu in the 19th Century Borno. Perhaps it is in this light that Louis Brenner maintained that Laminu became the wealthiest and most powerful man in Borno. According to Nachtigal due to his immense popularity among the people, coupled with the great confidence Shehu Umar placed in him, Laminu was the only courtier allowed to call on the Shehu during the night when they could discuss any matter in complete privacy.

This made Laminu the most effective and powerful leader in Borno. In addition to his duty as the overseer of foreign traders in Kukawa he was also responsible for the collection of taxes and the recording of daily administration. It suffices here to mention that apart from Laminu's advisory role to the Shehu, he was very instrumental in the Kingdoms territorial expansion. It can be recalled that the various internal squabbles heightened by the 1853/54-coup de tat and counter coup weakened the external relations of Borno and its control over its dependencies. Borno's external relations deteriorated as Shehu Umar abandoned his fathers policies of securing borders and keeping up of trade routes to North Africa for solid and regular trade. As a result Borno suffered both political and economic crisis. Shehu Umar failed to maintain control over Kanem and punish Wadai which participated in the uprisings of 1846. It is in

this context that one can appreciate Laminu Njitiya's contribution towards territorial expansion of Borno. In 1860 Laminu Njitiya, assisted by Shehu Umar's eldest son, Abba I3ukar effected slight changes in the Kingdom. Together, they directed repeated campaigns aimed at subduing the Ngism, Karekare and Badde in the Western part of Borno. The western border was secured though no attempt was made to penetrate into the eastern emirates,^{xxxii} possibly for fear of coming into conflict with Sokoto. Numerous campaigns were also undertaken under the joint leadership of Laminu Njitiya and Abba Bukar to the South with the sole aim of obtaining slaves. In the similar campaigns took place in 1860s to reimpose Mandara's tributary status when it sought to be independent of Borno. This territorial gains under Laminu Njitiya included large portions of Margi and Musgu lands to the South of the Kingdom which were conquered under his leadership. H. Barth reported that Laminu raided the neighbouring Musgu and took slaves.^{xxxiii} Income accruing from such raids obviously increased the State treasury. Thus, large portion of Marghi land was regained by Borno. The slaves provided Borno with economic power in addition to their use of working and fighting forces.^{xxxiv}

By 1863, Marghi land, Mandara, Ngism, Karekare and Badde were brought under the control of Borno. In the 1860s, the emirate of Fombina proved to be a threat to these vassal States of Borno because of the formers northward expansion. Borno was compelled to protect these areas which fell under her influence. Borno therefore had access to slaves from both the western and southern dependencies but slaves soon ceased to be valuable items in the trade when the economic position of Borno worsened during the second reign of Umar 1853-1881. According to Brenner, "the long term property of Borno leadership was tied to the Trans Caravan trade."^{xxxv} Thus, the Shehu and his courtiers and noble men depended on the income accruing from the proceeds of the trans-Saharan trade. But trade in slaves which was the most significant export of Borno suffered. This was due to a number of reasons: The first

reason for the decline of Borno export was the constant raids and insecurity caused by Tuaregs and Aulad Sulaiman Arabs along Fezzan-Borno trade route. We are, however, informed that feeble attempts were made to secure the trade route and the Aulad Sulaiman Arabs became the agents of Laminu Njittiya in Kanem where they lived for a while. Secondly, the demand for Borno's slaves declined in North African markets. The era also coincided with the abolition of the slave trade. Henceforth, trade moved towards the west to the Ghadames, Ahir, Kano route.^{xxxvi} These activities on the trade route, as earlier mentioned affected the position of the rich merchants and nobility of Kukawa who depended on the Slave trade. Sa'ad Abubakar has rightly pointed out that the position of Aulad Sulaiman and Lamibe of Fombina in the 1860s was detrimental to Borno's slaving activities in Kanem and Marghi lands.^{xxxvii} The attempt to rehabilitate the Borno Fezzan trade route failed and economic crisis befell the Kingdom, Laminu Njittiya died in 1871 in the midst of the economic crisis. His death in 1871 was considered

*A great calamity for the kingdom in general
and for shehu Umar in particular who had lost
his only honest adviser.*^{xxxviii}

With the death of Laminu Njittiya, a struggle to fill the vacant post ensued. The rest of Umar's reign was characterised by constant rivalries between Abba Bukar and Abba Ibrahim both sons of Shehu Umar. The rivalry that developed between the two brothers was like that of Umar and his brother Abba Abdulrahman in the 1850s. As a result of these frequent clashes, the two princes were stopped from undertaking the same expeditions by the Shehu. This rivalry was exploited by the courtiers for their personal advantages. Since Shehu Umar failed to take firm decisions in handling the courtiers court intrigues increased to dangerous proportions.^{xxxix} It is in this context that one can appreciate the internal suspicion in the courts. As stated earlier, the court was divided into two factions supporting Bukar and Ibrahim. The leading courtier, Waziri Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim

Wadaima Shuwa and his faction supported Abba Ibrahim against Bukar. Abba Ibrahim was a son in law to Waziri Ahmed. The animosity of the Waziri towards Abba Bukar was well known in the court in Kukawa. The Waziri wanted, at all cost, to see that his son-in-law succeeded Umar after his death. Interestingly when Umar died in 1881, Abba Ibrahim lost the battle because Bukar had many supporters and enjoyed the allegiance of the royal slaves and courtiers who made him the new Shehu.^{xi} Consequently, Waziri Ahmed died of a stroke. When Shehu Umar died, there was virtually little to write home about. His long reign, as Brenner noted Shehu Umar was the least capable leader to gain high office in 19th century Borno.^{xli} We can recall that he became a mere figure head in the affairs of government, choosing instead to delegate real authority to his courtiers as amply demonstrated by the cases of Hajj Bashir, and Laminu Njitiya. Shehu Umars long reign was one of the most uneventful periods in Borno's history. It sowed the seed at the rapid decline of the Borno Kingdom.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to examine the role of the Shuwa Arab Courtiers in the crises, conflicts and instability in the Shehus court from 1837 to 1881. The Shuwa Courtiers had succeeded in maintaining their status as executive councilors in the Shehus court. It is, however, important to point out that the crises engulfed some of them, for example, Waziri Hajj Bashir lost his life vlieii he backed the wrong horse; Au Garga Shuwa, the adviser to the new Shehu Abdulrahman was also executed for killing an opponent of the new administration, one Mohammed Al-Tahir Al-Sheriff of Kukawa. Furthermore, with the death of Shehu Umar, when Abba Ibrahim, son in law to Waziri Ahmed Ibn. Ibrahim Wadaima Shuwa lost the position of the Shehu to his brother Abba Bukar, the Waziri died of a stroke. From the foregoing, we can safely conclude that the Shuwa Arab Courtiers played a significant role in the crises and instability of the Shehu's court and that their position in the courts

as executive councilors of the Shehu was maintained as the same passed down to their descendants.

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Two of the Shuwa councilors out of three lost their lives in the battle with Wadai. These were Ahmed Gonimi and Mallam Tirab. They were succeeded by their sons in the court. See Louis Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa*, Op. cit, p.70.

Louis Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa*, ibid. p. 70.

Saad Abubakar, "Borno in the 19th Century", in Obaro Ikime, (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann, Ibadan, p.339.

H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol.11, London. Frank Cass, 1965, p.41.

Louis Brenner, Op. cit., p.71.

Sa'ad Abubakar, " Borno in the 19th Century" Op. cit., p. 339.

Louis Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa*, Op.cit, p. 71.

Ibid, p. 72.

For instance because of the instability that followed after the death of Mai Ali Minargema, Vassal States such as Kusseri and Zinder attempted to reassert their independence. Internally the revolt in Deya and Manga in the region West of river Yo constituted potential threat to peace and instability. For

details about the internal and external powers of the States
see Louis Brenner, *Ibid*, p.73.

H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries... vol II, Op.cit, p. 41.*

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Kyari Tijani, 'The Dynamics of political and administrative change in Borno under the Saifawa and El-Kanemi Shehus PhD Thesis vol II ABU Zaria, 1979, p. 485.

An oral informant maintains that Hajj Bashir took refuge in Manawaji, a shuwa village in the Chad district. That he took refuge among his clansmen, the Wulad Sarar Qawaline Arabs who were predominate in this area. Interview with Alhaji Umar, at Manawaji village, on 15/4/1988.

Kyari Tijani, *The Dynamics of political and Administrative change, vol.II p.486.*

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Emphasis here are mine.

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Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, ed. YB. Usman, Zaria, pp. 268-275. Kyari Sheriff Ibrahim also confirms this point.

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Barth, Travels and Discoveries ... Op. cit, p. 319. An oral informant, Alhaji Musa Daggash questioned Barths position. He maintained that Laminu Njittiya symbolised Bornos extortionate nature since he was in charge of the imposition and collection of taxes. His ruthless efficiency according to Daggash earned Laminu this derogatory remark "rabber" but in essence he was not.

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